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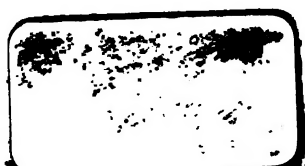
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

IN

A COURSE OF LECTURES,

DELIVERED

AT FOUNDERS' HALL, LOTHBURY, LONDON.

BY

WILLIAM JONES, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

**THE "HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES," "LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE,"
"BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA," ETC. ETC.**

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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THE appearance of the present volume has been delayed so much beyond either my wishes or intention, that I deem it necessary to offer something in the way of explanation, lest any should suspect me of a design to break faith with the public.

The truth is, that the following Lectures were prepared and delivered nearly two years ago, and would have been then put to press, had it not been for the extraordinary and agitated state of the nation, the political occurrences of which so entirely engrossed the public mind as to preclude almost the possibility of engaging attention to subjects of a different character or complexion. But the national effervescence has now happily transpired, and given place to the consideration of topics more congenial to the object of my Lectures. A reform in the State has very naturally paved the way for an inquiry into long-established abuses and corrupt practices in the Church. The legislature has been called upon, as with a voice of thunder, by petitions from one extremity of the island to the other, to redress the practical grievances under which the dissenters have long laboured, and, in particular, to dissolve the unnatural alliance between

Church and State. But that such a measure should be carried into effect on the spur of the moment, and without a severe struggle, is what no reflecting person can expect. Deeply-rooted prejudices, prepossessions, and partialities, must be encountered and overcome : those who have an interest in the maintenance of existing corruptions may be expected to cling to them, and urge plausible reasons for their continuance ; the timid and the fearful will be scared with the dread of innovation : the public mind requires to be enlightened on the subject, and this can only be effected by an exposure of the manifold evils that unavoidably result from this heterogeneous admixture of things secular and sacred, and especially its opposition to a kingdom which is *not of this world*. Even the present liberal administration, enlightened, as no doubt it is, in comparison of most that have preceded it, appears “ dull of apprehension,” as respects the principles of the dissenters. Some of its members have a deep stake in the existing ecclesiastical establishment, and cannot be expected to relinquish it, however antisciptural and corrupt, to any thing short of a bold and determined demonstration of the public mind. Truly has it been remarked, that “ men have been very long in discovering, and even yet seem scarcely to have discovered, that true religion is of too delicate a nature to be compelled with the coarse implements of human authority and worldly sanctions. Let the law of the land restrain vice and injustice of every kind, as ruinous to the peace and order of society, for this is its proper

province ; but let it not tamper with religion by attempting to enforce its exercise and duties. These, unless they be free-will offerings, are nothing ; they are, in fact, worse than nothing. By such an unnatural alliance and ill-judged aid, hypocrisy and superstition may, indeed, be greatly promoted ; but genuine piety never fails to suffer.”*

The Voluntary Church Associations which have recently sprung up among us, I cannot but hail as the harbingers of incalculable benefit to the country, and eminently conducive to the cause of true religion. The discussions to which they naturally give rise, in connexion with the short and useful tracts issued by them, cannot fail to prove a powerful engine in dispelling the mists of ignorance and error that have for ages sat as an incubus on the mind of the nation. They will draw the attention of men to the inspired records, the oracles of God ; and, under a Divine blessing, lead them to distinguish between truth and error—between the doctrines of Christ and the traditions of fallible men. Already is the inquiry gone forth, “ *What has the compulsory system done for the cause of religion ?* ”—A question which I humbly conceive may receive a full, explicit, and most satisfactory answer from the following pages—*It has deluged the earth with human gore !* The reader who shall take the trouble to peruse this volume will never need to ask where he is to look for “ *Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth—the woman drunken with*

* See Dr. Geo. Campbell's Lectures on Eccles. History, Lect. iii.

the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;" Rev. xviii. 5, 6. He will find the character of the church of Rome—" holy, catholic, and apostolic," as she assumes to be—" written as with a pen of iron and graven as with the point of a diamond." And from this he may learn what all other national churches would be, were they not restrained, in the good providence of God, by legislative enactment.

It has long appeared to me that one of the most successful means of awakening attention to " the mystery of iniquity" involved in all national establishments of Christianity, is that of a faithful record of the atrocities to which they have given rise. With such a view, these Lectures were composed ; and I would fain persuade myself that they may not be without their use to such persons as will condescend to look into them.

The first six Lectures in the present volume are devoted to a sketch of the History of the Church of England, from the time of the arrival of Augustin and his associates to convert our Saxon ancestors and plant the standard of papal Christianity in the island, to the times of Wyckliff. To this part of the undertaking I was prompted by finding that, both among episcopalians and dissenters, the most deplorable ignorance of its history prevails. It is very true that these six Lectures relate to a period during which it was identified with the church of Rome. It has since then undergone certain modifications, and obtained a new title, by means of which, in the opinion of some of its stanchest

supporters, it has become immaculate ; but, to form a proper estimate of the amount of that reformation, the unprejudiced reader will be better qualified when he has attentively perused the third and concluding volume of these Lectures, in which he will find the subject prosecuted from the times of Wycliffe to the termination of the Stuart Dynasty, A. D. 1380—1700, when the Act of Toleration, passed by a British legislature, *legalized the worship of the Most High (!)* according to the dictates of their own consciences, to human beings, who in these matters are accountable to God alone, the righteous Judge of the whole earth.

The seventh Lecture in this volume is an attempt to furnish an epitome of papal Christianity in its leading features, and the reader would do well to compare it with the religion of Jesus Christ, as taught in the New Testament, and exemplified in the churches planted by the holy apostles. The general subject is afterwards resumed and prosecuted, from the end of the eighth century, where the first volume terminates, in the narrative of the Cathari, or Puritans, in Germany ; the Paulicians in the East ; the Paterines in Italy ; and more particularly the Albigenses in the south of France, and the Waldenses in Piedmont. The period allotted to this second volume may be justly regarded as so much of the reign of antichrist, or the man of sin, during which we behold the woman, or false church, having committed fornication with the kings of the earth, making the inhabitants thereof drunk with the wine of her fornication.

The third and concluding volume commences with the dawn of the Reformation, when the Lord began to consume that wicked power with the Spirit of his mouth, and whom he shall utterly destroy with the brightness of his coming. In this part of the work the reader is introduced to the labours of Wyoliffe, and the sufferings of the Lollards, in our own country; the progress of the Reformation in Bohemia, with the martyrdom of Huss, and Jerome of Prague; the rise of Luther, and his intrepid opposition to the sale of indulgences; the arrogant claims of the papacy, and other abominations of the see of Rome; the joint labours of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius in Switzerland; of Farel, and Calvin, and Beza, at Geneva; of Knox and his associates in Scotland; and of Tyndal, and Cranmer, and Hooper, and Ridley, and the long train of reforming prelates in our own country, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and the other branches of his family and their successors, unto the abdication of the second James. In the contents of this volume the reader will notice the conflict or collision that raged between the two parties—the friends of Christ and those of antichrist, during a period of three centuries; and while he here finds what must sicken his heart on the one hand, he will meet with enough to console him on the other, at viewing the triumph of truth over error. “Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.”

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

LECTURE XXX.

State of the British Isles, in reference to religion and morals, from the Invasion of the Saxons, A.D. 448, to the times of Alfred, A.D. 800—Retrospect of Druidism, and its extermination—State of Britain under the Romans—They abandon the country, and give place to the Saxons—Character of the latter; their customs, manners, and idolatrous rites—Gradually lose their hostility to Christianity—Circumstances which prompted Gregory, the Roman Pontiff, to attempt the conversion of the Saxons—Arrival of Augustin and forty missionaries in Kent—Conversion and baptism of King Ethelred and his subjects—Singular advice of the Pope to Augustin—Death of the latter, and general prevalence of Christianity during the seventh century—Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury—Increase of monasteries—Superstitious rites—Pilgrimage—Sale of relics, &c.—Reflections.

IN a former Lecture I endeavoured to furnish some account of the state of this country, in reference to religion and morals, at the time it was first invaded by the Romans, under the command of Julius Cæsar, about half a century before the birth of Christ, and ere the light of revelation had yet beamed upon it. Of our forefathers it may be truly said, that they were then “sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death.” A horrible superstition, known by the name of *Druidism*, was universally recognised; and it enslaved and debased the minds

of the people, familiarizing them to human sacrifices, with the view of appeasing their incensed deities, whom they represented to be cruel as Moloch.* Whatever may have been the temporary evils and inconveniences inflicted on our countrymen by an invading army—and these, we may readily imagine, could not be few or trivial—we certainly owe a debt of gratitude to the Romans, for their exertions in putting down, even by penal statutes, a species of superstition which outraged all the principles of humanity, and represented the Creator of the universe, whose character is LOVE, as a being who delighted in human suffering.†

But the extermination of Druidism was not the only good which the British isles derived from their connexion with the Romans. It paved the way, under the holy providence of God, for the introduction of Christianity; and that at a time ere it had become corrupted from its native simplicity by the artifices of priests, and the craftiness of men who sought to make a gain of godliness. We cannot, indeed, but greatly lament that we have so little authentic information on this very interesting topic; but the substance of what can be collected in relation to it, I

* I am aware that some late writers have undertaken to soften down the harsh features of Druidism, and give an entire new face to this appalling system. According to their representation of the matter, the fundamental objects and principles of this religion were, "the search after truth, and a rigid adherence to justice and peace. They believed in the existence of ONE SUPREME BEING, of whom they reasoned, that he could not be material, and that what was not matter must be God. The soul was considered as a lapsed intelligence, under a total privation of knowledge or happiness, by its falling to the lowest point of existence," &c. &c., with much to the same effect. This new theory seems to have been first propounded by Dr. Mavor, in his *History of England*, Vol. I. p. 9, &c.; but he does not condescend to give us the least intimation from what source he drew his information; and his name will weigh but little in point of authority, when placed in the scale against those of Hume, Henry, Mackintosh, and the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, to say nothing of Julius Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and Pliny, all of whom agree in the representation of Druidism which I have given in the former volume of this Work. Yet the late Dr. William Richards, of Lynn, in a "Sketch of Druidism," contained in his *Welch Nonconformists' Memorial*, fondly adopts the views of Mavor, and censures all preceding writers on this subject, for giving an unfair representation of this superstition.

† Vol. I.—Lect. xxiii.

have already detailed,* not in the inflated and meretricious guise of the monkish historians of the middle ages, but in such chaste and sober attire as Truth would not disdain to acknowledge.

The Romans having subjugated the country by the valour of their invincible arms, maintained possession of it for five hundred years—that is to say, from about fifty years before the birth of Christ, till the middle of the fifth century; at which time the empire, invaded at all points by immense hordes of barbarians, Goths and Vandals, sunk under its own unwieldy bulk, and crumbled into ruins. During the interval, the Christian religion had become deplorably corrupted in doctrine, discipline, and worship; of the truth of which abundant evidence has already been adduced in these Lectures. But perhaps the most convincing proof of the fact, is to be found in its being converted into an ally of the civil government, under the auspices of Constantine the Great, in express violation of the declaration of its divine Founder, and its now being made to rest upon an arm of flesh for its support, in place of the invisible energy, and overruling providence of its great Author. That the churches of Christ in this country participated in the common degeneracy, during the period in which the Romans remained masters of it, needs no evidence beyond what has been already adduced.

It is a lamentable and signal proof of the awful depravity of our species, that the choicest of Heaven's gifts to our guilty world have not escaped corruption. It is so with the glorious Gospel of our salvation, and the laws and institutions of the kingdom of the Redeemer, which are founded upon it. As these came out of the hands of Christ and his apostles, they were divinely adapted to promote and secure two great objects; namely, the glory of the blessed God, and the happiness of his creatures. But it was soon found that, in their pure and simple state, they made no provision for gratifying the pride of man, but the contrary: they ministered no fuel to the lordly ambition of priests and prelates, but protested against all such usurpation over the minds and bodies of men, in the most pointed terms, stigmatizing it as antichristian; and though they incul-

* Vol. I.—Lect. xxiv.

cated upon all men a dutiful submission to civil magistrates, as "powers ordained of God," for the well-being of society, to pray for them, and pay them tribute, to honour the king as supreme, &c., yet they gave the latter no authority to interfere in the concerns of religion, or interpose between God and the conscience; but enjoined on the followers of Christ, to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are his."

To suppose that the Majesty of Heaven should view with indifference the conduct of emperors, kings, and clergymen, in corrupting the religion of his beloved Son, moulding it into an engine of State, to subserve their own base purposes of pride, ambition, and the lust of avarice, would be to offer him an affront; it would be to suppose him altogether such an one as ourselves, if not worse. No sooner had Constantine and his clergy consummated their schemes of secularizing the kingdom of Christ, which was done during the fourth century, than they began to be visited with manifest tokens of the Divine displeasure, as has been formerly stated.* Immense tribes of barbarians, from the north of Europe, migrated towards the south, overran Italy, and, by fire and sword, carried general devastation through those fine and fertile regions, overthrew the imperial government, and ultimately possessed themselves of the country. Nor did the British isles, which had partaken of the crime, escape the scourge, as we shall presently see.

It was not until about the middle of the fifth century, that Britain fell wholly under the yoke of the Saxons; but it is evident from history, that these northern tribes had been infesting the country, and making partial inroads upon the peaceable inhabitants, for more than half a century before that time; and that the latter had been urgent with the Roman government to furnish the means of defence against these hostile invaders. But their own necessities, oppressed as they then were by the Gothic tribes, that were seeking to possess themselves of their luxuriant provinces, rendered it impossible to grant the people of this country the succours which they required. On the contrary, it appears that,

* See Vol. I.—Lect. xxii.

from an early part of the fourth century, Rome had been drawing the best blood of these islands to assist her nearer home. Maximus, one of the Roman generals who was stationed in this country, about the middle of the fourth century, collected a numerous body of British youth, with which he passed over into Gaul; but Maximus lost his life at Aquileia, and the British soldiers did not long survive their leader. This happened in the year 388; but the Saxons continued their hostilities, devastating the country for many years; and such was the wretchedness of the people of England, that, according to Gildas, they sent ambassadors to Rome, with "rent garments, and ashes on their heads, to implore further aid."

Such was the state of Britain at the end of the fourth century; but the Romans were unable to come to its relief: and a few years afterwards, the consternation of the inhabitants became extreme, on hearing that a most formidable irruption of the barbarians had again burst over the mountains, deluged the western world, and threatened to invade this island. Apprehensive of their further progress, and to exert an energy adequate to the crisis, the soldiers in Britain created an emperor for themselves. Marcus was their first choice; but finding his councils or his conduct insufficient for the exigency, they put him to death, and chose another. Within four months he also was murdered; and, induced by the flattering name, the British soldiery then selected one Constantine from the ranks, and decorated him with the imperial garments.

The latter proved a successful general, and not unworthy of his new dignity. He crossed the Channel, at the head of his troops, stayed a short time at Boulogne, conciliated to his interests the soldiers scattered upon the continent, and defeated the terrible barbarians. This produced a momentary calm; but in the year 409 hostilities were again renewed by the barbarians, who now poured out all their fury on Britain and Gaul. The cities of England were invaded, and to whatever quarter the people looked for help, the application was vain.

In this extremity the Britons displayed a magnanimous character: they called to recollection the ancient independence of the island, and their brave ancestors, who still live ennobled in

the verses of their bards; they armed themselves, threw off the Roman yoke, deposed the imperial magistrates, proclaimed their insular independence, and with the successful valour of youthful liberty, and endangered existence, they drove the fierce invaders from their cities. From this time the Romans never again recovered the possession of the island.

From the year 410 to 449, Britain maintained a state of independence; it comprised many independent republics, each of which was governed by chief magistrates, a senate, subordinate officers called decurions, an inferior senate called *Curiae*, with other necessary officers. Ecclesiastical affairs were regulated by a bishop in each, whose power sometimes extended into lay concerns. It is not likely, however, that these thirty independent states would long continue in peace with each other. The accidents of human life would not fail to involve disputes of jurisdiction between one state and another; and mankind have always been too much addicted to determine their differences by force, to remain long at peace. Hence it was likely that no long interval would ensue, before civil discord pervaded the land, and that this would terminate in the predominance of military tyrants, whose last appeal is always to the sword.

Now this account of things agrees fully with what we find related by Gildas, the earliest historian of these matters. "The country," says he, "though weak against its foreign enemies, was brave and unconquerable in civil warfare. Kings were appointed, but not by God; they who were more cruel than the rest, attained to the high dignity." With as little right or expediency as they derived their power, they lost it. "They were killed," says he, "not from any examination of justice; and men more ferocious still were elected in their place. If any happened to be more virtuous or mild than the rest, every degree of hatred and enmity was heaped upon them." The clergy partook of the contentions of the day.

But Britain was not now in the state in which the Romans had first found it. Its towns were no longer barricadoed forests, nor its houses wood-cabins, covered with straw, nor its inhabitants naked savages, with painted bodies, or clothed with skins. It had been, for more than three centuries, the seat of Roman civilization

and luxury. Roman emperors had been born, and others had reigned in it. The natives had been ambitious to obtain, and hence, had not only built houses, temples, courts, and market-places, in their towns, but had adorned them with porticoes, galleries, baths, and saloons, and even with mosaic pavements; in short, they emulated every species of Roman improvement. They had distinguished themselves as legal advocates and orators, as well as for their study of the Roman poets. Their cities had been made images of Rome itself, and the natives had become Romans. The description of the town or city of Caerleon, in the county of Monmouth, is still to be found in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, and may be quoted as applicable to many others in Britain. He tells us, "it was elegantly built by the Romans, with brick walls. Many vestiges of its ancient splendour remained at the time he lived—viz., the twelfth century—and stately palaces, which formerly, with the gilt tiles, displayed the Roman grandeur. It was first built by the Roman nobility, and adorned with sumptuous edifices, with a lofty tower, curious hot baths, temples, now in ruins, and theatres, encompassed with stately walls, in part yet standing. The walls were three miles in circumference, and within these, as well as without, subterraneous buildings are frequently met with." The ruins of Verulam, near St. Albans, exhibited analogous signs of splendour and luxury; and the numerous remains of habitations, or towns, built in the Roman fashion, which casual excavations are even yet every year disclosing to our view, shew that Britain, at the time of the Saxon invasion, had become a wealthy, civilized, and luxurious country. It is not, however, meant to say, that this country, in the fifth century, possessed our present affluence and civilization, but merely those of a Roman province at that period. It had not our portion of intellect, or our knowledge, or improvements, but it shared in all that Rome then possessed or valued. The monkish historian, Gildas, bitterly complains of the desolations which the country had been subjected to before his time, (the sixth century,) from the Picts, the Irish, and the Saxons, and from its own civil fury; and yet, after all these evils had occurred, he describes it as containing twenty-eight cities, and some well-fortified castles, and speaks of the country with metaphors,

that seem intended to express both cultivation and abundance. Bede, who lived two hundred years after Gildas, also speaks of the country as then possessing *superb* cities and *innumerable* castles, which Nennius repeats a century afterwards.

But it is with the moral state of Britain at this period that these Lectures have chiefly to do; and if we are allowed to deduce an estimate on this subject from the vehement censures of Gildas, no country could be in a more wretched state in respect of religious guides. He tells us, that the clergy, who ought to have been an example to all, were addicted to drunkenness, animosities, and litigation. He pours out upon them all the powers of his vituperative rhetoric with unceremonious profusion; accusing them, besides their folly and impudence, of deceit, robbery, avarice, profligacy, gluttony, and almost every other vice; "even," says he, "that I may speak the truth, of infidelity."

This, it must be admitted, presents an appalling picture of the state of these isles, in respect to religion and morals, at that particular juncture. For, if such was the character of the ministers of religion generally, it is not difficult to divine what must have been the condition of the common people. And even though we should be disposed to abate somewhat of the severity of the historian's style, on the score of exaggeration, yet enough will remain to brand the clergy with reprobation. To adopt the words of a cotemporary historian of our own day—"so many features of moral depravity in the Roman empire, at that period, are described by Salvian, who witnessed and detailed them, that, however unwilling we are to adopt the violent abuse and repulsive rhetoric of Gildas, there is too much reason to fear, that many of the deformities which his coarse daubing has distorted almost into incredulity, degraded the character, and accelerated the downfall of our ancient British predecessors."

The Anglo-Saxons, by whom this was effected, came to England from Germany. They were a people distinguished as superior to all others in energy, strength, and warlike fortitude. Their ferocious qualities were nourished by the habit of indiscriminate depredation. It was from the cruelty and destructiveness, as well as from the suddenness of their incursions, that they were dreaded more than any other people. Like the Danes and

Norwegians, their successors and assailants, they desolated where they plundered, with fire and sword. Their persons were of the largest size, and they seem to have sported with danger. An author of the fifth century furnishes us with the following vivid delineation of their character:—"You see as many piratical leaders as you behold rowers in their skiffs; for they all command, obey, teach, and learn the art of pillage. Hence, after your greatest caution, still greater care is requisite. This enemy is fiercer than any other: if you be unguarded, they attack; if prepared, they elude you. They despise the opposing, and destroy the unwary: if they pursue, they overtake; if they fly, they escape. Shipwrecks discipline them, not deter: they do not merely know—they are familiar with all the dangers of the sea: a tempest gives them security and success; for it divests the meditated land of the apprehension of a descent. In the midst of waves and threatening rocks, they rejoice at their peril, because they hope to surprise."

In their native country, the Saxons were idolaters; but the peculiar system of their superstition is too imperfectly known to us to be very explicitly detailed. It appears to have been of a mixed nature, and to have been so long in existence as to have attained a regular establishment and much ceremonial pomp. When they settled in Britain they had idols, altars, temples, and priests. We learn from the venerable Bede, that their temples were surrounded with inclosures; that they considered them to be profaned, if lances were thrown into them, and that it was not lawful for a priest to bear arms. The sun and moon were objects of adoration; but their sun was a female deity, and their moon was of the male sex.

WODEN was the great ancestor from whom they deduced their generation, and he was the predominant idol of the Saxon adoration. The names of two of the Anglo-Saxon goddesses have been transmitted to us by Bede. He mentions RHEDA, to whom they sacrificed in March, and EOSTRE, whose festivities were celebrated in April. Tacitus informs us, that they had a goddess whom they called HERTHA, or mother Earth; and that in an island in the ocean, there was a grove, within which was a vehicle covered with a garment, which it was permitted to none

but the priest to touch. The goddess was presumed to be within it, and was carried by cows, with great veneration. Joy, festivity, and hospitality, were then universal. Wars and weapons were forgotten, and peace and quiet reigned, then only known, then only loved, until the priest returned the goddess to her temple, satiated with mortal converse. The vehicle, the garment, and the goddess herself, were washed in a secret lake. Slaves ministered, who were afterwards drowned.

The Saxons dreaded an evil being, whom they named *Faul*; some kind of female power they called an *Elf*, who is very frequently used as a complimentary simile to their ladies. They also venerated stones, groves, and fountains. That they had many idols is attested by several authors. In the eighth century, Pope Gregory, addressing the old Saxons, exhorts them to abandon their idols, whether of gold, silver, brass, stone, or any other kind. That they had the dismal custom of offering human sacrifices cannot be doubted. Tacitus mentions it as a feature of all the Germans, that, on certain days, they offered human victims to their chief deity. Sidonius attests, that, on their return from a depredation, the Saxons immolated one-tenth of their captives, selected by lot. In cases of sacrilege, the offender was sacrificed to the god whose temple he had violated; and Ennodius states of the Saxons, the Heruli, and the Franks, that they were believed to appease their deities with human blood. But whether human sacrifices were an established part of their superstitious ritual, or whether they were only an occasional immolation of captives or criminals, cannot be decided.

All the German nations were addicted to the fallacious use of auguries, lots, and omens, and it was as true of the Saxons as of any others. They were infatuated enough to believe, that the voices and flights of birds were interpreters of the will of Heaven. Horses were supposed to neigh from celestial inspiration; and they decided their public deliberations by the wisdom of lots. They cut a small branch of a fruit-tree into twigs, marked them, and scattered them at random on a white vest. The priest, if it were a public council, or the father, at a private consultation, prayed, gazed at heaven, drew each three times, and interpreted according to the mark previously impressed. If

the omen were adverse, the council was deferred. To explore the fate of an impending battle, they selected a captive of the nation opposing, and appointed a chosen Saxon to fight with him; and they judged of their future victory or defeat by the issue of this duel.

The notion that the celestial luminaries influenced the destinies of the human race, operated powerfully on the Saxon mind. Affairs or enterprises were thought to be undertaken with better chances of success on peculiar days; and the full or new moon was the indication of the auspicious season. Magic also, the favourite delusion of ignorant man, the invention of his pride or malignity, or the resort of his imbecility, prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons. Even one of their kings chose to meet the Christian missionaries in the open air, because he fancied that magical arts had peculiar power within a house. But the most formidable feature of the ancient religion of the Anglo-Saxons was its separation from the pure and benevolent virtues of life, and its indissoluble union with war and violence. It condemned the faithless and the perjured; but it represented their supreme deity as the father of combats and slaughter, because they were said to be his favourite children who fell in the field of battle. To them he assigned the heavenly Valhall and Vingolfa, and promised to salute them after their death as his heroes; a tenet which sanctified all the horrors of war, and connected all the hopes, energies, and passions of humanity, with its continual persecution.

Such is the picture given us by our ablest and most authentic historians of the Anglo-Saxons, who invaded this country in the fifth century, subdued the inhabitants, and permanently took up their residence in it. An interval of slaughter and desolation unavoidably occurred before they established themselves and their new systems in the island. Their desolations, though a terrible scourge to the professors of Christianity, nevertheless tended to remove much of the moral degeneracy we have already alluded to. The introduction of their superstitious rites and ceremonies, and the establishment of their degraded system of idolatrous worship among a people who had been favoured for centuries with the light of the gospel, must have been an awful infliction of the anger of

Heaven upon them for their abuse of the privileges with which they had been favoured. It is said, and perhaps truly, that our Saxon ancestors brought with them a superior domestic and moral character, and the rudiments of new political, juridical, and intellectual blessings—that when they had completed their conquest of the country, they laid the foundation of that national constitution, of that internal polity, of those peculiar customs, of that female modesty, and of that vigour and direction of mind, to which Great Britain owes the social progress which it has since so eminently acquired. I have no wish to controvert the truth of any part of this representation; but I am sure that the establishment of the Saxon superstition on the ruins of Christianity, cannot reasonably be viewed in any other light than that of a signal judgment of Heaven on the ungrateful, degenerate, and infatuated inhabitants, such as the Lord threatened to inflict upon some of the Seven Churches of Asia, and which in due time was brought upon them, by removing their candlestick out of its place, or depriving them of their gospel privileges.

We are not warranted, however, to conclude that the Saxons exterminated all at once the very name and profession of Christianity in the country which they had conquered. At first, indeed, they were inflamed with deadly hatred—murdered the clergy without mercy, and destroyed their places of worship; but in process of time their enmity abated, and they began to make treaties of peace and form alliances with the ancient inhabitants of the country. We are not without evidence that in the interval between the arrival of the Saxons and their conversion to the religion of the church of Rome, Christianity continued to be professed among the Britons, Scots, and Picts, though their church history during this period is very imperfect; either because their clergy in those calamitous times had no opportunities of recording their transactions, or because those records have been lost.

I mentioned, in a former Lecture, the visits of Germanus and others, from Gaul, to oppose the heresy of Pelagius.* After their departure, the churches are said to have been preserved from the contagion of that heresy, and governed with prudence. Two

* Lect. xxix.—Vol. I. p. 460, l.

of their prelates, Dubritius and Iltutus, were distinguished for their learning, zeal, and piety; the former was Bishop of Llandaff, and afterwards Archbishop of Caerleon; he also had the chief direction of two seminaries appropriated to the education of young persons for the service of the church. Iltutus also presided over a famous seminary of learning at a place in Glamorganshire, which, from him, is still called *Lantuct*, or *the church of Iltut*. These academies are said to have supplied the churches, both at home and abroad, with well educated ministers, whose names are still on record.* Several British Synods, or Councils, were held about this period, for the purpose of regulating civil, as well as ecclesiastical affairs; but the transactions of those assemblies reflect very little credit on the British princes and clergy concerned in them, since they shew the former to have been guilty of the most horrid acts of perfidy and cruelty, and the latter to have been ready enough to accept of liberal donations to the church as the most convincing proofs of penitence.

In the year 570, an event took place which contributed greatly towards disarming the minds of the Saxons of their hostility against the Christians. This was the marriage of Ethelbert, king of Kent, with Birtha, daughter of Cherebert, king of France. She was a Christian princess, and had stipulated in her marriage contract for the free exercise of her religious profession. For this purpose she was allowed the use of a place of worship, without the walls of the city of Canterbury, where Luidhart, a French minister who came over in her retinue, with other ecclesiastics, publicly performed all the rites of Christian worship. By these and other means, many of the Saxons, particularly in Kent, became disarmed of their prejudices, and desirous of being better instructed.

Not long after this, an incident occurred at Rome, which paved the way for an army of missionaries being sent to this country to convert the Saxons, and it is sufficiently interesting to be briefly noticed. It was at that time the practice of Europe to make use of slaves, and even to buy and sell them; and this traffic was carried on in the Imperial city—the metropolis of Christendom. One day as Gregory, who afterwards was raised to the pontifical chair,

* Leland: Collect. Vol. II. p. 42.

and surnamed the Great, was passing through the market of Rome, he was struck at seeing the white skins, the flowing locks, and beautiful countenances of some youths who were standing there for sale. Inquiring from what country they were brought, the answer was, from Britain, whose inhabitants were all of that fair complexion. He next inquired whether they were Pagans or Christians?—a proof, not only of his ignorance of the then state of England, but also, that up to that time it had occupied no part of his attention. On learning that they were idolaters, Gregory heaved a deep sigh; exclaiming, “what a pity that such a beautiful frontispiece should possess a mind so void of internal grace!” The name of their nation being mentioned to him to be Angles, his ear caught the verbal coincidence—it reminded him of angels, and the benevolent wish for their improvement darted into his mind, and led him to express his own feelings, and excite those of his auditors, by remarking: “it suits them well—they have angel-faces, and ought to be the co-heirs of the angels in heaven.” When Gregory was further told that the province from which these youths came was named Deira, it struck him as remarkable that it should resemble the words *de ira*, and this suggested to him that they ought to be plucked from the wrath of God; and when he heard that their king’s name was called Ella, the consonancy of its sound with the idea still floating in his mind completed the impression of the whole, and his full enthusiasm burst out: “Halleluia! the praise of the Creating Deity must be sung in these regions.”

This succession of coincidences, though but verbal, affected the mind of Gregory with a permanent impression; and he immediately repaired to the then pope, beseeching him to send some missionaries to convert the English nation, and offered himself for the service. His application was refused; but the project never left his mind, till he was enabled by his own efforts to accomplish it. These things took place in the year 588, and four years afterwards Gregory became pope, and immediately began to execute his philanthropic purpose. He selected a monk named Augustin, as the fittest for the chief of the mission, and added forty other monks of congenial feeling to assist him. They set out on their journey; but the dread of encountering a nation so ferocious as the Saxons

had the character of being, added to a total ignorance of their language, overcame both their resolution and their zeal. They stopped, began their return to Rome, and sent Augustin back to solicit Gregory not to insist on their pursuing an enterprise so dangerous and so little likely to be availing.*

Gregory prevailed on Augustin to resume the mission, and answered the entreaties of the rest by a short, but impressive letter. He reminded them that it was more disgraceful to abandon an undertaking once begun, than to have at first declined it; — that as the work was good, and would receive the Divine aid, they ought to pursue it. He reminded them of the glory that would recompense their sufferings in another world; and he appointed Augustin their abbot, and commanded their obedience to his directions, that their little community might have an effective governor. He wrote also to the Bishop of Arles, in France, recommending this band of religious adventurers to his friendship and assistance; he addressed letters to other prelates in France to the same purport, and he requested the patronage of the French King to their undertaking.

Thus encouraged, Augustin and his associates sailed from France, A. D. 596, and landed in the isle of Thanet; from thence they despatched one of their interpreters to acquaint King Ethelbert with the news and design of their coming. The Queen, of whom it has already been said that she professed Christianity, was not likely to be inactive on the occasion. After a few days' deliberation, Ethelbert went into the island and appointed a conference to be held in the open air. The missionaries advanced in orderly procession, carrying before them a silver cross, and singing the following hymn, "We beseech thee, O Lord, of thy mercy, let thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from thy holy place; for we have sinned. Hallelujah." The king commanded them to sit down; and to him and his earls they disclosed their mission. Ethelbert answered with a steady and not unfriendly judgment: "Your words and promises are fair, but they are new and uncertain. I cannot, therefore, abandon the rites which, in common with all the nations of the Angles, I have hitherto ob-

* Bede, lib. i. cap. 23, p. 59.

served. But as you have come so far to communicate to us what you believe to be true, and the most excellent, we will not molest you. We will receive you hospitably, and supply you with what you need; nor do we forbid any one to join your society whom you can persuade to prefer it." He gave them a mansion at Canterbury, his metropolis, for their residence; and allowed them to preach as they pleased.

Thus sanctioned, they entered on the labours of their mission, which were crowned with such success, that in a very short time the king and great multitudes of his subjects were converted; of whom Augustin is said to have baptized ten thousand on Christmas-day.*

Gregory received the news of Augustin's success in England with great joy; and, resolving to neglect nothing in his power to render it still greater, and carry it to perfection, he despatched several others from Rome to assist the missionaries in propagating the knowledge of the gospel among our countrymen. He wrote to the newly baptized monarch, and his queen, BIRTHA—furnished Augustin with certain prudential regulations for the government of the Church of England, of which he was now consecrated archbishop; hoping that this new dignity would give additional influence to his doctrines! One of the advices which Gregory gave to Augustin was, not to destroy the heathen temples of the Anglo-Saxons, but only to remove the images of their gods, to wash the walls with holy-water, to erect altars, and deposit relics in them, and so convert them into Christian churches: and this, not only to save the expense of building new ones, but that the people might be more easily prevailed upon to frequent those places of worship to which they had been accustomed. He directs him further to accommodate the ceremonies of the Christian worship, as much as possible, to those of the heathen, that the people might not be much startled at the change; and, in particular, he advises him to allow the Christian converts, on certain festivals, to kill and eat a great number of oxen to the glory of God, as they had formerly done to the honour of the devil.† These admonitions, which were but too well observed, introduced the grossest corruptions into the Christian worship, which in fact had become

* Bede, lib. i. cap. 25. Gervas. Act. Pontif. Cant.

† Bede, lib. i. ch. 30.

abominably corrupt under the old régime; but it serves to shew how much the professed followers of the apostles had, in the sixth and seventh centuries, departed from the simplicity and sincerity of those of the first.

Augustin died about the year 604, at which time the profession of Christianity, or, more properly speaking, the conversion of the Saxons, had not extended beyond the little kingdom of Kent; but in the course of the seventh century, it found its way into the kingdom of Essex, which comprehended the counties of Essex and Middlesex; into Northumberland; into Wessex, or among the West Saxons; also into the kingdom of Mercia, which comprehended the middle parts of England; and lastly into Sussex. In all these places, bishoprics and the subordinate chain of ecclesiastics were established, and provision made for the clergy, among whom we may be sure that there was no lack of contention and scrambling after the loaves and fishes. But these are things on which we cannot dwell; for my circumscribed limits only allow me to give you an outline of the subject.

In the year 690, and in the 89th of his age, died Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, which see he had filled for three-and-twenty years. He is described as one of the greatest men that ever filled the chair of Canterbury—great, I presume, as an ecclesiastical politician. By his influence, all the English churches were united, and brought to a perfect uniformity of discipline and worship; not, indeed, upon the model of the apostolic churches, but upon one that much better suited the kingdom of the clergy! Such bishoprics as were large were divided, and many new ones founded; great men were encouraged to build parish churches, by declaring them and their successors patrons of those churches; and a regular provision was made for the clergy, by the imposition of a certain tax, or kirk-shot, upon every village; from which the most obscure ones were not exempted.*

In the course of the seventh century, monasteries, in great abundance, were founded in all parts of England, and rich endowments bequeathed them. To encourage persons to adopt the monastic life, the impious doctrine now began to be broached, that “as soon

* Bede, Epist. ad Egberet, p. 307.

as any person put on the habit of a monk, all the sins of his former life were forgiven him." This engaged many princes and great men, who generally have as many sins as their inferiors, to put on the cowl, and end their days in monasteries. In fact, superstition, in various forms, made rapid strides in England in the seventh century; among which may be mentioned, a ridiculous veneration for relics, in which the clergy of the church of Rome had for some time been driving a gainful trade—a traffic which never can be carried on except between knaves and fools. Few persons, in those days, thought themselves safe from the machinations of the devil, unless they carried the relics of some saint about them; and no church could be dedicated without a decent quantity of this sacred trumpery. Stories of dreams, visions, and miracles, were propagated by the clergy, without a blush, and believed without a doubt by the laity. Extraordinary watchings, fastings, and other arts of tormenting the body, in order to save the soul, became frequent and fashionable; and it began to be believed that a journey to Rome was the most direct road to heaven.*

This last mentioned piece of superstition, namely, that of making a pilgrimage to Rome, began towards the end of the seventh century, and was carried to perfection in the eighth. The Roman missionaries, and the ecclesiastics whom they educated, contrived to raise so strong a feeling of enthusiasm in several of the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns whom they had converted, as to lead them to renounce the world. It was not only the widowed Queen of Edwin who gave the first precedent of an Anglo-Saxon lady of that rank taking the veil, nor Oswy devoting his daughter Elfler to a convent, who exhibited this religious zeal; but several of the sovereigns themselves, from the same impulse, abandoned their thrones, in order to make pilgrimages to Rome. Thus, in 688, Ceadwalla travelled to Rome, on a pilgrimage of piety, where he was baptized by the pope, and died in the following week, at the age of thirty. Some years afterwards, in 709, two other Anglo-Saxon kings—Conrad, of Mercia, and Offa, of Essex—quitted that exalted station which so many covet, went to Rome, and became monks there. And thus, also, at no long interval, a greater sove-

* Theod. Capit. Labb. Concil.; Bede, Epist. ad Egberet.; Spelman, Concil. tom. i. p. 99. Bede, *passim*.

reign than either, viz. Ina, of Wessex, obeyed the same impulse, took the same journey, and found his grave in the same venerated city. Offa is described as a most amiable youth, who was induced to abdicate his power from the purest motives of devotion ; and we cannot wonder that the examples of those kings should produce a thousand imitations.

Nor was this foolish and fanatical practice of making pilgrimages to Rome restricted to the men, as the following fact may shew:—In the year 740, Cuthbert, bishop of Hereford, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. An intimate friendship had long subsisted between him and his countryman, Winfrid, who had assumed the name of Boniface, and was, by favour of the pope, become Archbishop of Mentz. As soon as Boniface received the news of the advancement of his friend to the primacy of England, he wrote him a very long letter, in which he points out several things in the state of the church of England which required reformation, particularly the gaudy dress and intemperate lives of the clergy. He exhorts him also to put a stop to the nuns, and other good ladies of England, leaving their country, and going on pilgrimages to Rome ; assigning as a reason, that they were generally debauched before they returned, and many of them became common prostitutes in the cities of France and Italy.* To remedy these and other evils, he advises Cuthbert to call a council, which the latter did in the year 747, at a place called Cloveshoes, or Clyff, in Kent. Edelbald, king of Mercia, with all the great men of his court ; Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, with eleven bishops of his province, together with many abbots, abbesses, and other clergy, were present at this council, in which no fewer than thirty canons were made for the reformation of the lives of the clergy of all ranks, and the regulation of all the affairs of the English church. Much valuable advice was given to the bishops, clergy, and people in the canons of this council ; but, alas ! to what did it all tend ? An attempt to reform such a constitution of things by human enactments and sage council, was little better than an effort to wash the Ethiopian white, or change the leopard's spots ! From one of the canons of this council we learn that the public prayers and songs

* Spelm. Concil. tom i. p. 237.

of the church were even then performed in Latin, which the common people did not understand. But a curious salvo for the absurd practice of praying in an unknown tongue was propounded—the people were allowed to fix any meaning to the words they pleased in their own minds, and to pray in their hearts for any thing they wanted, no matter how foreign to the real sense of the public prayers.* This canon also contains the following short prayer for the dead:—"Lord! according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to his soul; and of thy infinite pity, vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints."

Before the end of the eighth century, a synod was convened in the kingdom of Mercia, at a place called *Calcuith*, whence the regulations are commonly called "the Canons of the council of Calcuith." These canons, which are twenty in number, I now advert to, on account of their containing a kind of system of the ecclesiastical politics of those times, in which we may discern the clergy beginning to advance several new claims, such as a divine right to the tenth of all the possessions of the laity, and an exemption from being tried and punished by the civil magistrates. To support this last claim, several texts of scripture are most shamefully perverted. The pope had sent his legates into England to visit the several churches at this time, and the latter took occasion to point out several things which they disapproved, and which therefore were prohibited in these canons, such as the priests celebrating mass without shoes or stockings, and with chalices made of horn; the bishops sitting on the same bench with the aldermen, and judging in civil and criminal causes; and the people still retaining many Pagan practices, such as sorcery, divination, and so forth.† But, to draw this Lecture to a close, ignorance and superstition advanced with gigantic strides in England, as well as in Italy, in the course of the eighth century. The clergy became more knavish and rapacious, and the laity more abject and stupid than at any former period. Of this, the trade in relics alone affords abundant proof. The monks were daily making discoveries, as they pretended, of the precious remains of some departed saint, which they soon converted into gold and silver. In this traffic they had all the opportunities they could desire of imposing

* Spelman, Concil. tom. i. p. 246. † Spelman, Concil. Idem. Canon 11, 17, 10, 3.

counterfeit wares upon their customers, seeing it was no easy matter for the laity to distinguish the great toe of a saint from that of a sinner after it had been some centuries in the grave. The place where the body of Albanus, the protomartyr of Britain, lay, is said to have been revealed to Offa, king of Mercia, in vision, A.D. 794! The body was accordingly taken up, with all imaginable pomp and ceremony, in the presence of three bishops, and an infinite multitude of people of all ranks, and lodged in a rich shrine, adorned with gold and precious stones. To do the greater honour to the memory of the holy martyr, King Offa built a stately monastery at the place where his body was found, which he called by his name, St. Alban's, and in which he deposited his remains, enriching it with many lands and privileges.* As to the character of Offa, the monarch to whom the clergy were indebted for this ridiculous piece of pious fraud, it may suffice to say, that his life was disgraced by the commission of not a few very horrible crimes; to atone for which, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he lavished his money upon the pope and the clergy, to procure the pardon of his sins. In particular, he made a grant of three-hundred and sixty-five mancusses (pieces of money of the value of 13s. 4d. each), being one for each day in the year, to be disposed of by the pope to certain charitable and pious uses.† The Roman pontiff consented to become his almoner; but mark the cunning craftiness of the old fox—he contrived to convert it into an *annual* tax upon the English nation, and, in the most imperious manner, demanded it as a lawful tribute, and mark of subjection of the kingdom of England to the church of Rome.‡

Such was the wretched state of our forefathers, from the arrival of the Saxons, in 449, to the end of the eighth century, at which I close the present Lecture. In doing which, permit me to fix your attention on two or three main points. From the facts now laid before you, you will be enabled to trace the history of the Church of England to its first principles, and its connection with the church of Rome. The latter is the mother—the former the daughter: but take care that you do not confound the church of Christ with either of them. The system of religion propagated by

* Matt. Paris Vita Offæ, p. 26. W. Malm. l. i. ch. iv.

† Anglia Sacra, l. i. p. 460.

‡ Inett's Ch. Hist. ch. xiii.

Augustin and the other missionaries from Rome, was not the religion of Christ, properly speaking, but a monstrous corruption of it—a hideous caricature of the heavenly original. That cannot be the kingdom or church of Christ in which his own laws are not obeyed, and in which they are wholly superseded by the inventions of men. Christianity condemns all these things in the most pointed manner—denounces them as antichristian—and warns the followers of Christ to beware of them.

You will also see, from what has been said, that our ill-fated country is one of the ten kingdoms or states into which the Roman empire was divided at its fall, according to Dan. vii. 24. Consequently, one of those which gave their support to the beast, or antichristian kingdom (the little horn of Daniel, ch. vii. 8)—one of the nations whose kings have committed fornication with the mother of harlots, and whose spiritual merchants have waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. (Rev. xviii. 3.) “I heard a voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.”

I purpose, in the next Lecture, to continue the Ecclesiastical History of Britain from the close of the eighth, to the middle of the eleventh century, A.D. 1066—the period at which William, Duke of Normandy, landed—a memorable epoch in the annals of our country.

LECTURE XXXI.

State of Religion in England from the year 800 to the Norman Conquest, A.D. 1066—Introductory remarks and cautions to the readers of Ecclesiastical History—Transactions between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope—Council of Clyff, A.D. 803—Council of Ceale-hythe, A.D. 816—Consecration of churches—Scottish Clergy—Provision for the repose of the soul of a bishop—The Danes infest the country—Clergy and monasteries the victims of their cruelty—ALFRED THE GREAT; his extraordinary character and brilliant reign—Conversion and baptism of the Danes—Alfred makes laws to regulate their conduct—General view of the state of the tenth century—Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury—Heavy fines imposed on the clergy of York for irregularity of conduct—Some account of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury—Rigorous enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy.

It is possible that some of you may have observed, in reading the book of the Revelation,—which is a prophetic history of the affairs of the Christian church from the time of our Lord's ascension into heaven to his second coming, delivered in symbolical language,—that a period is pointed to when “the woman” or true church was to have two wings of a great eagle given unto her, that she might “fly into the wilderness, into her place, there to be nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, (or 1260 years) from the face of the serpent.” * It is not my intention to occupy your time and attention, at present, with disquisitions on

* Rev. xii. 14.

the sublime and figurative style of the Apocalypse, and merely refer to it, on the present occasion, for the purpose of reminding you that, during the reign of Antichrist, according to prophetic intimation, grounded upon the divine prescience or foreknowledge of God, the kingdom of Christ was, as it were, to be under a cloud, his great adversary was to be permitted to have the sway, and the primitive church order, discipline, and worship, in a great measure, to disappear. I wish to remind you that, in prosecuting the history of the Christian church in these Lectures, we have arrived at this extraordinary conjuncture. We have traced the progress of the man of sin from his state of infancy to manhood. Even in the days of the apostles, the conception commenced; for we hear those holy men declaring, "the mystery of iniquity doth already work;" "already are there many Antichrists;"* but the monster was in an embryo state, like the infant in the womb, until the days of Constantine the Great, A.D. 315, when, through the influence of the clergy, the Christian religion became incorporated with the state, and from that period we date the birth of the man of sin, the son of perdition. During the interval, that is, from the days of Constantine to the year 800, at which we are now arrived, a period of nearly five hundred years, the man of sin, the son of perdition, had not only been fully brought forth, but nourished, matured, and raised to his throne, so as to sit in the temple or church of God, exalting himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped. Availing himself of the persecuting edicts of the Roman emperors, all who shewed more deference to the authority of Christ than to the enactments of emperors, popes, and councils, were pursued with unrelenting severity, and treated as the filth of the world and offscouring of all things. This is signified by "the serpent or dragon casting out of his mouth water as a flood, that he might cause the woman to be carried away of the flood," ver. 15; or, as it is expressed in Daniel xii. 7, "to scatter the power of the holy people." Hence it is that so little notice has been taken in these lectures of late of the real followers of Christ, and so much of the antichristian system. We have no reason to doubt that the Saviour had his

* 2 Thess. ii. 7; 1 John ii. 18.

disciples in the world, yea, and in this country too, during the darkest period of the papal apostacy ; but, for the most part, they resembled the seven thousand in Israel, who, in the times of the prophet Elijah, "had not bowed the knee to Baal," yet were unknown to the prophet, 1 Kings xix. 18. This is the time referred to, Rev. xi. 1, 2, when "the court without the temple was given unto the Gentiles, to tread the holy city under foot forty and two months." It is necessary, in a course of Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, to trace this state of things, not because it is the history of the true church or kingdom of Christ, but because it shews us the fulfilment of the prophetical writings, and so serves to confirm our faith in divine revelation.

The former lecture exhibited a melancholy picture of the corrupt state of the church of England from the moment the Saxon kings adopted the religion of the church of Rome, and established it as the religion of the country, to the end of the eighth century. You have seen these monarchs "giving their power and strength to the beast," Rev. xvii. 13 ; you have seen the bishops and clergy ruling with lawless sway—trampling the laws of Christ under their feet, and accommodating Christianity to their own ambitious views, and the depraved inclinations of the multitude. All this is perfectly conformable to what was foretold by the holy prophets and apostles : but then these monstrous corruptions belong to the grand apostacy—the antichristian kingdom, "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth," that mystery of iniquity, which the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, 2 Thess. ii. 8. In the present lecture we shall trace the subject a little more in detail, in reference to our own country, bringing down the narrative for a period of about 250 years nearer to our own times.

I had occasion to mention to you, in the last lecture, one or two councils that were convened by the clergy for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, during the eighth century. I shall now give you some account of others that were held in the beginning of the ninth century.

The see of Canterbury had been filled for a few years by a prelate of the name of Athelard, under the title of Archbishop,

and in the year 801, he made a journey to Rome to obtain the formal consent of the pope to the re-union of the province of Lichfield to that of Canterbury. He carried with him a letter from Kenulph, king of Mercia, couched in most respectful terms, and, what was much better than a letter, a present of about a hundred pounds in money, a large sum in those days. The pope was highly flattered with the archbishop's visit, granted him all his requests, and sent an answer to the king, in which that monarch and his primate are flattered at a most unconscionable rate, and loaded with the most extravagant praises. He calls the king his most dear, most excellent, most sweet son; and tells him that the archbishop was such an admirable prelate, that he was able to bring all the souls in his province from the very bottom of hell into the port of heaven.*

On his return home from Rome with this curious letter, the archbishop summoned a council to meet at a place in Kent called Clyff, A.D. 803, at which the decree of the pope for restoring to the see of Canterbury all its ancient rights, was confirmed with great solemnity, and everlasting damnation denounced against all who should hereafter attempt to tear the coat of Christ; that is, divide the provinces of the see of Canterbury. But this, though a great point gained, was not the only benefit that accrued to the church from the archbishop's visit to the pope. A practice had become very prevalent at that time in England of allowing noblemen to have the government of monasteries, and their ladies of the nunneries, which were upon their estates, thus depriving the clergy of the emoluments which appertained to them. Athelard laid before the pope this crying grievance, and obtained from him a decree against admitting the laity to interfere with these things in future, by means of which a great accession, both of power and wealth, accrued to the church, or, to speak more properly, to those hungry vultures, the clergy.

Athelard did not long survive the restoration of his see to its ancient splendour. Death removed him from all his honours in the year 807, and a monk of Christ's church, Canterbury, whose name was Wulfred, became his successor. This prelate convened

* Spelman, Concil. t. i. p. 323.

a council of all the bishops and many of the abbots and presbyters of his province at Ceale-hythe, on the 27th July, A.D. 816, at which Kenulph, king of Mercia, with the great men of his kingdom, were present. This council, in the preamble to its canons, is said to have been called "in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ," the supreme Head of the church: and the design of it is said to have been, that the presidents of the sacred order, or bishops, might treat with the inferior clergy concerning what was necessary and useful for the churches. The canons of this council are eleven in number; and several of them throw considerable light upon the existing state of religion in the church of England, on which account we shall dwell a little upon it.

The building of parish churches had, at this time, become a common occurrence, and the second canon prescribes the manner of *consecrating* them. It is needless to tell you that Christ and his apostles had said nothing about these consecrations—in all their writings you will not find one word to countenance the notion, that, under the gospel dispensation, one place is more holy than another—that St. Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey is more sacred than the meanest garret or cellar in London; but the clergy found their interest in imposing upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, and hence arose these consecrations. A ceremony so sacred, as they pretended, was to be performed only by the bishop of the diocese; to him it appertained to bless the holy water, and sprinkle it on all things with his own hands, according to the directions—not in the New Testament, but—in the book of rites. He was then to consecrate the eucharist, and to deposit it, together with the relics, in the repository provided for them. If no relics can be procured, the consecrated elements may be sufficient, because they are the body and blood of Christ! Every bishop, in consecrating a church, is commanded to have the picture of the saint to whom the church is dedicated painted on the wall, or on a board. So much for the mummerly of consecration, which still keeps its ground in the church of England with, perhaps, a few modifications.

It appears from the fifth canon of this same council, that the members of it had a most violent antipathy to the Scottish clergy; for they decreed that no Scotsman should be allowed to baptize,

to say mass, to administer the Lord's supper, or to perform any clerical functions; assigning as a reason, that it is not known by whom these Scotsmen were ordained, or whether they were ordained at all, since they came from a country where there was no metropolitan, and where very little regard was paid to other orders.

The tenth canon of this council prescribes what offices are to be performed at the death of a bishop for the repose of his soul, namely, the tenth part of all his moveable effects, both without and within doors, shall be given to the poor; that all his English slaves shall be set at liberty; that at the sounding of the signal in the several parishes, the people of the parish shall repair to the church, and there say thirty psalms for the soul of the deceased; that every bishop and abbot shall cause six hundred psalms to be sung, and one hundred and twenty masses to be celebrated, and shall set at liberty three slaves, and give each of them three shillings; that all the servants of God shall fast one day; and that, for thirty days immediately after divine service in every church, seven belts of paternosters shall be sung for him. Such was the provision which those bishops made for the repose of their souls after death—how far in accordance with the doctrine of the Gospel it is unnecessary for me to explain. By the last canon of this council, priests are commanded to use dipping, and not sprinkling, in the administration of the ordinance of baptism. *

From the account now laid before you of the proceedings of the clergy at this period, you may be apt to conclude that they reigned as lords paramount throughout the realm; but their felicity, such as it was, was not without alloy. Before the middle of the ninth century, Providence permitted a terrible scourge to come upon them, and the kings who truckled to them, in the persons of the Danes. Swarms of these people from the shores of the Baltic began to invade the country, and to inflict upon the clergy the most deplorable calamities. The Danes were not only Pagans in respect of religion, but they were savages in manners or culture; and finding the monasteries, in which the clergy generally resided, better stored with booty and provisions than

* Spelman, Concil. t. i. p. 331—6.

other places, they never failed to plunder them when in their power. Great numbers of the clergy were put to the sword, or buried in the ruins of their monasteries; and the mildest fate they could expect when they fell into the hands of the Danes was to be sold for slaves. This greatly checked the rage for the monastic life, which had then grown to an enormous pitch. It made many of the monks abandon a profession which exposed them, defenceless, to so many dangers; some of them becoming soldiers, and others pursuing various ways of life. The destruction of the monasteries and dispersion of the clergy by the Danes was, upon the whole, a signal benefit to the country; it occasioned the building of many parish churches, of which there were comparatively few in England before this time; and it dispersed those lazy drones among the people, which led them to change their manners and way of life; and when once blended with the people, they generally abandoned their celibacy and embraced a married life; indeed, so general was this, that before the end of the ninth century the number of monasteries and monks was very greatly diminished, and there were, in comparison of the former century, but few unmarried clergymen in England.

It is a singular feature in the history of Britain, during the times of which we are speaking, that so small an extent of territory as England is, should have been parcelled out among so many little petty sovereigns as it was. There appear to have been no less than seven or eight of them during several centuries, all reigning at once. One of them, for instance, reigned over the county of Kent; another had Devonshire and Cornwall; a third, Northumberland and Yorkshire, and so forth. But what added to the evil was, that among these rival chiefs there was little cordiality or co-operation for the defence of the country against its merciless invaders, who found it an easy prey to their ravages. During the times of Ethelwolf, A.D. 800 to 871, the son of Egbert, and of two of Ethelwolf's sons and successors, English history is little more than an account of the atrocities perpetrated by these Danish invaders. But brighter prospects now dawned upon our country. It was at a crisis when the national distress and calamity had reached its height, that the great Ruler of the universe, by whom kings reign, and princes

decree justice, and who usually tempers judgment with mercy, raised up a deliverer, in the person of King Alfred, whose extraordinary character and achievements for the benefit of our species requires a far more ample notice than has been bestowed, in these lectures, on those which preceded him:

ALFRED THE GREAT.

This illustrious man, of whom Britons are deservedly proud, was the third son of Ethelwolf, above mentioned, and was born at Wantage in Berkshire, A.D. 849. He lost his mother during his infancy, and it proved eventually a blessing in disguise. His father is described as a man of an indolent, mild, and weak mind, not at all adequate to the exigencies of the times in which he lived, and as superstitious as his royal predecessors. In the year 854, he left his kingdom in great confusion, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, taking his little son Alfred with him, then only five years of age; and while there he squandered away his money in presents to the pope, the clergy, and the churches.* On his return home, through France, he visited Paris, and there married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France—thus providing Alfred with a step-mother.

It seems strange to us in the present day, that the son of a king should be allowed to grow up to the age of eleven without being taught to read; yet such was the case with Alfred, and it was so common with persons of the highest rank in life, as to pass unnoticed; but an incident occurred at that period which led Alfred to cultivate his mental powers and acquire a literary education. His step-mother Judith had not only learnt to read, but had imbibed a fondness for the Anglo-Saxon poetry; and after taking up her residence in England, she became fond of reciting some of their best poems in the social circle of which young Alfred formed a part, and to his youthful mind they became increasingly attractive, impressive, and delightful.

When Alfred was twelve years old, his step-mother was sitting one day, surrounded by her family, with a manuscript of Saxon poetry in her hand, and having read it to them, she exclaimed;

* Chron. Sax. A.D. 854.

"I will give it to the one among you who first learns to read it."
"Will you?" asked Alfred. Judith repeated the promise, with a smile of joy at the question; on which he seized the book, found out an instructor, and learnt to read it. When his industry had crowned his wishes with success, he recited it to Judith. To this important, though seemingly trivial, incident, we owe all the intellectual cultivation and all the literary works of Alfred, and all the benefit which by these he imparted to his countrymen. If this family conversation had not occurred, Alfred would probably have lived and died as ignorant, as unimportant, and as little known to posterity as his three brothers. But the love of learning fired his soul, roused up all its dormant energies, and enabled him to surmount every difficulty, which indeed were neither few nor small. But in learning to read Saxon, Alfred had only entered a dark and scanty ante-room of knowledge: the Saxon language at that day was not the repository of literature. His first acquisition, therefore, was of a nature rather to increase his own conviction of his ignorance, than to supply him with the treasures which he coveted. He had yet to master the language of ancient Rome (the Latin tongue) before he could become acquainted with the compositions which contained the main facts of history, the elegance of poetry, and the disquisitions of philosophy. He knew where these invaluable riches lay, but he was unable to appropriate them to his improvement. We are told that it was one of his chief lamentations, and, as he conceived, among his severest misfortunes, and which he often mentioned with deep sighs, that, when he had youth and leisure, and permission to learn, he could not find teachers. No good masters, capable of initiating him in the Roman classical literature, were at that time to be found. "When I took the kingdom," says he, in one of his pieces, "very few on this side of the Humber—very few beyond—not one that I recollect south of the Thames, could understand their prayers in English, or could translate a letter from Latin into English.*"

Alfred ascended the throne in the year 871, and the first seven years of his reign were far from prosperous. It may be that he

* Alfred's Pref. to Gregory's Pastoral Care. Wise's Amer. 81.

was so much engrossed by his studies, that he left himself no time to attend to the political concerns of his government, nor was any attention paid to ecclesiastical affairs. During that interval, the few remaining monasteries, which had escaped the former ravages of the Danes, were destroyed, and their wretched inhabitants put to the sword, or burnt in the flames which consumed the places of their abode. Though compelled to make two disadvantageous treaties with these ruthless barbarians in the first seven years of his reign, Alfred persevered in making a stand against the innumerable enemies who issued from the northern parts of Europe; of whom wave after wave incessantly lashed the British shore. Their armies traversed the country from the Tweed to the Thames, like an army of locusts consuming the resources of the country wherever they migrated. At length the spirit of the west Saxons, over whom Alfred reigned, was worn out. The Danes broke through the line of defence at Chippenham, in Wilts, overran the country, drove many into exile beyond sea, and subdued the rest to their will. "All," says the Saxon chronicle, "but Alfred the king." He, unconquered, took a few noble Saxons with him, established himself in the centre of a morass, surrounded by bogs and forests, in a spot still called the Isle of Athelney (Isle of the Nobles), where he remained for a time seemingly forgotten as much as deserted.

It was in this lamentable conjuncture of his affairs that the memorable incident occurred to Alfred, of which most of us have heard or read, and which I will give you in the words of Asser, his biographer, cotemporary, and friend :—"Having left the few soldiers whom he had with him, and wishing to be concealed from his enemies, Alfred sought a lonely place, where, observing the hut of an unknown person, he entered and asked a shelter. For some days he remained as a guest, and in poverty, contented with the fewest necessaries. On being interrogated by the herdsman, who or what he was, Alfred replied that he was one of the king's thaynes, had been conquered with him in battle, and, flying from his enemies, had reached that place. The herdsman believing his words, and moved with pity, gave him an asylum, and supplied him with the necessaries of life." It is then added by his biographer—"He led an unquiet life there, at his cowherd's.

It happened that on a certain day the rustic wife of this man prepared to bake her bread, or rather cakes. The king, sitting then near the hearth, was making ready his bow and arrows, and other warlike instruments, when the ill-tempered woman beheld the loaves burning at the fire. She ran hastily and removed them, scolding the king, and exclaiming, 'you man, you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be very glad to eat it when done,' little imagining that she was addressing the king, Alfred."

I think we must all admit, that at this period the fortunes of Alfred were under a total eclipse; such as bestows a poetical lustre on heroism, and puts genius to the test by reducing it to its own resources alone. This was the hour of extremity with the unfortunate monarch; but a tide in the state of his affairs ere long returned—the cloud dispersed—and the character of Alfred began to shine forth in its true lustre. Even while he lay concealed in the peasant's hut, he began to revive the drooping spirit of his followers by striking blows at small parties of the enemy, who, ignorant of his existence, looked at them as if they fell from an invisible hand. He is said to have visited the Danish camp in the disguise of a harper, and to have remained in it three days, examining its approaches and dispositions; and having ascertained the actual state of matters there, he, in a short time, burst from his fastness, rallied his countrymen around him, who flocked to his standard in such numbers as enabled him to surprise the enemy and obtain a glorious victory over them, A.D. 878. This noble achievement put a stop to the horrid cruelties of those barbarians, and to the intolerable sufferings of the English clergy; for, by the treaty of peace which followed that victory, it was stipulated that Guthrum, the Danish chief, should evacuate all the territory of Wessex, and receive from Alfred, as a conqueror, a certain district allotted him north of the Thames; and, finally, that himself, and such of his followers as chose to remain in England, should embrace the Christian religion, and such as refused to comply with that condition, should immediately quit the kingdom. Accordingly, Guthrum, with about thirty of his principal officers, were baptized in the presence of king Alfred,

and their example was soon after imitated by the greatest part of their followers.

These new converts had lands assigned them in the north of England, where they settled, and in time became peaceable and useful subjects. To secure their attachment to the religion which they had adopted, Alfred made certain laws for the regulation of their conduct, to which they gave their consent. By the first of these laws, the Danes were commanded to abandon Paganism, and continue in the faith and worship of the one true God. By the second, a heavy fine was imposed on those who should apostatize from Christianity, and relapse into Paganism. By the rest of these laws, which are seventeen in number, the several vices to which the Danes were most addicted, were prohibited; the payment of tithes, the religious observance of Sunday, and of other festivals, were commanded, and various directions given to both the clergy and laity.

Besides the constitutions now mentioned, which were chiefly designed for the Danes, Alfred formed another body of laws for his own subjects, of which some related to the church. The introduction to these laws consists of a copy of the Decalogue, or ten commandments, in which the second commandment against the worshipping of images is omitted; but to make up the number after the ninth, the following short one is added:—"Make thou not Gods of gold or of silver:"—a sin, which in those evil times, and from the scarcity of the precious metals which then existed, there was little danger of their committing. But the omission of the second commandment shews, that images, which had been introduced into the church as ornaments, were now become objects of adoration—a change which might easily have been foreseen. Alfred also adopted into his ecclesiastical laws the decrees of the church of Jerusalem, recorded in the 15th chap. of Acts, against fornication, and eating things strangled, and blood; and he extols in high terms that maxim of our Lord—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

It does not comport with the design of these Lectures to expatiate at large on the character and exploits of Alfred. In any age or

country such a prince would be a prodigy. Not only did he become learned himself, but he was the great patron and encourager of learning in others. He brought together such scholars as the age afforded, in order to co-operate with them in promoting education and knowledge. In his thirty-eighth year, he learnt Latin sufficient to translate Bede, the only book of Saxon history then extant; he also translated Orosius's Account of Germany, to which he added valuable notes of his own; and Boethius's Consolations of Philosophy he translated into Anglo-Saxon verse. He enforced education, by refusing to promote the uneducated, and lived to see those who sat in the chair of the instructor capable of teaching others. The numerous occupations, both public and private, to which this active-minded king directed his attention, seem sufficient to have filled up the longevity of a Nestor. Yet Alfred died at the age of fifty-two, and his life was literally a life of disease. In his earlier years, he was severely afflicted with the piles (*ficus*), but that malady disappeared as he grew up to manhood, though it was only to be replaced by another, of the most excruciating kind. From the best judgment I am able to form of it, I should be disposed to pronounce it an internal cancer. It often attacked him before all the people, suddenly, with tormenting pain, and, it is said, never left him. Its seat was internal and invisible, but the agony of it was almost incessant; and such was the dreadful anguish it produced, that if it intermitted for one short hour only, the dread and horror of its return poisoned the little interval of ease. The skill of his Saxon physicians was unable to detect its nature, or to alleviate its pain. Alfred had to endure it unrelieved. It is not among the least admirable circumstances of this extraordinary man, that he withstood the fiercest hostilities that ever distressed a nation, cultivated literature, discharged his public duties, and executed all his schemes for the improvement of his people, amid a perpetual agony, so distressing, that it would have disabled a common man from the least exertion.

.. Alfred died in the year 901, on the 26th day of October; and from that time to the arrival of William of Normandy, which was about a century-and-a-half, fourteen kings reigned in succession; but there are few events upon record during that period which

are worth recording. The tenth century has been emphatically designated *the age of lead*. It certainly was the most dark and dismal period of that long night of ignorance and superstition in which Europe was involved after the fall of the Roman Empire. It is difficult to determine whether the impudence of the clergy, or the credulity of the laity, was more conspicuous in those unhappy times ; but it is certain that the former could hardly invent any thing too absurd for the latter to receive and practise.

In 934, the see of Canterbury was filled by a prelate of the name of Odo, who acted the primate with a very high hand, of which you may take the following as a fair specimen. He issued a pastoral letter to the clergy and people of his province, (commonly called the Constitutions of Odo,) in which he addresses them in this magisterial style :—" I strictly command and charge, that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, who are the sons of God, and the sons of God ought to be free from all taxes in every kingdom. If any man dares to disobey the discipline of the church in this particular, he is more wicked and impudent than the soldiers who crucified Christ. I command the king, the princes, and all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbishops and bishops, for they have the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.* This partakes a good deal of the style of the gentleman at Rome—the pretended successor of St. Peter ; but let us proceed.

About the middle of this (tenth) century, an ecclesiastical synod of the province of York was held, in which the fines to be paid by the clergy for various offences, and violations of the canons of the church, are ascertained. To secure the payment of these fines, every clergyman, at his admission into orders, was obliged to find twelve bondsmen. As the province of York, or kingdom of Northumberland, was at this time mostly inhabited by Danes, these fines were all to be paid in the Danish oras, or *ounces of silver* ; and considering the scarcity of that precious metal, they are very severe, as a few examples will shew :—

" If a priest celebrate mass in an unhallowed house, let him pay twelve oras. If a priest celebrate mass on an unhallowed altar,

* Spelm. Concil. t. i, p. 416. Wilkin's Coun. t. i. p. 212.

let him pay twelve oras. If a priest consecrate the sacramental wine in a wooden chalice, let him pay twelve oras. If a priest celebrate mass without wine, let him pay twelve oras."

These fines, and many others, were to be paid to the bishop of the diocese; and the whole seems to have been a scheme for bringing the discipline of the church to a perfect conformity with the laws of the state, which set a fixed price on all crimes, and was probably invented by some artful prelate to enrich his coffers, and make the delinquencies of his clergy the means of his wealth.*

We are now arrived at that period in the history of England when I ought to give you some account of a person who cut a very conspicuous figure in his day, both in church and state, but especially the former—and that individual is none other than the celebrated DUNSTAN, archbishop of Canterbury—commonly known by the title of *Saint Dunstan*. But his history has come down to us so enveloped in the marvellous tales of the monkish writers of the middle ages, that it is no easy task to separate what is credible from what is fabulous. To me he appears to have been one of the most artful, crafty, designing, hypocritical sycophants that ever disgraced the church—not excepting Mahomet himself: the very prototype of Cardinal Wolsey, who, indeed, may have taken him for his model. My limits will only allow me to present you with an epitome of his history, which might be expanded into a volume.

DUNSTAN was born in the year of our Lord, 925, near Glastonbury, and was descended from a respectable family who resided there. He was put to school, and his parents encouraged his application to learning, in which he is said to have made wonderful proficiency, such as evinced superior abilities. Having run with rapidity through the course of his studies, he obtained an introduction into the ecclesiastical establishment at Glastonbury, where he continued his application to learning with commendable diligence, so that he seems to have attained all the knowledge that was within his reach. He mastered such of the mathematical sciences as were then taught; he excelled in music,

* Wilkin's Council, t. i. p. 218. Johnson's Canons, Vol. I.—A.D. 950.

and was accomplished in writing, painting, and engraving. He acquired also the manual skill of working in gold and silver, and even copper and iron. We know that these arts had not at that day reached any pre-eminent merit, but it was an uncommon thing that one man should become expert in all of them.

When his age admitted of it, his relatives got him introduced at court, and his musical talents interested and often recreated the king. He had not, however, been long in this enviable situation when the spirit of jealousy was excited, and accusations were preferred against him of dealing in magical and demoniacal arts. His enemies were successful; the king's ear was poisoned, and Dunstan was driven from court—that Eden of his hopes, where, like another Wolsey, he was planning to be naturalized. But his courtly rivals did not content themselves with his disgrace; they insulted as well as supplanted him; they pursued and threw him into a miry marsh, from which he extricated himself, after their retreat, and reached a friend's house about a mile distant.

Dunstan had an uncle, of the name of Ælpheage, who was bishop of Winchester, and who now prevailed upon him to become a monk—a character then much venerated. Having yielded to his uncle's request, he made with his own hands a subterraneous cave, or cell, adjoining the church wall of Glastonbury. It was five feet long, and two-and-a-half wide, and nearly of sufficient height for a man to stand upright in the excavation. Its only wall was its door, which covered the whole, and in this was a small aperture to admit light and air. One of the legendary tales which has been used to exalt his fame, shews, if it ever happened, the arts by which he gained it. In this cave Dunstan slept, studied, prayed, meditated, and sometimes exercised himself in working on metals. One night all the neighbourhood was alarmed by the most terrific howlings, which seemed to issue from his abode. In the morning, the people flocked to inquire the cause; he told them that the devil had intruded his head into his window to tempt him while he was heating his work—that he had seized him by the nose with his red hot tongs, and that the noise was Satan's roaring at the pain; and such was the credulity of the age, that the simple people believed him, and venerated the recluse for this amazing exploit. It seems never to have occurred

to them that Dunstan might himself have made the clamour to extort their morning wonder at his fabricated tale. All ages and ranks, however, now united to spread his fame, and substantial benefits quickly accrued. A noble lady, Ethelfleda, of royal descent, who was passing a quiet life of widowhood, was induced to pay him a visit, was charmed by his conversation, and religiously loved him. She introduced him to the king, who visited her; and, dying soon afterwards, she made Dunstan heir of all her wealth, by which he immediately became a person of importance.

The prospects of his youth now began once more to shine on Dunstan. He was recalled to court by king Edmund, A.D. 941; who bestowed upon him the rich abbey of Glastonbury, and for his sake honoured it with many peculiar privileges. He enjoyed a very high degree of the favour of that prince during his short reign of six years; but stood much higher in the favour of his brother and successor, king Edred, to whom he was confessor; chief confidant, and prime minister. He employed all his influence during this period of court favour in promoting the interests of the monks of the Benedictine order, to which he belonged, and of which he was a most active and zealous patron. Having the treasures of those two princes at his command, he lavished them away in building and endowing monasteries for those monks; and, not contented with this, he persuaded Edred; who was a bigoted valetudinarian, to bestow such immense treasures on the churches and monasteries by his last will, that the crown was stripped of its most valuable possessions, and left in a state of indigence.

Edred died in the year 955, and was succeeded by Edwin, his nephew, to whom, and to his amiable queen, Elgiva, Dunstan's conduct was so rude and insolent, that he deprived him of all his preferments, and drove him into exile. This was a severe blow to the order of monks of whom he was the great patron or prince; but their sufferings were not of long continuance. Edwin, after a reign of only two years, was deposed in a rebellion raised against him by his younger brother, Edgar, who usurped all his dominions to the north of the Thames, recalled Dunstan, and gave him the bishoprick of Worcester, A.D. 957; and from that time he became

the chief confidant and prime minister of king Edgar, who now reigned sole monarch in England.

In 960, through the favour of king Edgar, Dunstan was made archbishop of Canterbury, and possessed of the primacy; and, assured of the royal support and assistance, he prepared to execute the grand design which he had long meditated—of compelling the secular canons to put away their wives, and become monks; or of driving them out, and introducing Benedictine monks in their room. With this view he procured the promotion of his intimate friend, Oswald, to the see of Worcester, and of Ethelwald to that of Winchester; two prelates who were themselves monks, and animated with the most ardent zeal for the advancement of their order.

This trio of bishops, the three great champions of the monks, and enemies of the married clergy, now proceeded by every possible method of fraud or force to drive the married clergy out of all the monasteries, or compel them to put away their wives and children. Rather than consent to the latter, by far the greatest number chose to become beggars and vagabonds, for which the monkish historians give them the most opprobrious names. To countenance these cruel, tyrannical proceedings, Dunstan and his associates held up the married clergy as monsters of wickedness for cohabiting with their wives, magnified celibacy as the only state becoming the sanctity of the sacerdotal office, and propagated a thousand lies of miracles and visions to its honour. With these, however, I shall not trouble you—they are too ridiculous to obtain notice in the present day. It is of infinitely more importance for me to remind you how in all these things the Scriptures were fulfilled which had thus foretold and described the antichristian apostacy. “In the latter days, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, *speaking lies in hypocrisy*, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; *forbidding to marry*.” 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. Were it necessary and compatible with my limits, I could lay before you such a recital of the hypocritical lying, and monstrous atrocities, to which Dunstan and his associates had recourse at this time, in order to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, a practice in violation of the dictates of nature and express testimony of the Spirit of

inspiration, which declares “marriage to be honourable in *all*,” Heb. xiii. 4, as would satisfy you that these saints of the catholic church were little better than incarnate devils! But, by pious frauds, and external violence, these three clerical tyrants, in the course of a few years, filled no fewer than forty-eight monasteries with monks of the Benedictine order.*

In the year 959, Edgar succeeded to the throne of all the Anglo-Saxon dominions. He was a profligate prince, and stuck at nothing to gratify his own passions. He did not leave his Benedictine friends, the three bishops, to attack the existing clergy by their own influence and means of aggression; he degraded majesty so far as to become himself the persecuting tool of Dunstan. He gave a formal commission, A.D. 969, to the three prelates to expel the married canons out of all cathedrals and larger monasteries, promising to assist them in the execution of it with all his power. On this occasion he made a flaming speech, in which he painted the manners of the married clergy in the most odious colours, calling upon them to exert all their power, in conjunction with him, to exterminate those abominable wretches who kept wives. In the conclusion of his speech, he thus addressed them:—“I know, O holy father Dunstan! that you have not encouraged those criminal practices of the clergy. You have reasoned, entreated, threatened. From words it is now time to come to blows. All the power of the crown is at your command. Your brethren, the venerable Ethelwald, and the most reverend Oswald, will assist you. To you three I commit the execution of this important work. Strike boldly; drive those irregular livers out of the church of Christ, and introduce others who will live according to rule.”†

This furious champion for chastity had, some time before the delivery of this harangue, ravished a nun, a young lady of noble birth, and great beauty, at which his holy father confessor was so much offended, that he enjoined him, by way of penance, not to wear his crown for seven years; to build a nunnery; and to persecute the married clergy with all his might—a strange way of

* *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. p. 201.

† *Hoveden. Annal. ad ann. 969. Spelm. Concil. t. i. p. 478.*

making atonement for his own libertinism, by depriving others of their natural rights and liberties.

King Edgar was very much under the influence of his three favourite prelates. He paid great attention to the affairs of the church, and convened several councils for the regulation of them. In one of these councils, those sixty-seven canons, commonly called "the Canons of King Edgar," were enacted, and some of them are curious enough. By the eleventh of these canons, every priest is commanded to learn and practise some mechanic trade, and to teach it to all his apprentices for the priesthood. By the sixteenth, the clergy are commanded to be at great pains to bring off their people from the worship of trees, stones, and fountains, and many other heathenish rites ! One cannot but think it strange that in the tenth century there should have been any occasion for such an enactment as this—but such was the case. The fifty-fourth recommends it to the clergy to be very frequent and earnest in exhorting the people—to what, you will say? To pay all their dues to the church *honestly*, and at the proper time,—their plough alms fifteen nights after Easter ; their tithes of young animals, at Pentecost ; their tithes of corn, at All Saints ; their peter-pence, at Lammas ; and their church scot, at Christmas. To these canons is subjoined a Penitential, composed, it is thought, by St. Dunstan, requiring penitents to be very particular in confessing all the sins which they have committed by their bodies, their skin, their flesh, their bones, their sinews, their reins, their gristles, their tongues, their lips, their palates, their teeth, their hair, their marrow—by every thing soft or hard, wet or dry. Confessors are then directed what kind of penances to prescribe in a great variety of cases. The most satisfactory penances for laymen are said to be the following: To desist from carrying arms ; to go upon long pilgrimages ; never to stay two nights in the same place ; never to cut their hair or pair their nails, or go into a warm bath, or a soft bed ; not to eat flesh, or drink strong liquors ; and, if they were rich, to build and endow churches.

From what has now been said, you will be enabled to form a judgment of the state of the church of England, as by law established, under the auspices of St. Dunstan and his associates, during the tenth century. But they were all three removed, by

death, before the century ended. Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, the first of this famous triumvirate, quitted the stage of life in the year 984; St. Dunstan, in 988, which was four years afterwards; and St. Oswald, his great friend and associate, died in 993. Of their characters, you will form your own estimate, if you judge at all; and let it be by our Lord's rule—"By their fruits ye shall know them." St. Dunstan died in the 64th year of his age, having held the bishopric of London, together with the archbishopric of Canterbury, about seven-and-twenty years. As this prelate was mainly instrumental in restoring and promoting the monastic institutions, the grateful monks, who were almost the only historians of those dark ages, have loaded him with the most extravagant praises, and represented him as the greatest miracle-monger and highest favourite of Heaven, that ever lived. To say nothing of his many conflicts with the devil, in which we are told he often belaboured that enemy of mankind most severely, the following short story, which is related with great exultation by his biographer, Osberne, will give you some idea of the astonishing impiety and impudence of those monks, and of the no less astonishing blindness and credulity of those unhappy times. "The most admirable, the most inestimable father Dunstan," (says his biographer,) "whose perfections exceeded all human imagination, was admitted to behold the mother of God, and his own mother, in eternal glory; for before his death, he was carried up into heaven, to be present at the nuptials of his own mother with the Eternal King, which were celebrated by the angels, with the most sweet and joyous songs. When the angels reproached him for his silence on this great occasion, so honourable to his mother, he excused himself on account of his being unacquainted with those sweet and heavenly strains; but being a little instructed by the angels, he broke out into this melodious song—'O King and Ruler of nations, &c.'"

Dunstan promulgated this impious story by summoning a monk to attend him on his pretended waking; and the latter committed the song to writing from Dunstan's dictation. All the monks subject to him were commanded in the morning to learn and sing it, while Dunstan shouted his protestations of the truth of the vision. To the credulous, the archbishop's assertion was sufficient

evidence of its truth; the more investigating were silenced by attempts to turn it into allegory. Thus, the mother so married was Dunstan's church in its newly reformed state. But whether it was believed literally, or interpreted allegorically, Dunstan derived from it the benefit he wished. It would seem that many thought him mad; but there was method in his madness; it was systematical, persevering, and popular, and the multitude generally resolved it into prophetic intuition.*

In taking leave of this far-famed luminary of the church of England, I may just add, that the character of Dunstan has received a very favourable review from the pen of Dr. Lingard, a catholic clergyman, in his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, lately published, who complains of the protestant writers for imputing the imaginary miracles of Dunstan to his personal hypocrisy, overlooking their real origin in popular misconception: and this error he resolves into "an affectation of philosophical acumen!" To this I may add the following remarks from the able pen of Sir James Mackintosh, a still more recent writer, who, in his *History of England*, Vol. I. p. 51, thus speaks of this catholic saint:—"There is no reason to suspect his sincerity; but the extension of his power, and that of his order, doubtless mingled itself with zeal for the service of God and man; and the secret enjoyment of pride and ambition soothed the irritation which the renunciation of pleasures more openly immoral is apt to beget in passionate natures. To be very scrupulous in the choice of means is a very rare virtue in such enterprizes, in such times, and in such men. It is unjust to make him answerable for the miracles which the credulity of his admirers has ascribed to him."

* Godwin de Præsul. Angl. p. 75. Spelm. Concil. t. i. p. 443—479. Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. ii. b. vi. ch. 6.

LECTURE XXXII.

Introductory observations—The English hierarchy wholly Antichristian—Appearance of Antichrist expected—Amusing description of that evil personage—Conduct of William the Conqueror towards the English prelates—Dispute respecting the Primacy—Lanfranc made Archbishop of Canterbury and primate—Gregory VII. pope—Death of the King and Archbishop—William Rufus and Anselm—Breach between the King and Primate—Deceitful conduct of Pope Urban—Anselm makes a pilgrimage to Rome—Henry I. succeeds to the throne, and recalls Anselm—Insolent Letter from the Pope to the King—A papal legate sent to England, and his scandalous conduct—Councils held to enforce the celibacy of the clergy—Schism in the papacy—Imperious conduct of Pope Innocent II.—Civil war in England, and death of King Stephen—Conduct of the clergy towards a company of Waldenses—A. D. 1066—1160.

BEFORE I proceed with the subject before me, I take leave to detain you a moment, while I anticipate and endeavour to obviate an objection which may possibly have occurred to some of you : that in the two last Lectures there was, mingled with the ecclesiastical department, somewhat too much of the civil or political history of the times to which they relate. Now my answer to this you shall have in few words, and I trust it will be found satisfactory.

If you look into the book of the Revelation, particularly chapters xvii. and xviii., you will find the inspired writer speaking of a power which he designates, “Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots,

and abominations of the earth." This harlot, or unchaste woman, is described as committing fornication with the kings of the earth, and the latter are represented as drinking of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; ch. xvii. 5, and xviii. 3. The prophet Jeremiah, foretelling this same state of things, says, "the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad," ch. li. 7. Sometimes this same power is spoken of under the similitude of a beast, having ten horns growing out of its head; and these ten horns are explained to be *ten kings*, all of whom are said to have "one mind, and to give their power and strength to the beast," ch. xvii. 12, 13. And God is said to have "put it into the hearts of these ten kings, to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their kingdom, or power, unto the beast, until the words of God be fulfilled," ver. 17. Now I have repeatedly assigned my reasons for classing our own country among these ten kings, or kingdoms; and it was therefore necessary to go a little into its civil or political history, in order to shew how the kings gave their power to the beast, or Romish hierarchy, and how the latter intoxicated them with the wine of her fornication. This is my apology; and I now proceed.

In the two preceding Lectures, I endeavoured to lay before you an outline of the History of the Church of England, as established by law, from the time of the conversion of the Saxons, by the preaching of Augustin and other Romish emissaries, towards the end of the sixth century, until the period of the Norman Conquest, which took place about the middle of the eleventh; when the Danes, who had long before been making occasional incursions into the country, succeeded in obtaining a permanent footing, and subdued the Saxons. By this time, the state of religion in England appears to have been little less corrupt than it was in Rome itself. "Evil men and seducers waxed worse and worse; deceiving and being deceived." The numerous kings that had arisen in succession, during this interval of 500 years, had, with one consent, "given their power and strength to the beast," conformable to ancient prophecy, Rev. xvii. 13. The court of Rome had made great encroachments, both on the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the English clergy: on the former by depriving the king of the right of granting investiture to his prelates, and diminishing his influence in their election; on the

privileges of the church and clergy, by establishing the legatine authority, or subjecting the ecclesiastical affairs of the country to the inspection, revision, and jurisdiction of legates despatched from Rome; by enforcing celibacy on the inferior clergy; and by drawing all ecclesiastical causes of importance to Rome, by means of appeal.

On reviewing the ground over which we have travelled, it may be remarked, that the form of the hierarchy established among the Anglo-Saxons, was episcopal. An archbishop, and bishops subordinate to him, and receiving the confirmation of their dignity, or their spiritual investiture, from the pope, were the rulers of the church; yet subject, both as to their own national, as well as to general councils, to the king. Under this episcopal aristocracy, deans, archdeacons, canons, prebends, and the parochial clergy, enjoyed various powers and privileges. The monks and nuns were governed by their own abbots, abbesses, and priors,—assisted, and, in some respects, controlled, by conventual chapters; subject, yet not always submitting, to the pope, and claiming an independence of the episcopal clergy. There were no friars, or mendicant orders, among the Anglo-Saxons; but they encouraged hermits and pilgrims, and severe penances, and loved relics, and venerated saints, to whose number they largely contributed.

I have, in the course of these Lectures, so often cautioned you against confounding this state of matters with pure and primitive Christianity, or supposing that the New Testament gives the least countenance to them, that it might almost be deemed an insult on your understandings, to think any repetition of this caution necessary. No, the whole ecclesiastical establishment, as it then existed, appertained to a system in direct opposition to the religion of Christ and his holy apostles; but which system is often alluded to in their writings, under the designation of Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, whom Christ was to consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming; and which he is doing, in a remarkable manner, in the present day.

And now, that I have mentioned Antichrist to you, it may not be altogether impertinent, before we proceed with the history of the church of England, to pause and inquire what kind of notions

were entertained of this same Antichrist in those days, especially as the subject is not a little curious. This evil personage was a frequent subject of contemplation among the Anglo-Saxons, who expected his appearance about the tenth or eleventh century. One of their sermons, still extant, begins thus: "Beloved men! there is great need that we should be aware of the fearful time that is now approaching. Now, very soon, will be the times of Antichrist; therefore we ought to expect him, and carefully think upon him." A long detail then follows on this subject; but the most curious account that we have of him, is contained in the writings of Alcuin, according to whom, "He was to be born of a most flagitious robber and harlot, with the aid of the devil, at Babylon. He will pervade Palestine, convert kings, princes, and people; and send his missionaries all over the world. He will work many miracles; bring fire from heaven, make trees vegetate in a moment, calm and agitate the sea at his will, transform various objects, change the course of rivers, command the winds, and apparently raise the dead. He will bitterly persecute Christianity. He will discover hidden treasures, and lavish them among his followers. A dreadful period of tribulation will follow. He will not come till the Roman empire has entirely ceased; and that cannot be while the kings of the French continue. One of the French kings is, at last, to obtain the whole Roman empire, and will be the greatest and the last of all kings. He is to go to Jerusalem, and lay down his crown and sceptre on Mount Olivet. Then Antichrist is to appear, and Gog and Magog to emerge. Against them, this French king of the Romans is to march; to conquer all nations, destroy all idols, and restore Christianity. The Jews are then to be restored, &c.*

Such is the amusing picture of Antichrist which was drawn by the lively fancy of our learned countryman, for the edification of the Emperor Charlemagne, about the end of the eighth century; but from what source he drew his information, it is not for me to explain. Elfric, who wrote in the tenth century, thought the reign of Antichrist was then approaching, and with it the end of the world; for he thus addressed his cotemporaries:—

* Alcuini Opera, 1211—1215.

"Dear men! there is great need that we should be aware of the fearful time that is to come. Now will be, *very soon*, the times of Antichrist: by this we may understand, that this world is passing away, and very near its end."

Alas, for them! they little thought how intimately they themselves were identified with that terrific monster, Antichrist, whose appearing they considered to be then still prospective. But so it has always been with his infatuated supporters: the adversary of souls has contrived to blind their eyes, and hide him from their view, at the very moment they were actually engaged in his service. It is time, however, that I return from this digression, to resume the narrative of the affairs of the English hierarchy, from the time of the landing of William, duke of Normandy, in the year 1066.

"At this period the Anglo-Saxons had become changed into a submissive and unwarlike people, by the united influence of property and luxury, of a great and landed aristocracy, and a richly endowed hierarchy. But their condition was rather degeneracy than civilization. Their sovereigns were men of feeble minds; their nobles factious and effeminate; the clergy corrupt and ignorant; the people servile and depressed. Their slothful and illiterate clergy imbibed and augmented the general degradation; and the finest island of Europe was becoming the residence of a debased, divided, and ignorant people.

"England was slumbering in this declining state, when the Norman conquest, like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its policy and population to their centre; broke up and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristocracy; destroyed the native proprietors of its soil; annihilated its corrupt habits; thinned its enervated population; kindled a vigorous spirit of life and action in all the classes of its society; and raised from the mighty ruins with which it overspread the country, that new and great character of government, clergy, nobility, and people, which the British history has never ceased to display.*"

William the Conqueror had not been long seated on the throne of England, when he began to deprive the English clergy

* Sharon Turner's Middle Ages. See Vol. I. pp. 78, 74.

of their dignities, in order to bestow them on his countrymen, or on others on whose attachment he could depend. The better to facilitate his plans, he prevailed on the pope to send legates into England, for regulating the affairs of the church, which he pretended were in great disorder. Two cardinal-priests, John and Peter, were accordingly despatched from Rome on that special mission; and on their arrival, they held a great council of the English clergy, in the presence of the king, at Winchester, in the year 1070; in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Norwich, and several English abbots were deposed, on various pretences. In another council, convened at Windsor immediately afterwards, the Bishop of Chichester, and some more English abbots were deposed. These proceedings so alarmed the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, that they left their sees, and retired into Scotland. The vacancies thus created, with others occasioned by deaths, were instantly filled with the king's foreign favourites and countrymen. Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, and Thomas, canon of Bayeux, were made Archbishops of Canterbury and York, while the sees of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Chichester, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln, were now all filled with Normans. These fortunate foreigners, however, exalted as they were by the fall, and enriched by the spoils of the unhappy English, did not long continue in a state of harmony among themselves. A violent quarrel broke out between the two archbishops respecting the primacy, which, after many cabals and squabbles, was referred for decision to the pope. The latter, unwilling to offend either party, or disoblige the King of England, declined to judge in the matter, and declared, that it ought to be decided by an English synod. Accordingly, two great councils were held, in which the important question of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the presence of the king, the queen, and all the court, and at length determined in favour of Canterbury, to the extreme mortification of the clerical pride of one prelate, and exultation of the other.* One cannot help remarking here, that, had either of these prelates entered into the doctrines of Him whom

* Lanfran. Oper. p. 301. Wilkin, Conell. i. p. 327. W. Malm. p. 317.

they professedly served, this contest had never disgraced the church.

Pope Alexander II. died on the 20th of April, 1073, and was succeeded by the famous Hildebrand, archdeacon of Rome, who assumed the name of Gregory VII., and became the most turbulent and aspiring pontiff that had ever filled the chair of St. Peter. So boundless was the ambition of this haughty priest, that he claimed the supreme dominion of the whole world, and attempted to bring all emperors, kings, and princes, under subjection to his authority. In prosecution of these insolent pretensions, he despatched his legate, Hubert, into England, to assert his title to that kingdom, and to demand an oath of fealty from King William, together with the immediate payment of all the arrears of Peter-pence, which he affected to call a tribute. But though William owed many obligations to the see of Rome, for the countenance it had afforded him in his attempt on England, and though he professed great veneration for the bishops, he rejected the demand now made of homage, and that with becoming indignation, and only consented to send Peter-pence as a voluntary gift, in imitation of his predecessors.* Still farther to mortify the pride and resist the pretensions of the pope, he would not permit the Archbishop of Canterbury to leave the kingdom, though the latter was repeatedly enjoined by letters from Rome to come thither. These affronts wrought up the rage of Gregory to so high a pitch, that, in a letter to his legate, Hubert, A.D. 1078, he gave William the most opprobrious names, and threatened to make him feel the resentment of St. Peter. But either the latter was not so vindictive as his successor, Gregory, or King William was out of the reach of his resentment; for the threatened consequences never ensued.†

William the Conqueror exercised his supremacy over the church of England with a high hand, and introduced some important changes into both the state of its revenues, and of its general polity. Finding the English clergy and monasteries possessed of far too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom, he stripped them of many of their estates, and sub-

* Spelman, Concil. l. ii. p. 13. Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. xi. c. 5.

† Greg. Epist. l. ix. ap. 20. Concil. l. x. col. 291.

jected those they still retained to military services and pecuniary mulcts. And so strict an eye did he keep over the clergy, in the exercise of discipline, and the government of the church, that he would not allow any of them to go out of the kingdom without his leave—to acknowledge any pope, without his direction—to publish any letters from Rome, till he had inspected and approved them—to hold any councils, or to make any canons, without his consent—or to pronounce a sentence of excommunication on any of his nobles, without his permission.* But the most considerable change which William made in the constitution of the church of England, was towards the conclusion of his reign, when he separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, which till that time had been united : a change that was attended with very important consequences both to church and state.

Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, May 28th, A.D. 1089, having survived his great friend and patron, William the Conqueror, about twenty months. After their decease, William II., surnamed Rufus, the new king, was in no haste to fill the see of Canterbury with a successor, but kept all the possessions of the archbishopric in his own hands nearly five years. During this interval the bishops and clergy tried various methods to prevail upon the king to appoint a primate, but in vain. At one time, when they presented a petition, that he would give them leave to issue a form of prayer, to be used in all the churches of England—that God would move the heart of the king to chuse an archbishop, he returned this careless answer :—" You may pray as you please ; I will do as I please." At length, however, being dangerously ill, and apprehensive he should die, he nominated Anselm, abbot of Beck, in Normandy, to the see of Canterbury. Anselm, at first, discovered great reluctance to accept of this high dignity, dreading the violent temper of the king, to which he was no stranger. " The plough of the church of England," said he, " should be drawn by two oxen of equal strength—the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury ; but if you yoke me, who am a weak old sheep, with this king, who is a mad young bull, the plough will not go straight.†" But as

* Eadmer, Hist. p. 6. Seldeni Spicileg. p. 164. M. Paris, p. 4.

† William of Malma. p. 124, col. 1.

men's refusals of places of power and emolument are seldom very obstinate, the scruples of Anselm at last gave way, and he consented to mount the archiepiscopal throne, December 4th, 1093, and on the 25th of September following, received investiture by the pastoral staff and ring.

The anticipations of Anselm, relating to quarrels with the king, were not ill-founded; but that was as much owing to his own obstinacy and presumptuous bigotry, as to the king's temper. There was at this time a contest between two rival popes, Urban and Clement; but England hitherto had not acknowledged either of them. Previous to his exaltation to the primacy, Anselm had submitted to Urban, and now petitioned the king for leave to go to Rome, and receive his pall from the pontiff. The king was enraged beyond measure at this petition, which he declared, was directly contrary to that obedience which the archbishop had sworn in his oath of fealty, as well as to the laws of England. After much angry altercation, the dispute was referred to a great council of the nobility and prelates, which met at Rockingham, March 11th, 1095. To this council, on the first day of their assembling, Anselm made a long harangue; in which, among other things, he told them, "that he would much rather have been burnt alive than have been made an archbishop;" and concluded with proposing this question:—"whether his going to Rome to receive his pall from Pope Urban, was contrary to his oath of fealty, and the laws of England?" After due deliberation, the council returned for answer, that, "unless he yielded obedience to the king, and retracted his submission to Pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or obey him as their primate." On hearing this sentence, the archbishop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and, with great solemnity, appealed to St. Peter, whose vicar, he declared, he was determined to obey, rather than the king; and upon the bishops declining to report his words, he rushed into the council, and pronounced them before the king and his nobility. The debates were then renewed with greater warmth than ever, and lasted the whole day; but ended in a confirmation of the former sentence. The primate begged to be allowed till next morning to deliberate upon his answer. The king and council now flattered themselves that the

archbishop would resign his see ; but if Anselm had any aversion to accept it, he discovered a much greater aversion to resign it. For, on the following morning, he both adhered to his former answer, and declared his determination to retain the archbishopric. When matters had come to this extremity, some of the nobility, who paid great deference to the sacerdotal character, and dreaded lest the passionate temper of the king would prompt him to some act of violence, proposed a truce till the octaves of Easter, which was accepted by both parties.*

Despairing to conquer by violence the obstinacy of the archbishop, King William now had recourse to stratagem, and privately despatched two of his chaplains to Rome, with an offer to Urban, of acknowledging him as pope, if he would consent to the deposition of Anselm, and send a pall to the king, to be bestowed on whom he pleased. Urban, transported with joy at the accession of so powerful a prince, promised every thing, and sent Walter, bishop of Alba, his legate, into England with a pall. The legate passed through Canterbury, without seeing the archbishop ; and arriving at court, prevailed upon the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful pope. But no sooner had the king performed his engagements, and began to speak of proceeding to the deposition of the archbishop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the prelate who should be chosen in his room, than the legate changed his tone, and with a perfidiousness worthy the Man of Sin, declared plainly, that the pope would not consent to the deposition of so great a saint, and so dutiful a son of the church of Rome : and moreover, that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anselm ; which he accordingly performed, with great pomp, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.† One may easily imagine, how much a prince of William's haughty and passionate temper was enraged at this perfidious conduct of the court of Rome ; but being occupied at the moment about an expedition into Normandy, he had no leisure to vent his resentment.

After his return from Normandy, the quarrel between the king and the archbishop was revived, by that prelate's frequent and

* Eadmer, p. 31.

† W. Malmesbury, *de gestis Pontif.* p. 125, &c.

importunate applications for the royal permission to visit Rome, pretending it was for the good of his soul, and the benefit of the church. Wearied out with these incessant solicitations, the king at length commanded him to leave the kingdom, in eleven days, without taking any of his effects with him; telling him at the same time that he should not be permitted to return.* Anselm had no sooner extorted this passionate permission to depart the kingdom, than he hastened to Canterbury; where, having divested himself of his archiepiscopal robes, and assumed the garb of a pilgrim, he set out on his journey. Having reached Lyons, in France, he addressed a letter to the pope, giving an account of his grievances in England, and of his departure from it, and desiring the assistance and direction of his holiness; hinting that, since he had little prospect of doing any good in a country where justice and religion were so much despised by persons of all ranks, it would be right to allow him to resign his see. In the mean time, the King of England seized all the estates and revenues of Canterbury into his own hands, and declared all the acts of Anselm to be null and void.†

Having received an answer to his letter, with an invitation from the pope to proceed to Rome, Anselm set forward on his journey, on the Tuesday before Palm-Sunday, A.D. 1098, attended by two faithful friends—Baldwin, his steward, and Eadmer, the historian, who officiated as his secretary. They were obliged to travel in disguise, and under borrowed names, to avoid the ambuscades that were laid for them by Clement, the antipope, and by several companies of banditti, who, being apprised that the Archbishop of Canterbury was on his way to Rome, with great treasures, were on the watch to intercept him. After much fatigue, and no little danger, they at length reached Rome, where they met with the kindest reception from the pope, who lodged them in his own palace.

The extraordinary honours that were paid to Anselm by the pope, the nobility, and clergy of Rome, are blazoned by the monkish historians of that day in glowing colours. His holiness addressed him before the whole court, in a long speech, in which

* Eadmer, pp. 37—40.

† Ibid. pp. 41—43.

he lavished the highest encomiums upon him, called him the pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome, to kiss his toe. He further promised to support him with all his power, in his disputes with the King of England, to whom he wrote a letter, commanding him to restore all that he had taken from the archbishop.

Anselm assisted at the council held by the pope at Bari, in the third week after Easter, and acquired high honour by a speech which he delivered on the occasion, against the heresy of the Greek church, relating to the procession of the Holy Spirit. The holy father, in particular, who had been much puzzled in the course of the debate, was so much charmed with his speech, that, at the conclusion of it, he cried out, "Blessed be thy heart, and thy senses, O Anselm! blessed be thy mouth, and the speeches of thy mouth!"

The archbishop was present at another papal council, held at Rome towards the end of the same year, in which it was declared, that the King of England deserved to be excommunicated, for his conduct towards Anselm; but, at the request of that prelate, the execution of the sentence was postponed. At this council, the famous canon against lay-investitures was confirmed, denouncing excommunication against all laymen who presumed to grant investitures of any ecclesiastical benefices, and against all clergymen who accepted of such investitures, or did homage to temporal princes. The reason assigned for this canon by the pope, as related by one who was present in the council, and heard his speech, is horrid and impious in the highest degree. "It is execrable," said his holiness, "to see those hands which create God, the creator of all things—a power never granted to angels—and offer Him in sacrifice to the Father, for the redemption of the whole world—put between the hands of a prince, stained with blood, and polluted day and night with obscene contacts!" To which all the fathers of the council responded, "Amen!—Amen!" "At these transactions," says Eadmerus, "I was present, and all these things I saw and heard."

The messenger who had been sent into England with a letter

* Eadmer, pp. 49, 50.

from Pope Urban to the king, in favour of Anselm, returned about the end of the year with very unwelcome news. He had to report to his holiness, that it was with much difficulty the king could be prevailed on to receive and read his letter; and that when he was informed the bearer of it was a servant of Anselm, he swore by the image of Christ at Lucca, his usual oath, that if he did not leave England immediately he would put out his eyes; which made him retire without waiting for an answer. Soon after, the king thought proper to despatch a messenger, with the following laconic answer to the pope's letter: "I am much surprised how it came into your head to intercede for the restoration of Anselm. Before he left my kingdom, I warned him that I would seize all the revenues of his see as soon as he departed. I have done what I threatened, and what I had a right to do, and you are in the wrong to blame me." Anselm, on seeing this short and peremptory epistle, immediately despaired of his restoration during the king's life, and accordingly retired to Lyons, where he lived in exile till after the decease of that prince, which happened August 2nd, A.D. 1100. *

William Rufus was succeeded in the throne of England by Henry I., whose reign extended to the long period of five-and-thirty years. He was the youngest son of William the Conqueror,

* Eadmer, p. 54. William of Malmsbury speaks in high terms of the character of this king. He says he was, beyond all doubt, a prince incomparable in his age. Yet he describes the state of ecclesiastical affairs during his reign in no very inviting terms. According to him, ecclesiastical benefices were not only kept vacant, that the royal exchequer might reap their produce, but they were afterwards shamelessly sold to the highest purchaser. He is said, at one time, to have stripped Waltham Abbey of its gold and silver vessels, crosses, embroidery, and other ornaments, to the amount of 6,666*l*. The moral principle of the nation, thus contaminated in its most venerated source, degenerated among all ranks. Around the throne were rapacity, profusion, and profligacy; which they who had the means became emulous to imitate, and which they who could not imitate beheld only to revile and covet. There was nothing about his clergy who approached him to interest the monarch; for some were mere soldiers, some voluptuaries, some but mercenary politicians. Hence he contracted an indifference to religion, and occasionally a contempt for it. To invite the Jews to dispute publicly against his bishops, with a sarcastic assertion, that he would embrace the faith of the conquerors, and to take money from the Jews for compelling their sons, who had become Christians, to return to Judaism, shew a laxity of principle about the most sacred of all obligations which no wise man will encourage, and no good man imitate.—*S. Turner's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 161.

and got the reins of government into his hands by supplanting his elder brother Robert; but, having succeeded, he set himself with all his might to conciliate all those who were likely either to support or disturb him in the possession of the prize he had obtained, and especially the pope and court of Rome. With a view to this, he recalled the Archbishop of Canterbury from his exile; and accordingly Anselm landed at Dover on the 23rd September, A.D. 1100. A few days after, he was introduced to the king, at Salisbury, who received him with every possible mark of affection and respect. But the cordiality was of short continuance. The king was far from being of an amiable character: Anselm, too, was the same unbending prelate still; and the instant he was called upon to do homage to the king for the temporalities of his see, he met it with a flat refusal, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct, at the same time declaring, that, if the king insisted on his pretensions to the homage of the clergy, he could hold no communion with him, and would immediately leave the kingdom. * This threw the king into great perplexity; for, on the one hand, he was very reluctant to resign the right of bestowing ecclesiastical benefices, and of receiving the homage of the prelates, and, on the other, he dreaded the departure of the archbishop, who might take part with his brother Robert, then in Normandy, and preparing to assert his right to the throne of England. In this critical conjuncture the king proposed, or rather begged a truce, till both parties could send ambassadors to the pope, to know his final determination; to which Anselm, at the solicitations of the nobility, consented. †

In due time the messengers who had been despatched to Rome returned with letters from the pope, in which his holiness asserted in the strongest terms, that the church and all its revenues belonged entirely to St. Peter and his successors; and that emperors, kings, and princes had no right to confer the investiture of benefices on the clergy, or to demand homage from them. This he endeavoured to prove by several texts of Scripture, most grossly misapplied, and by other arguments, which are either blasphemous

* Eadmer, p. 56.

† Ibid.

or nonsensical, of which take this specimen :—" How abominable is it for a son to beget his father, and a man to create his God ? and are not priests your fathers and your Gods ? " *

The effect of this curious piece of papal reasoning was not precisely such as his holiness anticipated. The king was rather irritated than convinced by it. For, the first time Anselm appeared at court, Henry, in a somewhat peremptory tone, required him to do homage to him for the revenues of his see, and to consecrate certain bishops and abbots, according to ancient custom, or to quit the kingdom ; adding, " I will suffer no subject to live in my dominions who refuses to do me homage." The archbishop boldly replied, " I am prohibited by the canons of the council of Rome to do what you require. I will not leave the kingdom, but stay in my province, and perform my duty ; and let me see who dares to do me an injury ; " on saying which, he abruptly quitted the court, and returned to Canterbury.

In this train matters proceeded for the space of seven years, viz. from 1102 to 1109, in which year, on the 26th of April, Anselm died, in the 76th year of his age, and sixteenth of his primacy. He was a violent enemy to the marriage of the clergy ; and through his influence no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce their celibacy. By these canons, all priests are commanded to put away their wives without delay ; not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church ; never to see them, nor speak with them, except in cases of great necessity, and in the presence of two or three witnesses. Those who put away their wives were to abstain from saying mass for forty days, and to perform such penances as their bishops should prescribe ; but those unhallowed wretches, who refused to put away their wives, were instantly to be deposed and excommunicated, and all their goods, together with the persons and goods of their wives, were to be forfeited to the bishop of the diocese. † These canons sufficiently prove that those ecclesiastical tyrants found it no easy task to dissolve the natural and virtuous affection that subsisted between the clergy and their wives.

The king had suffered so much from the opposition of the late

* Eadmer, p. 61. † Spelman, Concil. t. ii. p. 29 ; Wilkin's Concil. t. i. p. 388.

primate, that he was in no haste to appoint a successor, but kept the see of Canterbury vacant no less than five years. At length, after a warm contest between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, Radulphus, bishop of Rochester, was elected primate 26th April, and enthroned 17th May, A.D. 1114. As all this had been done without consulting the pope, the latter was not a little enraged, and wrote a long letter to the king and bishops, in which many texts of Scripture are quoted to prove that no business of any importance ought to be transacted in any nation of Europe without the knowledge and direction of the pope; it also contained the strongest expressions of resentment against the king and prelates of England for their late neglect of the holy see, with threats of excommunication if they did not behave in a more dutiful manner in time to come. The king was not a little offended with the insolent strain of this epistle, and sent the Bishop of Exeter to Rome to expostulate with the pope on that and some other subjects.

One of the most specious and successful arts employed by the court of Rome to subject the several churches of Europe to her dominion, was that of sending legates into all countries, with commissions to hold national councils, in the name and by the authority of the pope. Hitherto the kings of England had successfully resisted this; but the policy of Rome was still upon the watch to seize the first favourable opportunity for renewing these attempts. Such an opportunity presented itself at this time, when the King of England was engaged in a dangerous war upon the continent, and stood in need of the favour of the court of Rome; and it was not neglected. Honorius II., who then filled the papal chair, granted a commission, April 13th, 1126, to John de Crema, a cardinal priest, to be his legate in England and Scotland.* The legate, in passing through France, waited on our King Henry, then in Normandy, and at length, with much difficulty, obtained his permission to pass over into England, where he gratified his pride and avarice, with little regard to decency. Among other things, he presided in a national council at Westminster, on the 9th of September, in which both the archbishops, twenty bishops,

* Spelman, Concil. t. ii. pp. 82, 83.

forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude both of the clergy and people were present. In this council no fewer than seventeen canons were made, in the name and *by the authority of the pope alone* ! In these canons there was little new, except that the celibacy of the clergy was extended to those in the lowest orders, and they were forbidden to have any women in their houses, besides their sisters, aunts, or those of whom there could be no suspicion. At the conclusion of the council, the legate summoned the two archbishops to repair immediately to Rome to plead the cause about the prerogatives of their respective sees, which was depending before the pope. To such a height had the usurpations of Rome, and the insolence of the papal legates, then arrived !

In the night which succeeded the conclusion of this council, an incident occurred which made a prodigious noise throughout England, and brought no little scandal on the Roman clergy. John de Crema, the pope's legate, who had declaimed with great warmth, in the council, the day before, in honour of immaculate chastity, and inveighed, with no less vehemence, against the horrid impurity of the married clergy, was actually detected in bed with a common prostitute ! The detection was so undeniable, and soon became so public, that the legate was both ashamed and afraid to shew his face ; but sneaked out of England with all possible secrecy and precipitation.*

This incident gave much satisfaction to the married clergy, who had probably been the detectors, and rendered the canon of the late council against them abortive and contemptible.

Yet so intent was the court of Rome on making good its right to the character of Antichrist by prohibiting marriage, that, in the following year (1127), a national synod was convened at Westminster, on the 17th May, in the canons of which the marriage of the clergy is styled "the plague of the church," and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their most zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of priests and canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish ; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be seized by the ministers of the church, and subjected to ecclesias-

* R. Hoveden, p. 274 ; H. Knyghton, col. 2382 ; Chron. Homingford, l. i. c. 48. J. Brompt. col. 1015 ; Hen. Hunt, l. vii. p. 219.

tical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the bishop; and if any persons, great or small, attempted to deliver these unhappy victims out of the hands of the ministers of the church, they were to be excommunicated. These canons abundantly evince the power and tyranny of the court of Rome, whence they emanated; and the impossibility of counteracting the laws of nature by human sanctions. The object was far from being gained by the canons of the late council, and therefore another was called, on Monday, Sept. 29th, A.D. 1129, which was held in London, and continued to sit till Friday, Oct. 3rd. The sole design of this council was to devise, if possible, some more effectual means than had yet been used, to compel the inferior clergy to put away their wives. To accomplish this end, it was decreed, that all priests who were married should put away their wives on or before the feast of St. Andrew (Nov. 30th), then ensuing, and that those who did not obey this decree should immediately be turned out of their churches and houses, and declared incapable of ever holding any office or benefice in the church. To render this decree still more effectual, the council committed the execution of it to the king, which turned out a piece of bad policy, and frustrated the whole design. For, the king, instead of compelling the clergy to put away their wives, thought it more prudent to impose a tax on those who chose to retain them, which, it is said, tended much to replenish the royal coffers!*

A schism in the papacy was no uncommon thing in those days, nor was it an object of much regret. On the contrary, its tendency was fatal to the prosperity and pretensions of the church of Rome, while it was friendly to the rights of other churches. For, while the rival popes were employed in cursing and destroying one another, they had no leisure to disturb the peace or invade the rights of the rest of mankind. Such a schism took place at this time, on the death of Honorius II., in the year 1130. On the very day of his death two popes were chosen by different parties; one of whom assumed the name of Innocent II., and the other that of Anacletus. This schism continued for the space of nine years, during which England may be said to have enjoyed a

* Wilkin's Con. t. i. 415.

breathing time; the affairs of the church being managed by her own prelates. But in 1138 the schism was healed by the death of Anacletus; and now Innocent II. began to meddle more directly, and in a more magisterial manner than ever, in the affairs of the church of England. He despatched Albericus as his legate into England, who, in conjunction with Theobald, a haughty, ambitious, and vindictive prelate, lately raised to the see of Canterbury, resumed the exercise of the legantine commission, and governed the church of England with a high hand. The king, Stephen I., was the particular object of the vindictive rage of the archbishop especially. England being threatened with an invasion, the king, who had usurped the throne, thought it necessary to secure such of the nobility and clergy as he suspected of an intention to abandon him and join his rival. The Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely fell under this suspicion. They had built several strong and magnificent castles, which excited the envy of the nobility as well as the jealousy of the king, who seized the persons of the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, at Oxford, on the 26th June, 1139, and compelled them, as well as the Bishop of Ely, who was taken at Devizes, to surrender to him all their castles. We may easily imagine that this transaction would make a prodigious noise throughout the country. The conduct of the king was approved by some, and censured by others; but by none so much as by his own brother, the Bishop of Winchester. That artful prelate, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity of displaying his own power and zeal for the immunities of the church, as well as of gratifying his resentment for not being raised to the primacy, did not suffer it to escape. He repaired to court, and commanded, rather than petitioned, the king to restore their castles to the three bishops. Meeting, however, with a denial, which indeed he had anticipated, he called a national council, to meet at Winchester, on the 28th of August, and summoned the king, his own brother, to appear before it, to answer for his conduct. This daring insult on the royal dignity would have been properly resented by Stephen at another time; but, in his present circumstances, he thought it most prudent to temporize. He first sent certain earls to the council to demand why he had been summoned, who received this naughty answer from the pope's legate :—"That,

as the king pretended to be a Christian, he ought not to be surprised that he was commanded by the ministers of Christ to give them satisfaction; especially as he was conscious of the horrid crime of imprisoning bishops, and stripping them of their possessions—a crime which had never been heard of before in any Christian age.* This was surely insolent enough; but to render it still more so, the legate added, “that if the king were not a fool, he would come immediately, and submit to the judgment of the clergy, to whom he owed his crown.” Though Stephen was greatly irritated at the report of his commissioners, he repressed his resentment, and sent them back to the council, accompanied by a most eloquent pleader (Alberic de Vere), to defend his cause. The discussions were resumed, and continued for three days successively, with incredible warmth on both sides; and the council broke up at last in confusion, without having come to any decision.

At this time England became the theatre of civil war. A female, under the title of the Empress Maud, was instigated to contend for the crown of England; and the king's brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, already mentioned, gratified his resentment by supporting her cause. The king was taken prisoner, in a battle which took place at Lincoln, February 2nd, 1141, which afforded a fund of triumph to his Grace of Winchester, who now, by virtue of his legantine authority, summoned a council to meet at Winchester, the week after Easter, in order to bring over all the rest of the clergy to embrace the same party. The first day of the council was occupied by the bishop in private consultations with the several different orders of the clergy separately, in order to discover their inclinations. On the second, he made a long harangue to the council, in which he loaded his unhappy brother with reproaches, and greatly magnified all the misfortunes and errors of his government. He then concluded in this manner:—“That the kingdom might not be ruined for want of a head, I, by virtue of my legantine authority, have summoned you all to this council. Yesterday, this great question, Which of the two claimants hath

* William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novel.* l. ii. p. 103.

the best right to the crown? was canvassed privately by the clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect and ordain kings. And now, having invoked the Divine direction, we elect and chuse the daughter of the late pacific, glorious, rich, good, and incomparable King Henry, to be the mistress of England and Normandy, and we promise her our obedience and fealty.*”

Thus did this unnatural prelate, for the moment, settle the affairs of the kingdom, by discarding his own brother; but, happily for the latter, things took a more favourable turn. In the following year Stephen regained his liberty; on which the legate changed his party once more, and openly declared for the king, his brother, against the empress. In consequence of this change, he called a national council, which met at Westminster; and the king being introduced to it, made bitter complaints of the rebellion of his subjects, and of the injuries he and his friends had sustained. His brother exerted all his eloquence to excuse his former conduct, declaring that every thing he had done in favour of the rival party had been the effect of constraint and force; an assertion so incredible, that few believed him, though none ventured to contradict, but one layman, who stood up, and boldly affirmed, that the empress had come into England in consequence of his frequent and earnest solicitations, and in all things had put herself under his direction and advice! The bishop, without losing his temper, or making any reply, proceeded, with a grave face, to excommunicate all the disturbers of the public peace, and favourers of the Countess of Anjou, or Empress Maud.

During the last three years of the reign of King Stephen, England was a scene of so great confusion, that no ecclesiastical councils were held; and the disputes then began to arise between several rich abbeys and the bishops of those dioceses in which they lay, about their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, of which some notice will be taken in the next Lecture. Death put an end to the unfortunate life and unhappy reign of this prince, 25th of October, A.D. 1154. I shall close the present Lecture with a short piece of history of a somewhat different

* W. Malma. *Hist. Novel.* t. ii. p. 100.

complexion; but which is important, as it serves to shew how the clergy of that age stood affected towards the real disciples of Christ, who refused to bow the knee to the image of Baal, or, in other words, who refused allegiance to the Bishop of Rome.

Though England, it is to be feared, could boast of few dissenters during the twelfth century, yet the case was widely different on the continent of Europe, as I shall hereafter have occasion to shew. There existed, at that dark period, when "all the world wondered after the beast," a numerous body of the disciples of Christ, who took the New Testament for their guidance and direction in all the affairs of religion, rejecting the doctrines and commandments of men. Their appeal was from the decisions of councils, and the authority of popes, cardinals, and prelates, to the law and the testimony—the words of Christ and his holy apostles. Egbert, a monkish writer of that age, speaking of them, says, that he had often disputed with these heretics, whom he terms *cathari*, or puritans; "a sort of people," he adds, "who are very pernicious to the catholic faith, which, like moths, they corrupt and destroy. They are armed," says he, "with the words of Scripture which in any way seem to favor their sentiments, and with these they know how to defend their errors, and to oppose the catholic truth. They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, to the great danger of the church (of Rome); for their words eat like a canker, and, like a flying leprosy, run every way, infecting the precious members of Christ.*" These people went under different names in different countries; but their faith was substantially one and the same. They invariably protested against the corruptions of the church of Rome: such as the doctrine of purgatory, offering alms for the dead, and celebrating masses, the ringing of bells, and praying for the dead, &c. &c. Throughout the whole of the twelfth century, these people were exposed to severe persecution; and in the year 1159, a company of them, amounting to thirty in number, partly men and partly women, all of whom spoke the German language, made their appearance

* *Serm. I. in Bib. Patrum. p. 898, Cologne edit.*

in England, hoping, no doubt, to find an asylum here from the rage of bigotry and intolerance to which they were exposed in their own country. They appear to have constituted a small Christian church, in their native place; and their pastor, whose name was Gerard, was a person of some learning and talent. They are said to have been the disciples of Arnold, of Brescia. Taking up their residence in the neighbourhood of Oxford, they were not long in attracting notice, by the strangeness of their language, and the singularity of their religious practices. They were, consequently, taken up, and brought before a council of the clergy, at Oxford. When interrogated as to who and what they were, their leader answered in their name, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. On a more particular inquiry, it was found that they denied several of the received doctrines of the catholic church; such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints: and refusing to abandon these "damnable heresies," as the clergy were pleased to call them, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the civil magistrate to be punished. The king, at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red-hot iron on the forehead; to be whipped through the streets of Oxford; and, having their clothes cut short by the girdles, to be turned into the open fields; all persons being forbidden to afford them either shelter or relief, under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigour; and taking place in the depth of winter, they all perished through cold and famine!

This is the first instance that I have found upon record, of persons suffering death in this kingdom for the undefined *crime of heresy*, and it would have been much to the honour of the country, if it had been the last. In that case, the world had never seen John Fox's Book of Martyrs, in three huge folio volumes, nor had the feelings of Englishmen been horrified by the faithful recitals of "the persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, specially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord a thousand, unto the time" when Fox wrote, A.D. 1583; and which, if continued for a hundred years nearer our own times, might

have been enlarged to double the extent. But the game was only then beginning in this kingdom, and it was too congenial to the spirit of popery not to be followed up. When we arrive at the times of Wickliffe and the Lollards, as we presently shall, if the Lord spare us to prosecute this course of Lectures to the end, you must lay your account with hearing of atrocities, such as were practised towards this company of Waldenses, as every-day occurrences. In the mean time, let me beseech you to examine your New Testaments, on the subject of persecution for conscience's sake, and you will not fail to find it one of the characteristics of Antichrist, or, which is the same thing, "Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots," to be "drunken with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus;" Rev. xvii. 6.

I close the present lecture with a quotation from the learned Bishop Newton on the Prophecies :—

"If any dissent from the stated and authorized forms of the church of Rome, they are condemned and executed as heretics; in consequence of which, they are no longer suffered to buy or sell; they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and from all the benefits of civil society. Thus Roger Hoveden relates of William the Conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the pope, that he would not permit any one in his power to buy or sell any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see. Thus the canon of the council of Lateran, under pope Alexander III., made against the Waldenses and Albigenses, enjoins, upon pain of anathema, that no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land, or to exercise traffic with them. Thus the synod of Tours, in France, under the same pope, orders, under the like intermination, that no man should presume to receive or assist them; no, not so much as to hold any communion with them in buying or selling, that, being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their ways. And thus pope Martin the Fifth, in his bull, set out after the council of Constance, commands, in like manner, that they permit not heretics to have houses in their districts, or to enter into contracts, or to carry on commerce, or to enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians."—*Dissert.* xxv.

LECTURE XXXIII.

History of the Church of England, from A.D. 1154 to A.D. 1200—Introductory Remarks—Papal Bull for exempting Abbots from the jurisdiction of the Bishops—Henry II. accepts Ireland as a grant from the Pope—Schism in the Papacy—Death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury—Thomas Becket raised to the primacy—Sketch of his history—Commencement of hostilities between the Church and the State—Scandalous lives of the clergy, and the King's determination to restrain them—which is resisted by Becket—Constitutions of Clarendon—Renewed differences between the King and Primate—Northampton parliament, and its proceedings—Becket's obstinacy, and escape to France—Is protected by Louis VII. and favoured by the Pope—Instance of the duplicity of his holiness—Interview of the Kings of France and England—Becket yields, and a reconciliation takes place—He returns to England, and renews hostilities—Is, finally, assassinated by four of the barons—Estimate of his character—Reflections.

ALTHOUGH the court of Rome had made great encroachments, both on the independence of the church, and the prerogatives of the crown of England, since the period of the Norman conquest, that court was far from being satisfied with its acquisitions, but continued to prosecute its ambitious schemes with unwearied ardour and consummate policy. This occasioned such violent collisions between the crown and the mitre, in the reign of Henry II., as greatly disturbed the government, and shook the throne of that monarch to its very centre.

The controversy respecting *investitures* had considerably agitated England, under William II. and Henry I.; but it remained still a litigated point. There were other ecclesiastical matters, however, that gave Henry II. no little trouble; and among these was the claim which some of the richest abbeys began about this time to advance, to an exemption from the jurisdiction of their bishops. It was the practice in those days, for these lordly abbots to apply to the pope for bulls exempting them from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries; and by presenting his holiness with a handsome *douceur*—such as three mitres, and a pair of slippers of exquisite workmanship, with a large sum of money, to be divided among the blood-suckers of the court—these bulls were readily granted. Their tendency was greatly to diminish both the power and reveaues of the bishops; and, consequently, the practice gave rise to violent disputes, in which the Bishop of Lincoln, in particular, took an active part; but the abbots generally triumphed. This innovation very much disturbed the order of church government that had been hitherto in use, by diminishing the episcopal, and increasing the papal, power and influence. But none felt the fatal effects of these exemptions so sensibly as those who had obtained them. It imposed upon these mitred abbots the necessity of taking so many and such expensive journeys to Rome, and while there they became harassed with such rigorous and vexatious exactions from that insatiable court, that they had great reason to lament the success of their ambition.

Henry II., in the second year of his reign (1156), inadvertently contributed to exalt the power and pretensions of the pope, under which he and his successors so severely smarted, by accepting a grant of the kingdom of Ireland, from Pope Adrian IV. Little was Henry aware of what he was doing in this instance; for the soliciting, or even accepting this grant, was a plain and virtual acknowledgment, that the pope had a right to deprive the Irish princes of their dominions, and bestow them upon whom he pleased; and in the body of the grant, his holiness takes care to mention this acknowledgment. "For it is undeniable," says he, "*and your majesty acknowledges it, that all islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shined,*

and which have received the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter, and the most holy Roman church.*" This was a dangerous proposition, to which a king of England ought never to have given any countenance. But the wisest princes are sometimes so blinded by their ambition as not to see the most obvious consequences of their conduct.

On the death of Adrian IV. (September 1st, A.D. 1159), there happened another schism in the papacy. Octavian, who assumed the name of Victor III., was chosen by one part of the cardinals; and Roland, who took the name of Alexander III., by another. The first of these was received as pope by the Emperor Frederick; while the kings of France and England, after some deliberation, acknowledged the latter. This schism continued about fifteen years, and was the occasion of no little confusion throughout Christendom.

In the year 1161, the see of Canterbury became vacant, in consequence of the demise of Theobald, the archbishop, who had filled it more than twenty years. After a vacancy of one year, it was again filled with a person who makes a most conspicuous figure in the ecclesiastical annals of England. This was none other than the famous Thomas Becket; a man who was the occasion of much political contention during his life, and the object of much superstitious veneration after his death. To give you a full account of this man's exploits would require a volume rather than a Lecture. It has, indeed, been written by many; and especially by Lord Lyttelton, whose elegant History of the reign of Henry II. is well-known, and to be found in almost every gentleman's library. All that can reasonably be expected from me in this place, is to lay before you a brief outline of the character and conduct of this extraordinary person, whose fame filled the world for centuries, and is still fondly cherished by the catholic church.

Thomas Becket was the son of a citizen of London, where he was born in the year 1119. At a proper age he was sent to prosecute his studies in the university of Oxford, and afterwards at Paris and Bononia, the most celebrated seats of learning in

* M. Paris, Hist. p. 67.

those times. He is said to have been beautiful, brave, lively, and lettered; and we must not wonder that he plunged into the parade and dissipation of the noble companions who condescended to receive him among their friends. In process of time, he made his way into the family and favor of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who conferred upon him the honour of archdeacon and provost of Beverley, and subsequently, chancellor of England. Religion, it appears, was not at all a requisite qualification, at that time, to any of these stations; for Becket made no pretension to that virtue: on the contrary, his manners and occupations, his pursuits and amusements, were eminently worldly. However, he paid his court so successfully to his royal master, not only by his dexterity in business, but also by his splendid manner of living, and agreeable conversation, that he became his greatest favourite, and his chief companion in his amusements. The king was in Normandy when he heard of Theobald's death, and immediately resolved to raise his chancellor to the primacy, hoping to govern the church, by *his* means, in perfect tranquillity—the vainest imagination that probably ever entered his head. When Henry told him, he was to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Becket smiled at the metamorphosis. When spoken to more earnestly, he appears to have agreed with all other men in thinking, that the king's choice of him could only have arisen from Henry's confidence in him, as a blind instrument in his expected contests with the church. We cannot much wonder, if Becket's pride was piqued at this; and accordingly, he is said to have remonstrated with the king somewhat in this way:—"Do not appoint me, Sire, I entreat you. You would place me in the only office in which I may be obliged no longer to be your friend." Thus far his deportment was manly; but such was Henry's fondness for his favourite, that he was deaf to all advice:—he overcame all opposition; and the chancellor was elected archbishop, June 3rd, and consecrated at Canterbury, June 6th, A.D. 1162.

No sooner had Becket found himself firmly seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, than he suddenly changed his whole deportment and manner of life. He immediately dismissed his splendid train, cast off his magnificent apparel, abandoned

sports and revels, and lived with fewer attendants, wore coarser clothes, and ate scantier and more homely food, than suited the dignity of his station. It is not for us to judge his motives in this change of conduct. Becket, possessing, as he certainly did, a high sense of honour, a lofty and susceptible spirit, may have been perfectly aware that the gay and voluptuous manners of a man of the world were very unsuitable to one on whom the clerical character was now imposed; and this may have dictated to him the necessity of that professional decorum to which he now had recourse. We cannot certainly pronounce, that either the subsequent violence of his policy, or the gross inconsistency of some parts of his conduct with his professions, decisively excludes the milder construction of his motives. Moderation is the best pledge of sincerity; though excess, or a rigid extreme, is not always a decisive proof of hypocrisy. The conduct of Becket, to say the best of it, in flying from one extreme to another, is very ambiguous, and has too much the appearance of being the policy of a man who foresaw that he was about to carry on war, as the leader of a religious party; and that it was necessary for him to assume that ostentation of sternness and display of austerity, which the leaders of such parties have ever found to be the most effectual means of securing the attachment of the people, and of inflaming their passions against the common enemy. The ordinary objects of vulgar ambition were undoubtedly sacrificed by Becket. He lost high office and unbounded favour—preferring to them dominion over the minds of men, and the applause of the greater part of Europe.

In the year 1163, the hostilities between the church and state began. Various instances of the most scandalous impunity of atrocious crimes, perpetrated by the clergy, had recently occurred. Some of these had reached the king's ears before he returned to England, and he was greatly incensed at them. One abominable instance brought the king and Becket into direct collision on this point. A clergyman in Worcester had debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and, for her sake, had murdered the father. The king demanded that he should be brought before his tribunal, to answer for the horrible act. Becket resisted this, and gave him into the custody of the bishop, that he might not be delivered to

the king's justice. The king, who had seen repeated instances that the clergy permitted their offending brethren to escape with impunity, and that their crimes, instead of being repressed, became daily more flagrant, was the more intent upon accomplishing his important object. He justly imputed these atrocities to the exemption of the clergy from trial before the secular courts, while the ecclesiastical tribunals, to whom they were subject, had no power to inflict capital, or, indeed, any adequate punishment. With a view to redress this crying evil, King Henry summoned a great council at Westminster, which he opened with an excellent speech, in which he complained of the mischiefs occasioned by the thefts, robberies, and even murders committed by the clergy, who were suffered to go unpunished; and he concluded with requiring, that the archbishop and the other bishops would consent that when a clergyman was degraded for any crime, he should be immediately delivered up to the civil power, that he might be punished for the crime, according to the laws of the land. Becket, dreading the compliance of the other bishops with so reasonable a demand, earnestly entreated that they might be allowed to hold a private conference among themselves before they returned an answer, which was granted. In this conference, the other bishops acknowledged that the king's demand appeared to them to be agreeable to reason, to law, and to scripture. But Becket insisted with so much pertinacity on the privileges granted to the clergy by the canons of the church, that he silenced all his brethren, and persuaded them to return this answer to the king—"That they could not comply with his demand." On this, the council broke up in confusion.*

Finding it difficult to obtain this moderate demand, the king now tried to gain the same object in less offensive language. He asked the prelates if they were ready to observe the customs and prerogatives of Henry I.? The archbishop answered, "Yes; saving the rights and privileges of the order,"—one of those reservations which seem specious, till it be discovered that they destroy the concession to which they are annexed. The king then left them with deserved displeasure, and retired to Woodstock, in Oxfordshire.

* Hoveden, sub anno 1163; Vita S. Thomæ, p. 31.

After a little reflection, and perhaps dreading the consequences, they followed him thither, and declared their assent to his demand, without any saving of the rights of their order. Becket was not persuaded to accompany them till the very last moment. Pleased with his success, and resolving to have this consent of the clergy, to obey the laws of the land without reserve, ratified in the most solemn manner, the king called a parliament, or great council of the clergy and barons, to meet at Clarendon, on the festival of St. Hilary, A. D. 1164. But before the meeting of this assembly, Becket had again changed his mind; and when he appeared before the council, he obstinately refused to promise obedience to the laws in the terms to which he had formerly agreed. At this the king was equally disappointed and enraged; the most violent debates between the bishops and the barons ensued, which continued three days, in which time every possible means was used to overcome the obstinacy of the primate, not sparing even threats of violence. Becket at last yielded to the tears and entreaties of two of his friends, and, appearing before the council, he solemnly promised and swore, with all the other bishops—in the words of truth and without any reserve—to obey all the royal laws and customs which had been established in England in the reign of his majesty's grandfather Henry I. These laws and customs, commonly called 'The Constitutions of Clarendon,' were put in writing, read in the council, and one copy of them delivered to Becket, another to the Archbishop of York, and a third deposited among the records of the kingdom. These famous constitutions, which were sixteen in number, reduced ecclesiastics of all denomination to a due subjection to the laws of their country, limited the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, guarded against appeals to Rome, and the pronouncing of interdicts and excommunications without the consent of the king or his justiciary. In a word, they were in all respects wise and just; but at the same time so evidently calculated to put a stop to the encroachments of the see of Rome, and to set bounds to the extravagant immunities of the clergy, that they were equally odious to both, who never speak of them but in the harshest terms.*

* Gervas apud x. Scrip. col. 1386-8. M. Paris, p. 71. Spelman, Concil. t. ii. pp. 63, 64. Epistolæ Thom. Cantuar. l. i. ep. 4. p. 12.

As it was with manifest reluctance that Becket had sworn to obey those hated Constitutions, so he soon began to give indications of his repentance, by extraordinary acts of mortification, and by refraining from performing the sacred offices of his function. He despatched a special messenger to the pope, apprising him of what had been done. The latter sent him a bull, releasing him from the obligation of his oath, and enjoining him to resume the duties of his sacred office. But though this bull reconciled his conscience to the violation of his oath, it did not dispel his fears of the king's indignation—to avoid which, he determined to retire privately out of the kingdom. With this intention he went down to Romney, accompanied by two of his friends, and there embarked for France; but being twice put back by contrary winds, he landed, and returned to Canterbury. About the same time the king's officers came to that city with orders to seize his possessions and revenues; but on his shewing himself, they retired, without executing their orders. Conscious that he had transgressed those laws which he had sworn to observe, by attempting to leave the kingdom without permission, he waited upon the king, at Woodstock, who received him without any other expression of displeasure than merely asking him if he had left England because he thought it too little to contain them both.

Soon after this interview, fresh misunderstandings arose between the king and the primate, who publicly protected the clergy from those punishments which their crimes deserved, and flatly refused to obey a summons to attend the king's court. Henry was so much enraged at these daring insults on the laws and the royal authority, that he determined to call him to account before his peers, in a parliament which he summoned to meet at Northampton, on the 17th October, 1164. This parliament was unusually full, the whole nation being now deeply interested in the issue of this contest between the crown and the mitre. On the first day, the king in person accused the archbishop of contumacy, in refusing to attend his court when he was summoned; against which accusation, having made only a very weak defence, he was unanimously found guilty by the bishops, as well as by the temporal barons, and all his goods and chattels were declared to be forfeited. To this

sentence, Becket, with much reluctance, submitted ; and the king agreeing to accept 500*l.* for the forfeiture, the bishops became sureties for their primate. On the following day, the king made a demand of 500*l.*, which he had lent to Becket when he was chancellor ; but the latter alleged in his defence, that that sum had been given him, not lent. Not being able, however, to produce any evidence of this grant, he was adjudged to pay the money. To this sentence he also submitted, and prevailed upon five of his vassals to become his sureties, the bishops declining to be any further his guarantees. But on the third day, which was Saturday, a much heavier demand was made on the archbishop, by the king, who gave in a charge of no less than 250,000 marks, which he affirmed the prelate had received from vacant benefices at the time he was chancellor ; and he now called upon the parliament to oblige him to account for that sum.

Astonished at this demand, Becket begged permission to consult with his brethren, the bishops, apart, before he returned an answer, which was granted him. When these prelates had retired into a separate room, and their primate had demanded their advice, they were found to differ very widely in their opinions. Some, who were in the interest of the court, advised him to resign his see as the only means of appeasing the king's wrath and preserving himself from ruin. Others opposed this as a dangerous precedent, and too great an act of submission to the civil power. Not being able to come to any unanimous resolution, Becket sent messengers to the king and barons, craving a short delay, which was granted till the following Monday. The proceedings of this day struck terror into so many of Becket's friends, that when he returned to his lodgings, he was attended by very few of them.

When Monday arrived, he complained of being seized with a violent colic, which put it out of his power to appear in parliament ; but he sent a solemn promise that he would appear on the next day, though he should be carried in his bed. Early on Tuesday morning many of the bishops waited upon him, and earnestly intreated him to resign his office, assuring him that if he did not he would be tried for perjury and high treason. Becket, however, was made of sterner stuff—he reproached them bitterly for deserting him in this contest—charged them not to

presume to sit in judgment upon their primate—and declared, that though he should be burnt alive, he would not abandon his station, nor forsake his flock ! Having celebrated mass, he set out from his residence, dressed in his pontifical robes, with a consecrated host in one hand ; and when he approached the hall where the king and parliament sat, he took the cross from the bearer, and carried it in the other hand.

When the king was informed of the posture in which Becket was advancing, he retired hastily into an inner room, commanding all the bishops and barons to follow him. Here he complained of the insufferable annoyance of Becket; and was answered by the barons, “ That he had always been a vain and obstinate man, and ought never to have been raised to so high a station ; that he had been guilty of high treason, both against the king and the kingdom ; and they demanded that he should be immediately punished as a traitor.” The clamours of the barons against Becket became so loud and vehement, that the Archbishop of York, fearing they would proceed to acts of violence, hastily retired, that he might not be a spectator of the tragical scene. The Bishop of Exeter went into the great hall, where the primate sat almost alone, and, falling at his feet, conjured him to take pity on himself and on his brethren, and preserve them all from destruction, by complying with the king’s will. But, with a stern countenance, he commanded them to begone.

The bishops, apprehensive of incurring the indignation of the pope if they proceeded to sit in judgment on their primate, and of the king and barons if they refused, begged that they might be allowed to hold a private consultation, which was granted. After deliberating some time, they agreed to renounce all subjection to Becket as their primate ; to prosecute him for perjury before the pope ; and, if possible, to procure his deposition. This resolution they reported to the king and barons, who, not knowing that Becket had already obtained a bull from the pope, absolving him from his oath, too rashly gave their consent ; and the bishops went into the hall in a body, and intimated their resolution to the archbishop. The latter not deigning to give them any answer, except “ I hear,” a profound silence ensued.

In the mean time the king and barons came to a resolution,

that if the primate did not give in his accounts without delay, they would declare him guilty of perjury and treason, and deputed certain barons to communicate this resolution. The Earl of Leicester, who was at the head of these barons, addressing himself to Becket, said, "the king commands you to come immediately, and give in your accounts, or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" exclaimed Becket, starting on his feet, "No! my son, hear me first. I was given to the church free, and discharged from all claims when I was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore I never will render any account. Besides, my son, neither law nor reason permits sons to judge their father. I decline the jurisdiction of the king and barons, and appeal to God, and my lord the pope, by whom alone I am to be judged. For you, my brethren and fellow bishops, I summon you to appear before the pope, to be judged by him for having obeyed man rather than God. I put myself, the church of Canterbury, and all that belongs to it, under the protection of God and the pope; and under their protection I depart hence." Having said this, he walked out of the hall in great state, leaving the spectators so much disconcerted by his boldness, that not an individual had the courage to stop him.

In the ensuing night Becket found means to leave the town, and made his escape to Sandwich, in Kent, from whence he embarked in a fishing boat that conveyed him safe to Flanders; or, as some say, to Boulogne. From thence he went to pay his respects to his ghostly father, the pope, who was then at Sens, and by whose influence he obtained a secure asylum in the splendid abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy. It was fortunate for Becket that at the moment there existed a spirit of jealousy and disunion between the Kings of France and England. And this disposed Louis, and emboldened the pope, to protect the obnoxious exile.

As soon as the King of England was informed of the reception which Becket had met with in France, he issued writs to all the sheriffs, commanding them to seize all rents and possessions of the primate within their bailiwicks, and to detain all bearers of appeal to Rome till the king's pleasure should be known. He commanded the justices in the like form to detain on the same condition all bearers of papers from the pope or primate purporting to pro-

nounce an interdict of public worship, all spiritual persons or laymen who should adhere to such interdict, and all clerks leaving the kingdom without a regal safe conduct.

Becket was so intoxicated by the favour of the pope, that he blasphemously boasted, "Christ was again tried in this case, before a lay tribunal, and once more crucified in the person of his servant."* He painted the king of England in the most odious colours, as a cruel, impious, unrelenting persecutor; and, encouraged by the pope and king of France, proceeded to Vezelay, where, on Ascension Day, when the church was full, he went into the pulpit, and "with bell, book, and candle, solemnly cursed all the maintainers of the customs called, in the realm of England, the customs of their elders." When the King of England heard of this, he was greatly offended, and threatened that if Becket, after such an outrage, was any longer sheltered at Pontigny, he would seize all the estates belonging to the monks of the Cistercian order that were in his territories, which so alarmed Louis, the king of France, that he thought it best to carry Becket with him from Burgundy to Sens, where an asylum was provided for him.

Various angry proceedings now ensued on both sides, in which Becket's tone rose or fell according as the barometer was influenced by the measures of the two kings, Louis and Henry. Negotiations with the court of Rome were prosecuted with eagerness by both parties. The agents of Becket obtained for their master, on the 22d of October, 1166, a legantine commission over the province of Canterbury. This was not only a mark of the pope's favour, but a great addition of power to the archbishop, which he was preparing to use with rigour, when the balance suddenly turned against him at the court of Rome. This change in the papal politics was owing to several circumstances which are but imperfectly known; but, probably, the most successful one was, that the agents of the king of England were better provided with money than those of the archbishop. Certain it is that these agents obtained a very soothing letter from the pope to their master, dated December 20, 1166, in which he acquaints him, that

* Epist. St. Thomæ, lib. ii.—Matt. Paris, p. 89.

he had given a commission to two cardinals to determine all controversies between him and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and between that prelate and the bishops of England, and that these legates would set out in January; that he had given his legates authority to absolve all the king's servants and subjects who had been excommunicated; and, finally, that he had forbid the archbishop from issuing any censures against him, or any of his subjects, so long as this cause was depending.*

Nothing could surpass the consternation of Becket on hearing of this letter to the King of England, especially when further told that the king's agents had obtained copies of all the letters that he and his friends had written to the pope against the king. The truth is, that the affairs of Becket were at this crisis in a hopeless condition; and it is probable that Henry would have obtained a complete victory in this singular contest, if the king of France had not interposed. But Louis, whose reigning passions were bigotry in religion, and enmity to the king of England, was more displeased with the pope, if possible, than Becket himself. He declared that he would not suffer the legates to enter his dominions, and that he was as much offended with them as if they had come to pull the crown off his own head. The strong remonstrances of Louis, the loud complaints and importunities of Becket, together with some changes in the political state of Europe, gave a new turn to this affair, less favourable to the King of England.

A suspension of hostilities now ensued between the parties for nearly a whole year, so that the legates did not reach Montpellier till the end of October, 1167. But on their arrival in France, a correspondence commenced between them and Becket, on the extent of their commission, in which the latter displayed the most intolerable arrogance and inflexible obstinacy, denying that they had any authority to act as judges, but only as mediators between him and the king. This was owing to the duplicity of his holiness, who, with jesuitical craft, in order to please both parties, had represented it, in his letters to the king, as a commission to judge and determine; but in his letters to the archbishop, as a commission to negotiate a reconciliation. The true explanation appears to be

* Lord Lyttelton's History of Hen. II., Vol. iv. 8vo. pp. 478 and 9.

this, that the pope had given the legates a commission to act as judges, but had also given them *secret* instruction to act only as mediators.*

We cannot wonder that Henry should be greatly displeased with this double dealing on the part of his holiness. At an interview with the legates, he explained himself on various points on which he was aggrieved; but, at the request of the English bishops, he at length consented that the legates should act either as judges or mediators between him and the archbishop. After these concessions, which seemed to lay a foundation for an agreement, the legates, with some difficulty, procured an interview with Becket on the 17th November, 1167, at which he behaved with his wonted *hauteur*, refusing to submit to them as judges, and declining to give them any ground to proceed upon as mediators with the least hopes of success. For, to all his seeming concessions, he constantly added a "saving of the honour of God—of the apostolic see—and of his own person—of all the liberties, and of all the possessions of the church," which they knew the king would not admit, as it would be a source of endless disputes.

The legates reported to the king and English bishops what had passed at this interview, on which they one and all protested that they had performed their part, in offering to submit to them either as judges or mediators, which the archbishop had not done. They next appealed to the pope, and, dreading the fulminations of Becket, put themselves under the protection of the holy see, until the feast of St. Martin, in the following year. At the request of the king and bishops, the legates apprised Becket of their appeal, and prohibited him from issuing any censures against them in the interval. This roused the indignation of the archbishop to the highest pitch; he became like a wild bull in a net; and never was a hungry lion more enraged at having his prey torn from him when he was ready to devour it, than Becket was at this prohibition. He complained of it to the pope and cardinals in the bitterest terms, painting the King of England in the blackest colours, and accused the legates of having been bribed by that monarch. †

* Vita S. Thomæ, l. ii. ch. xxiv. Ibid. Epist. l. ii. Ep. 1—13.

† Epist. S. Thom. l. ii. Ep. 46, 47.

In the following year, A.D. 1168, about Midsummer, the Earl of Flanders made an effort to put an end to this long and violent dispute; and, with that view, appointed a place of interview between the Kings of France and England. But Henry, feeling himself secure from the censures of the church by the prohibition of the legates, and still further by a bull he had about that time received from the pope, the purport of which was to suspend the archbishop's spiritual authority over him and his subjects till he had recovered his favour, would make no advances towards a reconciliation, nor so much as admit Becket into his presence. That prelate, therefore, was obliged to return to the place of his retirement, tormented with mortified pride and impotent resentment.*

On the 6th of January, A.D. 1169, the Kings of England and France had another interview, at which a truce, rather than a treaty of peace, was effected. Three persons of influence were fixed upon as a kind of mediators between the two monarchs, and carried Becket with them to the place of this interview, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation between him and his sovereign. To accomplish this, they were at great pains to persuade that haughty prelate to behave in the most humble and respectful manner to his much-offended prince, in order to appease his anger, and facilitate an accommodation; in which, being seconded by the King of France, and all the princes and prelates who were present, they at length prevailed. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees, and said, "I submit myself to the mercy of God and the king—to the honour of God and the king;" a speech very artfully contrived, and replete with ambiguity. But it did not escape the penetration of Henry, who expressed his dissatisfaction with this form of submission, and insisted that the archbishop should promise, in plain words, "that he would obey those laws and customs which the holy Archbishops of Canterbury had obeyed in the times of former kings, and which he had sworn to obey." This, however, Becket refused to do; alleging, that his predecessors had not been pressed to make such a promise. But the king insisting upon it, and many of the

* Epist. S. Thom. l. ii. c. 32—58.

nobles and bishops vehemently urging him to comply, he at last consented to make the promise required, but with a saving of the honour of God and of the rights of his order.* The king, well knowing what was intended by these savings, rejected this offer; and, addressing himself to the King of France, said, with an affecting air and tone of voice, "My liege lord, I earnestly entreat your attention. I know that whatever happens to displease him, he will say is contrary to the honour of God and the rights of his order. But that it may appear to all the world that I do not oppose the honour of God, or the real rights of his order, I here make this offer: There have been many Kings of England before me, some weaker and others greater than I am; there have also been many great and holy men, Archbishops of Canterbury before him. Let him behave towards me as the greatest and most holy of his predecessors behaved towards the weakest of mine, and I am satisfied."

This speech made a strong impression on the audience, several of whom cried out, that the king's concessions were sufficient; and the archbishop remaining silent, the King of France added, "My lord archbishop, why do you hesitate? Peace is now in your offer." But Becket, with an invincible firmness, which could not be shaken either by the threats of his enemies, or the most earnest entreaties of his friends, adhered to his former savings, and the conference broke off without attaining the desired object. This gave many of the French nobility unfavourable impressions of him, as a person of intolerable pride and obstinacy; and even his great friend and patron, the French king, was, for a short time, disgusted.

A third attempt at reconciliation was made soon after, but with no better effect; and the parties now became more exasperated towards each other than ever, and all hopes of a reconciliation seemed to be at an end. Becket, in his letters to the pope at this time, speaks of Henry in the bitterest terms, as a more cruel tyrant and persecutor than Herod. As soon as Lent commenced, he resumed the exercise of his spiritual authority; and, without consulting the pope, thundered out sentences of excommunication

* Epist. S. Thom. l. iv. ep. 8. .

against many of the greatest men, both among the clergy and laity, among whom were the Bishops of London and Salisbury, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and his vicar, Hugh, Earl of Chester, &c. &c. He laid the province of Canterbury, including three-fourths of the kingdom, under an interdict. But these thunders played harmlessly round a monarch so well acquainted with the art of command as Henry was. No more than a few parishes shut their churches; yet the pope had almost emptied his quiver. On the other hand, the two kings began to incline towards peace, and Becket was compelled to bend the neck at the nod of his sole armed protector. A single scruple now delayed the accommodation. Becket required that he should be saluted with the kiss of peace, as a pledge of sincere reconciliation. Henry declared that he was bound by a vow never to kiss Becket. To get over this difficulty, the pope absolved him from his oath, and also granted absolution to all those whom Becket had excommunicated. While things were thus proceeding in a train of accommodation, the King of England's agents, who were at the court of Rome, succeeded in obtaining another favour from his holiness. This was a bull empowering the Archbishop of York to crown prince Henry, the king's son, a privilege which Becket claimed exclusively, as belonging to the see of Canterbury. This put Becket into a rage bordering upon madness. In his letters to the pope and cardinals, he tells them, in the plainest terms, that they had been bribed; that they had absolved the devil, and crucified Christ; and that he would make no more application to the court of Rome, where none but wicked men prevailed.*

At length, however, the auspicious moment arrived for terminating this long-pending quarrel. Becket had been six years in exile; and though hot water was obviously his element, he was no nearer the attainment of his object than when he left England. On the 22nd of July, A.D. 1170, all preliminaries being adjusted, the archbishop was conducted in great state to an audience of his sovereign, in a meadow, near Fretvill, in the heart of France, where the English and French courts, with a prodigious number of people of all ranks were assembled, to witness the imposing spectacle!

* Epist. S. Thom. l. v. ep. 20, 21.

The king appears on this occasion to have acted with great condescension towards the archbishop, but it made little or no impression on the heart of the latter. According to his own account of the matter, he entered upon a long harangue, enumerating all the injuries the king had done to the church; dwelling long on that greatest injury in permitting his son to be crowned by the Archbishop of York, and insisting that his majesty should make ample reparation for all these injuries—to which the king assented. Henry then desired the archbishop to declare his forgiveness of all those who had incurred his displeasure in the late dispute, as he had now forgiven all who had incurred *his* resentment. But to this most reasonable proposal, the artful prelate, who meditated revenge against all his adversaries, returned an evasive answer; pretending that some of these persons were more, and others less criminal; some of them were excommunicated by the pope, and some by other prelates; and, therefore, he could only promise in general, that if any of them failed of obtaining forgiveness eventually, it would be their own fault.* It is plain enough from all this, that his professed reconciliation was all a hollow truce—there was no cordiality in it on either side, and few imagined that it would be of long continuance.

Becket had two conferences with his sovereign after the conclusion of this pacification; but as they were spent in mutual recrimination, they contributed nothing towards the restoration of real friendship. At length having taken leave of his friend and patron, the King of France, and of the prelates and nobles who had generously supported him and his friends in their state of exile, Becket set out from Sens about the middle of November, and proceeded to Whitsand, a sea-port town in the Netherlands, where he arrived about the end of the month. While waiting there for a fair wind, he found means to send over to England three bulls—one for suspending the Archbishop of York, and the other two for excommunicating the Bishops of London and Salisbury, which were actually conveyed to those prelates. Nothing could be more inexcusable than this conduct—it was declaring war at the very moment he pretended to return in peace.

* Epist. S. Thomæ, l. v. pp. 46, 47.

Accordingly, it excited universal indignation against him, and proved the cause of his ruin. On the evening of the last day of November, he set sail from Whitsand, and landed next day at Sandwich, having been absent from England six years and three months.

On the following day, Becket entered Canterbury in a kind of triumph, attended by a crowd of the clergy and common people; and next morning he was waited upon by the agents of the excommunicated bishops, demanding their absolution, which he refused to grant. On the return of their agents to Dover with this answer, the bishops resolved to go over to Normandy, where the king then was, to implore his protection against Becket's violence. On approaching Henry, the three prelates threw themselves at his feet, imploring his protection from that disgrace and ruin with which they were threatened by the primate, painting the violence of his proceedings against themselves and others in such strong colours, that Henry fell into one of those violent fits of passion to which he was liable. In a paroxysm of rage he cried out: "Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate in a wallet behind him, trample upon his king, the royal family, and the whole kingdom? Will none of all those lazy cowardly knights whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest"?*

This vehement exclamation made a deep impression on all who heard it; and four of the most intrepid of the barons, namely Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Breto, retired, and, consulting with each other, formed a resolution, either to terrify the archbishop into submission, or put him to death. Accordingly, having laid their plan, they left the court at different times, and took different routes, to prevent suspicion. On the 28th of December, they all arrived at the castle of Ranulph de Broc, about six miles from Canterbury, where they arranged the whole plan of their proceedings, and next morning set out for Canterbury, accompanied by a body of resolute men, with arms concealed under their clothes. These men they placed in different parts of the city to prevent any interruption from the

* Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 10. p. 118, &c.

citizens. The four barons then proceeded to the palace of the archbishop, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and were admitted into the apartment where Becket sat conversing with some of his clergy. After their admission a long silence ensued, which was at length broken by Reginald Fitz-Urse, telling him that they were sent by the king to command him to absolve the prelates and others whom he had excommunicated; and then to go to Winchester, and make satisfaction to the young king, whom he had endeavoured to dethrone. On this a long and violent altercation followed, in the course of which they gave several hints, that his life was in danger if he did not comply. He however remained undaunted in his refusal. They then retired, charging his servants not to allow him to escape by flight; on which he cried out with great vehemence—"Flee! I will never flee from any living man. I am not come to flee, but to defy the rage of impious assassins."

When they were gone, his friends blamed him for the roughness of his answer, which had inflamed the fury of his enemies, and earnestly pressed him to make his escape; but his only reply was, "I have no need of your advice;—I know what I ought to do." Finding their threats unavailing, the barons retired, put on their coats of mail, and each taking a sword in his right hand, and an axe in the left, returned to the palace, but found the gate shut. While preparing to break it open, Robert de Broc conducted them up a back pair of stairs, and let them in at a window. A cry then arose, "they are armed! they are armed!", on which the clergy hurried the archbishop almost by force into the church, hoping that the sanctity of the cathedral would protect him from violence. They would also have closed the door, but Becket cried out,—“Begone, ye cowards! I charge you on your obedience, do not shut the door. What! will you make a castle of the church?”

After searching the palace without finding the archbishop, the four barons entered the church, and one of them exclaimed, "Where is the traitor? where is the archbishop?" Becket then advanced boldly, and said, "Here am I, an archbishop, but no traitor!" "Flee," cried one of the barons, "or you are a dead man." "No," said Becket, "I will never flee." William de Tracy then took hold

of his robe, and said, "You are my prisoner; come along with me." But, seizing him by the collar, the archbishop shook him with so much force, that he almost threw him down. Enraged at this resistance, Tracy aimed a blow with his sword, which nearly cut off the arm of one Edward Grim, a priest, and slightly wounded the archbishop on the head. Becket then bowed his head, as if he would pray, and uttered his last words—"To God and St. Mary I commend my soul and the cause of the church." The assassins then fell on him with many strokes—his skull was nearly cloven in two, nor did they desist until his brains were scattered over the pavement of the cathedral.*

Thus perished this celebrated man; courageous in his death; extraordinary in his life; vast in all his designs—never measuring his objects by their practicability, but pursuing them with a vehemence as imperious as his ambition, and with a perseverance which failure only stimulated, and which even personal danger could neither appal nor diminish. His murder, as may be supposed, excited a sentiment of indignation throughout Europe. The king's solemn asseveration that it was perpetrated without his privity, accompanied by a promise, that he would abandon his favourite measures, was at last admitted at Rome; but he was enjoined a humiliating penance at the tomb of Becket, who was, in process of time, canonized as a saint, and venerated as a martyr! A martyr he certainly was to the principles he chose to maintain; and as they were favourable to the papal pretensions, his memory was enshrined with every honour that the papal power could confer.

In our times this political drama has ceased. We compassionate Becket, for his flagitious murder; but we cannot avoid feeling, that, if he had succeeded in his struggle, his success would have converted the clergy of England into a distinct Braminical caste, released from all legal responsibility, independent of both crown and parliament, and towering high above all, in an awful sanctity flowing from their order, unconnected with their moral conduct, and which no personal vices would have been admitted to destroy. Some exhibition of this sort has ap-

* Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. ch. 14—18. Stephanides Vita S. Thom. pp. 81—87.

peared in Spain and Portugal, to the political misery and intellectual degradation of both those countries. Its establishment in England would have favoured its introduction into France; and Europe might have become a new Egypt, governed by an hierarchy, whose leader would have been the pope. The great effect of King Henry's struggle was to prevent this stupendous revolution, by subjecting the clergy to the legal tribunals, and to the constitution of the country. To this day we have reason to revere the name of Henry II.; for what sovereign has maintained a cause more momentous to his own subjects, or mankind at large?

Thomas Becket was the last of that description of ambitious clergymen who endeavoured to rival the throne, and to raise the church above the crown—the ecclesiastical above the constitutional power of the state. But after him the struggle was attempted no more. His fate was a lasting admonition of the personal danger of such conflicts; and the experience that an archbishop of his talents and activity could be destroyed, without rebellion in the people, and deposition to the king, taught every future primate to calculate the perils as well as the gratifications of ambition. Becket had lived in honour and greatness, vying with the proudest, till he began the conflict. Mortification, suspicion, a seven years' exile, and a violent death, were its bitter compensations. The hazards and the evils of such an enterprise being thus proved to be greater than the good that could be attained, no more Dunstons, Anselms, or Becket, appear in our ecclesiastical history. If Becket failed, who could hope to succeed? And what had Becket gained? Of him, from the hour in which he began his sacerdotal combat, it may be truly said, in prophetic metaphor, "He sowed the wind, and he reaped the whirlwind."

Becket died on the 29th December, A.D. 1170, in the fifty-third year of his age, and ninth of his pontificate. His character is thus summed up by Lord Lyttelton, a very competent and impartial judge:—"He was a man of great talents, of elevated thoughts, and of invincible courage, but of a most violent and turbulent spirit; excessively passionate, haughty, and vain-glorious; in his resolutions inflexible; in his resentments im-

placable. It cannot be denied, that he was guilty of a wilful and premeditated perjury ; that he opposed the necessary course of public justice, and acted in defiance of the laws of his country—laws which he had most solemnly acknowledged and confirmed. Nor is it less evident, that, during the heat of this dispute, he was in the highest degree ungrateful to a very kind master, whose confidence in him had been boundless, and who, from a private condition, had advanced him to be the second man in his kingdom. On what motives he acted, can be certainly judged of by Him alone, to whom all hearts are open. He might be misled by the prejudices of a bigoted age, and think he was doing an acceptable service to God, in contending, even to death, for the utmost excess of ecclesiastical, and papal authority. Yet the strength of his understanding, his conversation in courts and camps, among persons whose notions were more free and enlarged, the different colour of his former life, and the suddenness of the change which seemed to be wrought in him upon his election to Canterbury, would make one suspect, as many did in the times wherein he lived, that he only became the champion of the church, from an ambitious desire of sharing its power—a power more independent of the favour of the king, and therefore more agreeable to the haughtiness of his mind, than that which he had enjoyed as a minister of the crown. And this suspicion is increased by the marks of cunning and falseness which are evidently seen in his conduct on some occasions. Neither is it impossible, that, when first he assumed his new character, he might act the part of a zealot, merely or principally, from motives of arrogance and ambition ; yet, afterwards, being engaged, and inflamed by the contest, work himself up into a real enthusiasm. The continual praises of those with whom he acted, the honours done him, in his exile, by all the clergy of France, and by the vanity which appears so predominant in his mind, may have conduced to operate such a change. He certainly shewed, in the latter part of his life, a spirit as fervent as that of the warmest enthusiast ; such a spirit, indeed, as constitutes *heroism*, when it exerts itself in a cause beneficial to mankind. Had he defended the established laws of his country, and the fundamental rules of civil justice, with

as much zeal and intrepidity as he opposed them, he would have deserved to be ranked with those great men, whose virtues make one easily forget the alloy of some natural imperfections; but, unhappily, his good qualities were so misapplied, that they became no less hurtful to the public weal of the kingdom, than the worst of his vices.*"

So far Lord Lyttelton; to which I would, with all due deference, offer a slight addition, suggested by a somewhat nearer survey of the subject than that which his lordship has taken. Becket laid claim to the character of a minister of Jesus Christ—a Christian bishop—an overseer and ruler of his church. I am afraid that, if we try his pretensions by the rule which the Saviour and his apostles have laid down in the New Testament, to regulate our judgments in this matter—weighed in the balances—he will be found deplorably wanting. For instance, suppose we try the pretensions of Becket by the following words of the Saviour:—"The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but it shall not be so among you; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve; for I am among you as he that serveth;" Luke xxii. 25. Again: "The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves;" 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate;" Titus i. 7, &c. "Not lording it over God's heritage, but being an ensample to the flock;" 1 Peter v. 5, 6.

These are the scriptural qualifications of a Christian bishop, or elder; but I fear it would be utterly in vain to look for any one of them in the history of Becket. On the contrary, his character appears to be drawn by the pen of inspiration: 2 Tim. iii. 1—5, when describing the antichristian apostacy, in which should be found, assuming the Christian

* Lord Lyttelton's *Life of Henry II.*, vol. iv. p. 361, edit. 8vo.

name, "traitors, heady, high-minded, truce-breakers, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers; having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." These appear to me to have been the prominent features in the character of Becket; who, probably, without doing him any injustice, might have been exhibited to public view, as "ANTICHRIST PERSONIFIED." But what can we think of that church which could canonize such a character—hold him up as a saint and martyr—nay, a worker of miracles—and encourage pilgrimages to his tomb? Alas, for poor human nature!

From this exhibition of sanctimonious hypocrisy and priestly domination, how refreshing it is to turn our attention to the character of the King of Zion, that peerless ONE, who, though "the Image of the invisible God," the First-born of every creature, and Lord of all, when he came on the godlike errand of saving sinners, emptied himself of the form of God, laid aside the majesty of the Deity, and appeared in the humble guise of a servant—"meek and lowly of heart;" the Prince of Peace, and full of grace and truth. No herald-at-arms announced his approach; no trumpet is sounded before him to summon attention; no chariots of state, no liveries, no trappings of royalty graced his procession. He went about doing good to the bodies and souls of men, but, while engaged in this heavenly work, "he did not strive, nor cry, nor lift up his voice, in the street." He held no contests for superiority with the Jewish high-priests of his day; but, in all his intercourse with mortals, was an example to his followers of that meek and quiet spirit which is, "in the sight of God, of great price."

LECTURE XXXIV.

Introductory observations—The Papal power at its zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—Character of Gregory VII.; of Innocent III.; and of Boniface VIII.—History of the Church of England from the death of Henry II.—Reign of Richard I. and his contest with the Pope—King John, and his defeat by Innocent III.—Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and singular contest for the election of a successor—The Pope gets the election into his own hands, and appoints Stephen Langton, then at Rome—Indignation of the King of England at the Pope's conduct—Innocent places the whole kingdom under an interdict, and excommunicates the king—Conduct of the Pope's Legates in England—John deposed, and his kingdom made over to Philip of France, who prepares to invade England; but is prevented by John's submission to Rome—England offered to the Pope, and becomes tributary to him—Langton and his associates return to England—Conduct of the Pope's Legate towards them—Fourth Council of Lateran—Death and Character of King John, A.D. 1216.

IN tracing the history of the Church of England, from its earliest date, in the time of our Saxon ancestors, we are now approaching that period when the antichristian apostacy, by a gradual progression, was attaining its climax—a point of enormity beyond which it never did, nor, indeed, was it scarcely possible that it ever should, advance. The failure of Becket, in his contest with Henry II., evidently put a stop to further encroachments; and

though the clergy had abated nothing of their inclination to domineer and lord it over kings and princes, yet numbers of them began to discover that there were limits, beyond which it was dangerous to proceed, and that Becket had already gone too far. Nevertheless, the present lecture will furnish the opportunity of witnessing the terrible struggle that took place in this country for the superiority, and the advantages that the court of Rome possessed in having for a pope a skilful and consummate politician, and an imbecile monarch, who filled the throne of England, to contend with.

One of our latest and best historians, when taking a review of this subject, remarks, that, during the tenth century, Rome (papal) was prepared to rivet her fetters upon sovereigns; and at no period have the condition of society, and the circumstances of civil government, been so favourable for her ambition. But the consummation was still suspended, and even her progress arrested, for more than a hundred and fifty years. This dreary interval is filled up, in the annals of the papacy, by a series of revolutions and crimes. Six popes were deposed, two murdered, and one mutilated, in that space of time. Frequently two, or even three, competitors for the chair of St. Peter were on the field, among whom it is not always possible, by any genuine criticism, to distinguish the true shepherd; and these drove each other alternately from the city of Rome. But, in general, the pontiffs of that age had neither leisure nor capacity to perfect the great system of temporal supremacy which they had at heart, and looked rather to a vile profit from the sale of episcopal confirmations, or of exemptions to monasteries.

The corruption of the head extended naturally to all other members of the ecclesiastical body. All writers concur in stigmatizing the dissoluteness and neglect of decency that prevailed among the clergy at this time. Though several codes of discipline had been compiled by particular prelates, yet they were little regarded. The bishops, indeed, who were to enforce them, had most occasion to dread their severity. They were obtruded upon their respective sees, as the supreme pontiffs were upon that of Rome, by force or corruption. A child of five years old was made Archbishop of Rheims. The see of Narbonne was purchased for another at the age of ten. By this relaxation of

morals, the priesthood began to lose its hold on the prejudices of the people.

In the year 1073, one Hildebrand, an archdeacon of the church of Rome, by far the most conspicuous person of his age, and who, by his extraordinary qualities, had for some time maintained a commanding influence and unbounded ascendancy over the Italian clergy, was elevated to the chair of St. Peter, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. Of the exploits of this pontiff, I shall have occasion to treat more at large in a subsequent lecture, when the general affairs of the church of Rome come under review; at present, I merely refer to him as a notable instrument in advancing the claims and giving a powerful impetus to the arbitrary encroachments of his predecessors. He was the common enemy of all sovereigns, whose dignity as well as independence mortified his infatuated pride. He excommunicated Henry IV., deprived him of his kingdoms of Germany and Italy, released his subjects from their allegiance, forbidding them to obey him as sovereign; and thus obtained the glory of leaving all his predecessors behind, and astonishing mankind by an act of audacity and ambition, which the most emulous of his successors could hardly surpass.

But the epoch when the spirit of papal usurpation was most strikingly displayed was the pontificate of Innocent III., at which we are now arrived in tracing the history of the church of England. In each of the three leading objects which Rome had pursued—namely, independent sovereignty, supremacy over the Christian church, and control over the princes of the earth—it was the fortune of this pontiff to conquer. The maxims of Gregory VII. were now matured by more than a hundred years, and the right of trampling upon the necks of kings had been received, at least among churchmen, as an inherent attribute of the papacy. “As the sun and the moon are placed in the firmament,” says the pontiff, “the greater as the light of the day, and the lesser of the night; thus are there two powers in the church—the pontifical, which, as having the charge of souls, is the greater; and the royal, which is the less, and to which the bodies of men only are entrusted.” Intoxicated with these conceptions, the result of successful ambition, he thought no quarrel of princes beyond the

sphere of his jurisdiction. "Though I cannot judge of the right to a fief" (or territorial possession), said Innocent III. to the Kings of France and England, "yet it is my province to judge where sin is committed, and my duty to prevent all public scandals." And this is his apology for intermeddling with the secular affairs of kings and princes. If we may judge by the correspondence of this lordly priest, his highest gratification arose from the display of unbounded power. His letters, especially to ecclesiastics, are full of unprovoked rudeness. As impetuous as Gregory VII., he was unwilling to owe any thing to favour; he seems to anticipate denial, heats himself into anger as he proceeds, and when he commences with solicitation, seldom concludes without a menace. An extensive learning in ecclesiastical law; a close observation of what was passing in the world; and an unwearied diligence, sustained his fearless ambition. With such a temper, and with such advantages, he was formidable beyond all his predecessors, and perhaps beyond all his successors. On every side the thunder of Rome broke over the heads of princes. At his pleasure, he would place a kingdom under an interdict, and instantly public worship is suspended, and the dead lie unburied. If the clergy complain to him that the people, cut off from the offices of religion, refuse to pay tithes, and go to hear the sectaries, he consents that divine service shall be performed with closed doors, but denies them the rites of sepulture.

Such was Pope Innocent III., who filled the pontifical chair at the commencement of the thirteenth century, which may be regarded as the meridian or noon-day of papal usurpation,—extending itself from the pontificate of Innocent III. inclusively to that of Boniface VIII.,—or, in other words, throughout the thirteenth century. Rome inspired during this age all the terror of her ancient name: she was once more the mistress of the world, and kings were her vassals. Treading in the steps of Innocent III., the popes who succeeded him endeavoured to improve upon his system; and sanguine with past success, they aspired to render every kingdom or state in Europe formally dependent upon the see of Rome. But the consummation seems to have been realized in the pontificate of Boniface VIII., who was raised to his throne in the year 1294. Full of inordinate arrogance and ambition,

and not sufficiently aware of the change that had taken place in human opinion, Boniface endeavoured to strain to a higher pitch the despotic pretences of former pontiffs. As Gregory VII. appears the most usurping of all the bishops of Rome, till we read the history of Innocent III., so Innocent III. is thrown into the shade by the superior audacity of Boniface VIII.; and it is in this way the Scripture was fulfilled which foretold the rise and progress of Antichrist, as effected by means of "evil men and seducers waxing worse and worse—deceiving and being deceived."

We now return, to glance at the history of the church of England, during the thirteenth century, which will present us with abundant facts in justification of what has been alleged concerning the character of these popes.

On the demise of Henry II., the throne of England was filled by Richard I., surnamed the "lion-hearted," a kind of knight-errant, who set his heart upon an expedition to the Holy Land. This was a favourite object, at that time, with almost all the crowned heads in Europe, and they were encouraged in it by the court of Rome. Having made the necessary preparations, Richard departed, leaving the affairs of the kingdom to the management of the Bishop of Ely, who was, at once, chief-justiciary, or, in the king's absence, regent of the kingdom; he was also chancellor, and papal legate. This prelate reigned for some time in England, with more than regal power, and lived in more than royal pomp. By virtue of his legantine commission, he held two councils in the course of the year 1190, one at Gloucester, and the other at Westminster,—for what specific object, besides that of an ostentatious display of his own greatness, it is difficult to make out,—for no business of importance was transacted at either of these councils. The see of Canterbury was then filled with a prelate whose name was Baldwin. This man, seized with the epidemic frenzy of the times, had taken upon him the cross,—that is, had resolved on becoming a soldier, and made a vow to that purpose at a council held at Gaitington, Feb. 15th, 1188. Having spent about three years in preaching up the crusade, and preparing for his expedition, he embarked at Dover, March 25th, 1191, abandoning both the honours and duties of the primacy, to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land. After suffering many hardships in his voyage,

he arrived in the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais, where he died on the 20th of November following.

Few events were more to be dreaded by a King of England, at that time, than a vacancy in the see of Canterbury; it seldom failed to be productive of a violent contest at home, and a no less violent conflict with the court of Rome. And this was remarkably the case during the short reign of Richard, in which two vacancies occurred. On the report of Baldwin's death, which reached England in the beginning of March, 1192, the dispute between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, about the right of election, was, as usual, revived. Council after council was held to appoint a successor to Baldwin; and after keeping the country in a state of feverish excitement for the greater part of the year, the monks succeeded in placing Reginald, bishop of Bath, on the archiepiscopal throne, to the great discomfiture of their antagonists, who hoped to have conferred the honour on the Archbishop of Rouen, who looked forward to it as the consummation of his hopes; but, it is said, turned pale and fell a trembling on seeing all his prospects blasted. Reginald, however, did not long enjoy his new dignity, for he only survived his election one month.

They now had to make a fresh election, and the choice fell upon Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, who was installed on the 29th of May, A.D. 1193. The conduct of the monks, however, in claiming the exclusive right of electing an archbishop, was very offensive to the king, as well as to the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and they accordingly laid their plan for counteracting their influence in future. This was to be done by removing the place of election from Canterbury to Lambeth, where they set about building a palace, hoping that the distance of the place would defeat any opposition. But nothing could escape the vigilance of the suspicious monks, who instantly took the alarm, and commenced a most violent opposition. They immediately despatched two of their number to Rome, where they met with a most favourable reception, and soon returned with a bull from Pope Innocent III., dated April 25th, A.D. 1197, directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and commanding that prelate, in the most imperious strain, to demolish all the buildings he had erected

at Lambeth, within thirty days, under the penalty of being suspended from his office; "for it is not fit," says this insolent pontiff in his bull, "that any man should have any authority who doth not revere and obey the apostolic see."*

The archbishop was greatly shocked and perplexed when he received this bull, and employed every method he could invent to gain the consent of the monks to a short delay of its execution. The king was still more enraged at the conduct of the monks in applying to Rome without his knowledge; and, in a letter, he threatened them with his highest indignation, and the confiscation of all their possessions, if they insisted on the execution of the papal bull. But the monks were quite inflexible; and, knowing themselves to be secure under the protection of the Roman pontiff, they despised all the threats of their sovereign and the persuasions of their primate.

Richard, however, was in earnest: he sent his officers to seize all the possessions and treasures of the monks. The archbishop also despatched agents to Rome, furnished with large sums of money, and charged with letters in his favour from all his suffragans. These agents were admitted to an audience of the pope and cardinals, on the 24th of October, 1197, when they presented their letters, and pleaded their cause with great ability; and on the following day the monks of Canterbury made their reply. The cause being thus heard, the pope confirmed his former sentence against the archbishop, which he intimated to him by a bull, dated November 20th, threatening him with the highest censures of the church, if he did not immediately demolish the works at Lambeth. His holiness, at the same time, directed another bull to the king, commanding him, in a magisterial tone, to see the sentence of the apostolic see executed; and telling him further, that if he presumed to oppose its execution, he would soon convince him, by the severity of his punishment, how hard it was "to kick against the pricks!" In another bull, which he addressed to the king, dictated, if possible, in a still higher strain, he commands him immediately to restore to the monks of Canterbury all their possessions; for "he would not endure the least contempt of

* Gervas, Chron. col. 1602, &c.

himself, or of God, whose place he held upon earth ; but would punish, without delay, and without respect of persons, every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the whole world that he was determined to act in a royal manner.”* To such an intolerable height of impiety and arrogance had this audacious priest arrived ! These bulls had the desired effect ; the king and archbishop were terrified at the thunders of the church, and being convinced of the danger and vanity of resistance, they determined to obey.

Thus did the pertinacious monks obtain a complete victory over their king and primate, and had the satisfaction of seeing the obnoxious buildings razed to the very foundation, in the months of January and February, A.D. 1199, a little before the death of King Richard, who died on the 24th of March following, of a mortal wound which he received abroad, after a reign of ten years, not one of which was passed in England, the seat of his empire, and the principal source of his wealth and strength.

Richard was succeeded by King John, one of the most contemptible of princes, who, to get possession of the crown, was the murderer of his elder brother, Arthur. It is to the weakness and pusillanimity of John, however, that the people of England are indebted for “Magna Charta,”—the great charter of their constitutional liberty and civil rights,—though it does not fall within my province to detail the circumstances connected with this important subject. What I have to do with, is the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, and those during the reign of King John certainly are sufficiently interesting to engage our attention. If Pope Innocent III. acted in a manner so imperious towards the lion-hearted Richard, we need not be surprised at finding him domineering with still greater insolence over his indolent, pusillanimous successor, King John.

On the 18th July, 1205, the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, took place, and was followed by consequences so singular and important, that they call for a particular recital in this place.

The monks of the cathedral of Canterbury, as has been already

* Gervas, Chron. col. 1616—1624,

mentioned, claimed an exclusive right to elect their archbishops ; but this right had always been disputed by the kings of England and the prelates of the province. On the present occasion, the monks determined to exclude their competitors from any share in the election, by making a secret and sudden choice, before the vacancy could be generally known. As soon, therefore, as they heard of the death of Hubert, they held a chapter in the night-time, and chose their own sub-prior, Reginald, to be archbishop, and placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. They, at the same time, obliged Reginald to take an oath, that he would not publish his election without the consent of the convent, and sent him away next morning, with some of their own number, to Rome, in order to obtain the approbation of the pope. The scheme was well contrived, and would probably have succeeded, if the vanity of Reginald had not got the better of his prudence, and even the obligation of his oath. But no sooner had he crossed the Channel, than he assumed the state of the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and shewed the letters of his election to several persons. The news of this soon reached England, and occasioned no little noise. The monks were so enraged at this foolish conduct of their elect, that they determined to abandon him, in order to make their peace with the king, whose indignation they justly dreaded. They accordingly appointed a deputation to wait upon the king, to ask his permission to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and, to obtain it, they secretly agreed to choose John de Gray, the then bishop of Norwich, which was accordingly done, with the king's licence. That nothing might be wanting to render his election valid, some of the monks were despatched to Rome to procure the pope's sanction.*

The hour of perplexity, however, soon arrived : this affair which was already sufficiently embarrassed by a double election, became increasingly so by the appearance of a third party. The bishops of the province, who had always claimed a share in the election of their metropolitan, had been totally neglected in the late elections. They therefore sent their agents to Rome to complain of this neglect, and to protest against both elections, as invalid on that

* Matt. Paris, pp. 148, 149.

account. Nothing could be more agreeable to Pope Innocent III. than the appearance of so many parties and so many clashing claims. Vast sums of money were expended, and a whole year was employed in pleadings, audiences, hearing witnesses, and examining records. At length, when one part of this great controversy was ripe for decision, the pope issued a bull, dated 21st December, 1206, declaring that from thenceforward the suffragans of the province of Canterbury should not pretend to any share in the election of their metropolitan, nor disturb the monks of the cathedral in the enjoyment of their exclusive right to chuse their archbishop.

Having thus determined the dispute between the bishops and the monks, his holiness proceeded to examine the great point of controversy between the two archbishops-elect. The agents of both parties supported their respective claims with equal eagerness and obstinacy. When more than a year had been spent in pleadings and investigations on the subject, the sovereign pontiff pronounced a definitive sentence, declaring both elections irregular and uncanonical, and decreeing that neither of the persons should be capable of being chosen Archbishop of Canterbury.

The see of Canterbury being thus declared vacant, the pope began to unfold his scheme, which was that of filling it with a creature of his own, without so much as consulting any of the parties at home. In order to this, he commanded such of the monks of Canterbury as happened to be then at Rome immediately to proceed to the election of an archbishop, and at the same time commanded them to chuse Cardinal Stephen Langton. The monks objected, that they were incompetent to do this without the consent of their convent; but the pope hastily replied, that his authority supplied all defects. The monks, fourteen in number, who had been agents for the Bishop of Norwich, laboured under another and still greater difficulty. Before they left England, they had solemnly sworn to the king—who dreaded that they might be corrupted at the court of Rome—that they would never acknowledge any person for Archbishop of Canterbury but the Bishop of Norwich, who was a personal favourite of the king. But the plenitude of papal power soon removed this obstacle. His holiness at once absolved them from the obligation of their

oaths, and commanded them immediately to proceed to an election, under penalty of the highest censures of the church, with which they all complied except one. In this way Langton was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury by a few monks at Rome, and consecrated by the pope himself, at Viterbo, on the 27th June, A.D. 1207.

Apprehensive that this unprecedented transaction would rouse the indignation of the King of England, Pope Innocent endeavoured beforehand to soothe the mind of that prince. With this view he sent him four rings of gold, set with four different kinds of precious stones, accompanied with a flattering letter, which contained an illustration of the mysteries represented by those rings. King John, who was equally fond of trinkets and of flattery, was much gratified by this papal present; but the satisfaction was of short duration. A few days afterwards, the bull arrived announcing the election and consecration of Cardinal Langton, which threw the king into a violent rage against both the pope and the monks of Canterbury. As these last were most within his reach, they felt the first effects of his indignation. He despatched two officers, with a company of armed men, to Canterbury, who took possession of the convent of the Holy Trinity, banished the monks out of the kingdom, and seized all their estates.

John next wrote a spirited and angry letter to the pope, in which he accused him of injustice and presumption, in raising a stranger to the highest dignity in the kingdom, without his knowledge. He reproached the pope and court of Rome with ingratitude, in behaving as they had done towards a country from which they derived more money than from all the other kingdoms on this side the Alps. He declared that he was determined to sacrifice his life in defence of the rights of his crown; and that, if his holiness did not immediately repair the injury he had done him, he would break off all communication with Rome. This letter, though written in a strain very becoming a King of England, was quite intolerable to the pride of the haughty pontiff, who had been long accustomed to trample on the majesty of kings. Innocent was not tardy in returning an answer, in which, after many expressions of displeasure and resentment, he plainly tells the king, that if he persisted in this dispute, he would plunge himself into inextricable difficulties, and at length be crushed by him,

before whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth.*

These letters might be regarded in the light of a formal declaration of war between the pope and the King of England; but the contest was very unequal. The former had now attained that extravagant height of power which made the greatest monarchs tremble upon their thrones; and the latter had sunk very low in both his reputation and authority, having before this time lost his foreign dominions by his indolence, and the esteem and affection of his subjects at home by his follies and his crimes. Indeed, the pope was not ignorant of the advantage he possessed in the contest; and consequently, without delay, he laid all the dominions of King John under an interdict; and this sentence was published in England, at the pope's command, March 23rd, A. D. 1208, by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, though the king endeavoured to deter them from it by the most dreadful threats. These, however, were unavailing; for, from that time, the churches were shut up, and the clergy refrained from performing any of the duties of their function, except hearing confessions, baptizing infants, and administering the viaticum. The king was so much enraged against the clergy for obeying the interdict, that he commanded his sheriffs to seize all their lands and revenues in their several counties, and withdraw from them the protection of the laws, by which they were exposed to injuries of all kinds. To avoid these evils, some of them fled into foreign parts, others confined themselves within the precincts of their churches, and the whole kingdom was a scene of confusion and dismay.

When this interdict had continued about two years, the pope proceeded a step further, and pronounced the awful sentence of excommunication against King John, which he commanded the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, his most obsequious tools, to publish in England. These prelates, who then resided on the continent, sent copies of the sentence, and of the pope's commands to publish it in their churches, to the bishops and clergy who remained in England. But such was their dread of the royal indignation, that none of them had the courage to execute these

* M. Paris, pp. 156, 157.

commands. Even Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, one of the king's judges, when sitting on the bench in the Exchequer, at Westminster, declared to the other judges, that the king was excommunicated, and that he did not think it lawful for him to act any longer in his name; for which declaration he was thrown into prison, where he soon after died.*

The barons and people of England, however, evinced much loyalty to their king, which greatly enraged the pope, who sent them letters full of threats and promises. But these letters produced little or no effect; for such was the steadiness of his subjects, that while he lay under the sentence of excommunication, the king executed the only two successful expeditions of his reign, the one into Wales, and the other into Ireland. We should be disposed to infer from this, that if John had continued to act with firmness, and had secured the affections of his own subjects, by a just and mild administration, he would have triumphed over all the arts of Rome, and delivered himself and his country from their ignominious subjection to a foreign priest.

In the course of the year 1211, in consequence of some secret overtures that had been made, the pope sent two legates into England, whose names were Pandulph and Durand. These legates were admitted to an audience, at a parliament which was held at Northampton, when a most violent altercation took place between them and the king. Pandulph plainly told the king, even in the face of his parliament, that he was bound to obey the pope in temporals as well as in spirituals! and when John refused to submit to the will of his holiness without reserve, the legate, with shameless effrontery, published the sentence of excommunication against him, with a loud voice, absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and declared that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England.† This was certainly carrying clerical insolence to the height of extravagance. But in those unhappy times, the meanest agents of the pope insulted the greatest princes with impunity.

* M. Paris, pp. 158, 159.

† Annal. Monast. Burton, apud Rerum Anglican. Script. t. i. pp. 165, 166.

On the return of the legates to Rome, in the following year, Pope Innocent solemnly ratified all their proceedings against the King of England; and finding that all the success which he expected from them had not ensued, he proceeded to more violent measures. He pronounced with great solemnity a sentence of deposition against king John, and of excommunication against all who should obey him, or have any connection with him.* When these sentences were known in England, they began to excite the superstitious fears of too many of the barons, who were at the same time much dissatisfied with their prince, for his imprudent, illegal, and oppressive government. John got intimation of this from various quarters, and he became not a little alarmed—he began to stagger in his resolution. To render the sentence of deposition against king John effectual, the pope appointed the King of France to put it in execution, and promised him the pardon of all his sins, and the kingdom of England for his reward—a temptation which that prince had neither the wisdom nor virtue to resist. Blinded by his ambition, he became the tool of the court of Rome, in destroying the common rights of princes, which he ought rather to have supported with all his power. Philip, the then king of France, now become the champion of the church, raised a mighty army, and collected a great fleet, in order to invade England, and take possession of that kingdom in consequence of the papal grant; not reflecting that he thereby acknowledged the pope's right to dispose of crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure.

On the 21st April, 1213, Philip commanded a large army to assemble at Rouen, whence they were to march to Boulogne, where an armament of seventeen hundred vessels was prepared to convey and guard them. John collected all the force he could muster, for the protection of his country, at Dover. He had every outward means of defence, but he was known to be without spirit or manliness. All these preparations, however, only served to promote the purposes of the court of Rome; for as soon as John was sufficiently intimidated by his dread of the French army, and his suspicions of his own subjects, to induce him to make an igno-

* Matt. Paris. p. 161.

minious surrender of his crown and kingdom to the pope, the French king was obliged to abandon his enterprize against England, to avoid the thunders of the church, the dreadful effects of which he had before his eyes. The trembling John now implored the protection of Rome, whatever submission it might cost. The legate assured him that the supreme pontiff would require nothing which was not absolutely necessary either to the honour of the church or the safety of the king himself. He proposed, therefore, to withdraw the excommunication immediately, on condition of John's promising to receive Langton, whose promotion to the primacy had been the occasion of all this furious contest, with all the bishops and clergy who acknowledged him, and to indemnify them for all the damage they had sustained.

To all this the King of England consented ; but the consummation of ignominy was yet to come. Under the specious pretext of securing England from attacks by Philip, it was suggested to John to surrender his kingdoms to the pope, as to a lord-paramount—to swear fealty to him—to receive the British islands back as fiefs of the holy see ; and to pay an annual tribute for them of 700 marks of silver for England, and 300 for Ireland. On the 15th of May, John duly performed all the degrading ceremonials of resignation, homage, and fealty.* On

* The following are the words of the letters patent, delivered to the pope's legate :—

“ I, John, by the grace of God, King of England, &c., freely grant unto God, and the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the holy Roman church, our mother, and unto the lord, Pope Innocent, and to his catholic successors, the whole kingdom of England, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, with all the rights and all the appurtenances of the same, for the remission of our sins, and of all our generation, both for the living and the dead, that from this time forward we may receive and hold them of him, and of the Roman church, as second after him, &c. We have sworn, and do swear, unto the said lord, Pope Innocent, and to his catholic successors, and to the Roman church, a liege homage, in the presence of Pandulphus. If we can be in the presence of the lord pope, we will do the same ; and to this we oblige our heirs and successors for ever, &c. And for the sign of this our perpetual obligation and concession, we will and ordain, that out of our proper and especial revenues from the said kingdoms, for all our service and custom which we ought to render, the Roman church receive a thousand marks sterling yearly, without diminution of St. Peter's-pence ; that is, five hundred marks at the feast of St. Michael, and five hundred at Easter, &c. And if we, or any of our succe-

his knees, he *humbly* offered his kingdoms to the pope, and put them into the hands of the legate, Pandulph, who retained them for five days. He offered his tribute, which the legate threw from him, but afterwards condescended to gather up again! The nuncio immediately went to France, to announce to Philip, that he must no longer molest a prince who was a penitent son and a faithful vassal of the holy see, nor presume to molest a kingdom which was now part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

In consequence of the unlimited submission of John to the will of the pope, Langton came over to England, took possession of his see, and, soon after, absolved the king from the sentence of excommunication. The Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, also returned at the same time, with all the clergy and laity who had been banished in the course of this quarrel. It had been stipulated, that these prelates should be indemnified for all the damages they had sustained, and were further promised a considerable share in the management of public affairs; but their expectations in these respects were not realized, and they soon began to complain, that, when the pope had gained his own ends, he became unmindful of the interests of his friends. Nor were these complaints without foundation; for the pope sent Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum, into England, in the capacity of legate; and this man regulated all ecclesiastical affairs in the most arbitrary manner, without consulting the primate or any of the clergy. In bestowing vacant benefices, he paid little or no regard to the pretensions of the papal party, preferring only his own creatures, or those recommended by the king.

Although King John had been absolved from the sentence of excommunication soon after his agreement with the pope,

sore, presume to attempt against these things, let him forfeit his right to the kingdom, &c."

Matthew Paris tells us, that, on delivering this letter, the king placed a sum of money at the feet of Pandulph, the pope's legate, which the former trode upon with his foot, in token of the subjection of the country to the Roman see. "*Pandulphus pecuniam, quam in arcem subjectionis rex contulerat, sub pede suo conculcavit, archiepiscopo dolente et reclamante.*"

the interdict upon the kingdom was still continued, till it should be seen how he would fulfil his engagements and adhere to his agreement. But John's obsequiousness and subserviency having now entirely gained him the heart of the pope, as well as by renewing his submission, and sending him a large sum of money, his holiness gave a commission to his legate to remove the interdict. This was accordingly done, in St. Paul's cathedral, on the 29th of June, 1214, after it had continued six years, three months, and fourteen days.

Pope Innocent III. was now in the zenith of his power. The King of England was the last, and most ignoble, opponent over whom he triumphed. In the year 1215, he assembled at Rome, in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran, a general council, which became memorable under the name of the Fourth Council of Lateran. It was composed of four hundred bishops, and eight hundred abbots and friars, besides inferior clergy. On this occasion the ambitious pontiff triumphantly exercised the plenitude of his assumed authority. The council was chiefly engaged in devising means to exterminate the Albigenses, in the south of France, whose interesting history will occupy some future Lectures. By the decrees of this council, all persons convicted of heresy were to be delivered up for capital punishment to the secular power, or civil magistrates, who were required, under pain of excommunication, to make oath that they would exterminate such heretics; and it was further enacted, that, if they did not take the oath within a year, their contumacy should be reported to the sovereign pontiff, that he might declare their vassals absolved from their oaths of homage and fealty, and bestow their lands on the catholics who concur in the extermination of the heretics. The promulgation of this, and similar sanguinary canons, gave occasion to the most horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

It is foreign to the design of these Lectures, to narrate the contention which at this time took place between King John and his barons, who extorted from him, at Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, the "Magna Charta" of our civil liberties. It took place in June, 1215,

and is related in all our histories of England. On that memorable occasion, Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, though raised to the primacy under circumstances which might have thrown doubts over his fidelity to his country, exercised his great power as became an Englishman. At a meeting of prelates and peers, at St. Paul's, held on the 25th of August, Langton sided with the barons, and apprised them of the extensive application of the principles, and express words of the charter of Henry I., to their present grievances; and from that time he became the rallying point and guide of the confederated barons. But I may not further pursue this subject. Pope Innocent was dreadfully enraged at him for this part of his conduct, and laid him under a sentence of suspension; and further to shew his wrath, he reversed the election of his brother, Simon Langton, who had been chosen Archbishop of York. But John died on the 18th of October, 1216; an event most opportune for the country in all respects, as it gave a new turn to the state of affairs. Perhaps no prince ever left behind him less attachment, or even commiseration; perhaps there never was any whose memory was regarded with such balanced emotions of detestation and contempt. His character is thus drawn by one of our best historians:—

“ In the depraved character of John, there seems less than the usual mixture of qualities on which, even in bad men, some panegyric may be founded. Gross in his appetites, obstinate in self-will, furious in his anger, slothful, debauched, tyrannical, and pusillanimous—his defects were not relieved by any mental capacity, or social attainments. They were aggravated by the display of a disposition both cruel and unprincipled. His torturing the Jews, was the suggestion and gratification of a merciless mind. His confining the wife and children of a noble, who had affronted him, in Windsor Castle, to die of famine, as they did; his ordering one day, before his dinner, twenty-eight Welch lads to be hanged, whom he had received the year before as hostages, because their countrymen made depredations on his borders; his torturing to death one of his clergy, who is described as a faithful, prudent,

and accomplished man ; his hanging the poor hermit and his son, who had ventured a prediction, that he would not be king on the next Ascension-day, which he verified by his resignation of the kingdom to Pandulph, the pope's legate : these instances shew that he had a malignity of disposition which no human sympathies softened. And as to his religious opinions, they may be inferred from his exclamation over a fat stag, taken in hunting, as he saw him flayed :—" How happily has this fellow lived ! yet he never heard mass ! " *

The actions of John are best accounted for on the supposition, that he was deranged ; and this idea gives some plausibility to a story, mentioned by Matthew Paris, that, in the hour of his extremity with the pope or the barons, he sent secretly, but in great haste, two of his knights, and a clergyman of London, to the Mahometan Emperor of Spain and Africa, offering to yield his kingdom to be tributary to him, and to change his religion for that of the Koran, on condition of his relieving him from his embarrassments !

If the object of this embassy had been merely to ask the assistance of the Turkish monarch against his barons, it would have been credible ; but that the King of England should have offered to embrace mahometanism, and to make his kingdom tributary, could only arise from a paroxysm of insanity. Such, however, was his real history, that he lived without respect, and died unlamented. Yet, from his disgraceful reign, one inestimable benefit was extracted to his subjects and their successors—a definite ascertainment and legal record of their constitutional rights.

I shall conclude the present Lecture with offering a few obvious reflections on the state of things at this dismal period. Enough has been said already to satisfy every reflecting mind respecting the real character of the clergy in general, at this time. In the year 1215, at the council of Lateran, mentioned very recently, Pope Innocent III. exhorted that numerous and illus-

* History of England during the Middle Ages ; by Sharon Turner, F.S.L., R.A.L. ; London, 1825, vol. i. p. 428, 8vo. edit.

trious assembly, to devise the best possible means of correcting the ecclesiastical manners; grounding it upon this principle, that the disorders which were then so prevalent in the church, flowed chiefly from the clergy themselves: from their conduct, he declared the evils to proceed, which were infesting the whole church. But the difficulty was, how to reform a body of men who were enjoying half the property of all Europe, and whose irregularities were practised by their very leaders, who called out for their amendment! Cardinals came over to England, and made strong laws against ecclesiastical depravity. How were these canons met? Some of the censured detected one of the cardinal-legates in the commission of the very crime, as it was called, which he came over to correct; and they exposed and derided the corrupted teacher.* The bishop, the abbot, the monk, the friar, the cardinal, and the pope, were too much alike in their propensities and manners, to be entitled to the office of reproaching others, or qualified to amend the system of crying evils. What was the consequence? Councils made constitutions—popes exhorted—and reformers sneered. But those who possessed the means of luxury would not renounce it; and it became obvious, that nothing less than a total change of the system, or depriving the clergy of their immense wealth and property, could effectively amend it. The pope vainly imagined, that the sword, or thunders of the church, could uphold such a monstrous system of corruptions; and he used those terrible engines with all the cruelty of a Nero, multiplying by it every danger he most dreaded, and ensuring to his own authority, thus abused, the hatred of the feeling heart and reasoning mind.

The discrepancy, or contrariety, between the professed belief, and the manners, habits, and property of the clergy, was obvious to every considerate and reflecting person; and it was this that mainly subverted their power, because on that point they were most assailable. They had made themselves the sole judges of their faith and conduct. On this ground they were long im-

* See p. 61.

pregnable; because their property, power, and influence, like a mighty bulwark, baffled all assault. But the time of reformation was now beginning to dawn upon Europe. And when Wickliffe and his associates, in England, and Huss and Jerome, in Bohemia, men of unimpeachable faith and manners, arose, attacking the vices and wealth of the clergy, the day of the dissolution of their power was obviously fast approaching. But I must not, in this place, anticipate what will more properly come before us in subsequent Lectures.

I close the present lecture by simply stating, that, while these matters were transacting in England, dissenters from the communion of the church of Rome were multiplying in the south of France in a most extraordinary degree, under the name of ALBIGENSES, and even in Italy, under that of PATERINES. Their interesting history will shortly come before us; and the terrible cruelties exercised by the court of Rome in order to exterminate them, by fire and sword, and more especially by that infernal institution, the Inquisition, which, at this particular juncture, was brought into operation, will furnish a complete and palpable exhibition of the spirit and temper of Papal Christianity. But this, be it remembered, is Antichrist—the Man of Sin—the son of perdition—the beast with seven heads and ten horns, of which you read in the Apocalypse, chap. xiii., and of whom it is said, “Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him?” Yet, the consumption of this monstrous power was determined in the divine counsels; and, blessed be God, we live in a day when that which was prophecy, is now matter of history, of observation and experience. Let it confirm our faith in divine Revelation, and excite our gratitude to the God of all grace.

LECTURE XXXV.

State of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England from the death of King John to the beginning of the fourteenth century, A.D. 1216-1300—Reign of Henry III. A.D. 1217-1272—Contentions for the Primacy—Enormous exactions of the Court of Rome—The Churches filled with Italian Clergy—Constitutions of Otho—Archbishop Boniface and his primacy—Conduct of the Barons towards the Pope's legate—Application to the Council of Lyons—Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln; his conduct and character—Synod of Merton—Monstrous exactions of the See of Rome—Reign of King Edward I.—He makes a decided stand against the encroachments of the Clergy—Convenes the Clergy at Westminster, and demands half their Revenues—The Clergy resist, and the King puts them out of the protection of the civil law—Innovations during the thirteenth century—General excommunications explained and illustrated—Reflections.

ON the death of King John, the crown of England devolved on his eldest son, who took the title of Henry III., and was led through the solemnities of a coronation in the tenth year of his age. He continued to reign nominally during the long period of fifty-six years, dying in November, 1272—a memorable period, though it owes no part of its interest to the monarch from whose sway it derives its name. It brought to a consummation the usurpations and atrocities of the court of Rome; and from about this period, matters began to take a retrograde movement, and the consumption of “the Man of Sin,” not long after, may be said to have commenced. But it will be necessary to go a little into detail on this interesting subject.

The subjection of the kingdom to the see of Rome by King John, was an extraordinary event, and it was attended by very singular effects. It produced an immediate and entire change in the language and conduct of all parties concerned. In particular, the pope, who had poured out upon the King of England the heaviest curses, as the worst of men, and the greatest enemy of God, now loaded him with blessings, as the best of princes, and the prime favourite of Heaven. The imbecile and infatuated John, who had maintained a passionate opposition to the ambitious pretences of the pope, and threatened to pull down his power, now became the warmest advocate for those pretences, and took shelter behind the papal chair. On the other hand, the English barons, who had affected to revere the dictates of the pope, as the commands of God, and to dread his fulmination, as the artillery of Heaven, while pointed against King John, treated them with the most sovereign contempt, when they were turned against themselves. Such is the shameless versatility of unprincipled politicians!

The court of Rome, whose thirst for money was altogether insatiable, formed a project about this time, which would have brought a prodigious mass of money into the papal coffers, had it been carried into effect. By this project, the revenues of two prebendaries in every cathedral, and of two monks in every monastery, in all the countries in communion with the church of Rome, were to have been granted to the pope, for the better support of his dignity. When this scheme for augmenting the magnificence of the papal see was laid before the parliament of England, A.D. 1226, the following cold and evasive answer was returned to the papal legate:—"That this affair concerned all Christendom, and that England would conform to the resolutions of other Christian countries."*

On the 9th July, A. D. 1228, in consequence of the death of Archbishop Langton, the see of Canterbury became vacant—an event which in those days never failed to be a source of litigation, and to endanger the peace of the kingdom. On the present occasion, the monks of Canterbury made a hasty election of Walter de

* Wilkin, Concil. t. i. p. 620.

Hemesham, one of their own number, with whom both the king and the bishops of the province being dissatisfied, all parties, as usual, appealed to Rome. His holiness was in no haste to determine this cause, which he affected to think very doubtful and difficult, till the king, by his commissioners, made him a promise of a tenth of all the moveables, both of the clergy and laity of England. This had the desired effect; it made the case so clear, that he immediately declared the election void, and, to prevent all further contests, by the plenitude of his own power he appointed Richard le Grand, then chancellor of Lincoln, to be archbishop.*

His holiness, who was blessed with an infallible remembrance of the promises of the faithful, sent a legate into England to collect the tenths which the king had promised: but the demand now met with great opposition in the English parliament, especially from the lay barons. At length, however, by the united weight of the papal and regal power, all were obliged to submit, and this heavy tax was collected with great exactness. To shorten his own work, the pope's legate obliged the bishops to pay the tax for their inferior clergy; and when any of them complained that they had not money, he presented to them certain Italian usurers whom he had brought with him, who lent them money at an exorbitant interest. The money was to be forthcoming in new coin, and of good weight; and the legate was armed with authority to excommunicate all that refused compliance. He took the tithe of the corn while it was in the blade—that is, of the crop of the following harvest; and so urgent and griping was he in his exactions, that the churchwardens were forced to pledge the chalices and church plate to satisfy his covetousness. We cannot wonder that such proceedings as these should fill the country with loud and clamorous complaints: but thus cruelly were our ancestors oppressed and fleeced by the venal and insatiable court of Rome.

The new archbishop, whose election had cost the nation so dear, enjoyed his dignity only about two years, for he died on the 3rd of August, 1231; an event which made way for fresh disturbances. The monks now made four successive elections, which were all annulled by the pope, because the persons elected were not thought to be cordially attached to the interests of the court of Rome. At

* M. Paris, pp. 350, 362.

length, after two years vacancy, the pope recommended Edmund Rich, treasurer of Salisbury, who was chosen and consecrated to the vacant see. In the choice of this prelate, his holiness was far from evincing his infallibility; for, so chagrined and disgusted was the new archbishop with the grievous and incessant exactions of the court of Rome, which he found it impossible to resist, that in a short time he quitted the kingdom, and retired to the monastery of Pontigny, in France, where he died in the year 1240.

The fate of this primate was not a little singular, and a few particulars may be here mentioned concerning him, as serving to illustrate the precarious grounds on which posthumous fame often rests, and especially the honour of canonization in the church of Rome. He died an exile in a foreign land, a martyr to the factions of the day, and his bones rested in peace in the Abbey of Pontigny. Not long after his death, it began to be whispered that *undoubted* miracles had been wrought at his tomb, and these miracles grew and multiplied in great abundance. Commissioners were consequently deputed by the pope to investigate the matter and report to his holiness thereupon, in order that he might determine whether or not it was proper to admit the said Archbishop Edmund into the calendar, and allow him the honours of canonization. The result, however, was unfavourable to the character of the miracles: the commissioners reported to their disadvantage; and to the great mortification of the monks of Pontigny, the honour of saintship was denied.

Nothing discouraged by this first repulse, the monks persevered. In the year 1245, a council was held at Lyons, at which the pope presided in person, when the canonization of Edmund was again moved with eagerness, but a second time rejected; the saint having lost the pope's favour, was consequently unworthy of being deified. In the following year, however, the tide turned in his favour. The friends of the archbishop on this side the Channel, became importunate, and uniting their influence with that of the monks of Pontigny, the scruples of his holiness were overcome, and a bull for his canonization was issued, which ran in the following extravagant and arrogant terms:—"We announce unto you the joy of our Mother the Church by the celebrity of a new saint; and the heavenly college keeps holiday for the society of a

new companion. The Church rejoiceth to be ennobled with such illustrious offspring, which ought to be exalted by all with condign praises, and must be served with a devout veneration: she also openly declareth, that those must be received to the participation of the eternal inheritance that profess the Mother Church by word and works, and that none can enter into the glory that is above but by her, as the bearer of the keys of the kingdom of heaven." His holiness then exhorts the nations of Christendom to "rejoice with great joy, that a new patron before God has accrued unto you—one that stands before Him, to be a gracious intercessor for your salvation."*

The sovereign pontiff had now not only invaded the rights of the crown in filling the higher stations in the church, but he had made equal encroachments on the rights of private patrons, and had got into his hands, by one means or other, the disposal of all the valuable livings in the kingdom, which he generally bestowed upon Italians. This abuse became so insupportable, that, in the year 1232, many persons of considerable rank formed themselves into an association having for its object to drive all these foreign ecclesiastics out of the kingdom. The individuals thus associated insulted the persons, and caused the houses of the Italian clergy to be plundered; a thing so agreeable to the nation in general, that it met with no opposition.†

Cardinal Otho, one of those birds of ill omen, a legate from the pope, arrived in England, A. D. 1237, where he continued about three years, receiving many valuable presents from the bishops, monasteries, and clergy. During this time, no less than three hundred Italians were sent into England, to be provided for in the churches. This legate held a council at London, in the year 1237, in which a great number of canons were framed, under the title of the *Constitutions of Otho*.‡ These constitutions do not contain much that is new, or remarkable. By the second canon, the sacraments are declared to be seven in number; the fifteenth, is against the clandestine marriages of the clergy; and the sixteenth, against their keeping concubines publicly; both which practices were still very frequent in England.§

* Westmon. Ann. 1246.

† M. Paris, p. 375.

‡ Spelman, Concil. t. ii. p. 218. Wilkin, Concil. t. i. p. 649. § M. Paris, 448, 449.

The see of Canterbury, rendered vacant by the death of Edmund, was once more the subject of litigation. The king, Henry III., determined on placing in the vacant chair one Boniface, the queen's uncle, though he was not very well qualified for the office. The monks raised a violent opposition; but, by persuasions, promises, threats, and other means still more violent and unlawful, the king prevailed upon the monks to chuse him; and the pope, by certain tangible arguments, which seldom failed of success at Rome, was prevailed on to confirm the election.*

During the primacy of this prelate, several nuncios and legates arrived in England, each improving upon the other in the arts of pillaging this unhappy kingdom. The patience of our countrymen was at last tired out; and the great barons, perfectly sensible that there was no other way of saving the nation from being plundered and reduced to beggary, but by preventing the entrance of these Romish harpies into the country, gave strict orders, in the year 1245, to the wardens of the seaports to seize all persons on their arrival, who brought any bulls or mandates from Rome; and an instance of this kind very soon occurred. A messenger was apprehended, with a fresh cargo of bulls, directed to Martin, the pope's legate in England, empowering him to exact more money from the clergy, under various pretexts. The bulls being seized, the legate appealed to the king, bitterly complaining of this daring insult, and the latter commanded them to be restored.

The barons now found it necessary to remonstrate with Henry; and in order to open the eyes of this infatuated monarch, who assisted a foreign court in plundering his own subjects, they laid before him an account of the incredible sums of money of which the court of Rome was draining the country. Among other *items*, they made it appear that the church preferments possessed by the Italians in England amounted to sixty thousand marks *per annum*—a greater sum than the ordinary revenues of the crown. But though Henry confessed himself much surprised at this statement, he had neither the virtue nor the spirit to join with the people in putting a stop to their grievances. The barons, however, determining to go through with their work, convened a meeting of

* M. Paris, p. 592

their body at Dunstable, under the pretext of a tournament. Here they took counsel together ; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should depute a bold knight to wait upon the pope's legate, and command him, in the name of the barons of England, to quit the kingdom instantly. The knight executed his commission with spirit, and plainly told Mr. Martin, that if he remained three days longer in England, he would infallibly be cut in pieces. The terrified legate appealed to the king ; but the latter perceiving that however obsequious to the papal power he himself might be, the barons would no longer continue the slaves of it, commanded Martin to depart out of the kingdom, agreeable to the instructions he had received, and took his farewell of him in the following expressive terms :—" *Diabolus te ad infernos inducat et perducatur ;*" or, in plain English, "the devil lead thee and bring thee into hell."

To avoid the fury of an injured and enraged nation, the legate departed with all possible speed, leaving behind him one Mr. Philip, to whom he resigned his papal commission. His holiness happened to be at that time holding a council at the city of Lyons, in France, where Martin presented himself, and reported his expulsion from England. The pope was then up to the ears in a war with the Emperor Frederick, who had cast off his allegiance to the holy see, and consequently, the former was moving heaven and earth to crush him for his daring impiety : but of this memorable quarrel I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. At present, I only add, that, when his holiness was informed how the barons and king of England had treated his legate, he put himself into a towering passion, and exclaimed, "It is expedient that we make up the matter with Frederick, that we may crush these petty kings that wince against us ; for, when the dragon is once bruised, we shall soon tread to dirt the small serpents." Such was the contemptuous style in which the sovereign pontiff could now speak of a country concerning which he had just before said, "England is the garden of our delights, a mine truly inexhaustible."*

* On the fourth day of this council a circumstance occurred that is worth relating :—The pope himself preached in one of the churches at Lyons ; taking for his text, Lament. i. 12 : "All ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto

Not content with driving the pope's legate out of the kingdom, the barons resolved, if possible, to prevent the return of those oppressions which the kingdom had long suffered from the see of Rome. With a view to this, they sent very honourable ambassadors to attend the council at Lyons, who were deputed to lay before it the grievances of the church and kingdom of England. At this council his holiness presided in person. The letter, which these ambassadors presented to the council from the barons of England, breathes a spirit of independence and good sense which was hardly to be expected in that age. After a very full and free enumeration of the oppressions of the court of Rome, it concludes with these bold and resolute expressions:—"We can no longer bear, with any patience, the foresaid oppressions; which, as they are detestable to God and man, are intolerable to us; neither, by the grace of God, will we any longer endure them." William Powerie, one of the ambassadors who presented this letter, made a spirited harangue to the council; in which he set forth the innumerable frauds and insatiable avarice of the court of Rome in such strong colours, that his holiness was covered with shame, and, for once, a blush was seen on the face of Infallibility! But this blush was all the satisfaction the English nation obtained from the pope and the council, who put off the consideration of this affair so long, that the ambassadors, seeing no prospect of redress, returned home in discontent.*

The unnatural fit of modesty with which his holiness had been seized at the council of Lyons was not of long duration; for, in the next year, we find his agents in England as rapacious in their extortions as ever, which occasioned fresh remonstrances, not only from the barons, but even from the king and clergy. The letters from the latter to the pope were humble and timid; but those from the barons were more bold—threatening, that, if his holiness

my sorrow, which is done unto me." His holiness then compared his own sorrows to the five wounds of Christ. The first was the inundation of the Tartars; the second, the schism of the Greek church; the third, the heresy of the Waldenses, &c.; the fourth, the desolation of the Holy Land, which he was labouring to recover from the Saracens by crusading armies; and the fifth, and most smarting of all, the Emperor Frederick, the Church's enemy and persecutor, whose heresies and sacrileges he amplified and decanted upon at great length!

* M. Paris, pp. 606, 681.

did not immediately redress their grievances, they would do themselves justice. But all these letters were treated with scorn by the haughty pontiff, who became daily more imperious and tyrannical. He compelled the English prelates to subscribe the sentence of excommunication against the Emperor Frederick II., and to furnish a certain number of armed men to fight against that prince, though he was brother-in-law to the King of England.* Not contented with all this, the court of Rome, in the same year, 1246, demanded, at once, the half of all the revenues of the non-residing clergy, and the third of the revenues of those who resided. This exorbitant demand rendered the clergy unanimous in their opposition, in which they were supported by the king and the barons. His holiness, finding he had gone a little too far, very prudently desisted.†

While the supreme pontiff was thus trampling upon the church and people of England, he met with a very unexpected opponent in a private prelate, and what is more wonderful, one who opposed him with considerable success. This ecclesiastical hero was Robert Greathead, or, as he is sometimes called, Grosstête, bishop of Lincoln—a person of uncommon learning for the age in which he lived, and of such unfeigned piety, untainted probity, and undaunted courage, as would have rendered him an ornament to any age—certainly a phoenix to that in which his lot was cast. He was born at Stradbrook, in the county of Suffolk, and appears to have been a person of rather obscure parentage. He was enabled, however, to prosecute his studies at the University of Oxford, and with such success, that he became the most learned Englishman of his time; and, according to Mr. Hallam, the first

* An incident occurred in France, in 1245, relating to the excommunication of the Emperor Frederick, which ought not to be allowed to fall into oblivion.

The sentence of excommunication being committed to a certain priest, in one of the parochial churches in Paris, to be published by him, he pronounced it in these very ambiguous terms:—"Hearken all of you! I am commanded to pronounce an excommunication, with candles burning and bells ringing, against the Emperor Frederick. Not knowing the cause why, I know only that there is an irreconcilable quarrel and hatred between him and the pope. I know also that one does wrong to the other; yet which of the two is in the wrong, I cannot tell. But him that does wrong to the other, I excommunicate, as far as my power extends." The poor priest was punished by the pope, but the emperor sent him presents.

† M. Paris, pp. 701, 708.

who had any tincture of Greek literature.* After this he went to Paris, where learning was then more cultivated than in any part of Europe, and there he made himself master of the French language. Returning to his native country, he was, in the year 1235, made bishop of Lincoln; and soon began to distinguish himself by attempts to reform the abuses that everywhere presented themselves to his view. It was, however, hardly possible for the clergy to make any effective resistance, without unravelling a tissue which they had for centuries been assiduously weaving. Greathead began by convening the clergy of his diocese, at stated times, to whom he delivered his charges, urging them to the official duties which devolved upon them; but, as the latter had no ear to give to these things, he soon began to be involved in litigation with the monks and other popish agents. In 1247, two persons of the Franciscan order were sent into England by the court of Rome, to extort money for his holiness. Among others, they applied to the Bishop of Lincoln, who was amazed at the pomp they assumed, and the insolence with which they made their demands. A contribution of 6,000 marks was levied on the diocese of Lincoln, and the bishop was given to understand that they were vested with the pope's bull to enforce the levy. "Friars," said Greathead, "with all reverence to his holiness be it spoken, the demand is as dishonourable as it is impracticable. The whole body of the clergy and people are concerned in the matter as much as myself. To give a definite answer to such a demand, before the sense of the kingdom is taken upon it, would on my part be rash and absurd."

Circumstances of this kind began, in time, to open the eyes of the bishop to the domineering influence of the court of Rome. But another thing which struck him with astonishment was, that, in going through his diocese, he found that the pope had, by means of his letters, introduced into many of the churches, where opulent benefices were to be enjoyed, a set of lazy Italians, who neither understood the language of the country, nor possessed either ability or inclination to instruct the people. These enormities became the objects of his detestation. When the pope's bulls were put into his hands, he would examine them carefully,

* Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 305 (note).

and if he found that they commanded any thing contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, and the interests of religion, which was often the case, he tore them in pieces, instead of putting them into execution ! Innocent IV., one of the most imperious pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair, transmitted to the Bishop of Lincoln a bull, which contained in it the scandalous clause of *non obstante*, so much and so justly exclaimed against in that age, enjoining it upon him to bestow a considerable living in his gift upon his own (the pope's) nephew, then an infant. This was to be done *by provision*, for that was the term employed by the pontiff when he undertook to provide beforehand a successor to a benefice ; and, on the present occasion, he seems to have been determined to intimidate Greathead into compliance. It was a canon in his own cathedral of Lincoln ; and the pope declared, that any other disposal of the canonry should be null and void : and moreover, that he would excommunicate every one that should dare to disobey his injunction.

The bishop, however, was so far from complying with this bull, that he sent the pope a letter, in which he exposed the injustice and impiety of the thing proposed, and that with the utmost freedom and severity. Referring to the clause *non obstante*, lately introduced into the papal bulls, the bishop remarks, " That it brings in a deluge of mischief upon Christendom, and gives occasion to a great deal of inconstancy and breach of faith ; it even shakes the very foundations of trust and security against mankind, and makes language and letters almost insignificant." With respect to that part of the bull which required him to bestow a benefice upon an infant, he says, " Next to the sins of Lucifer and Antichrist, there cannot be a greater defection, or one which carries a more direct opposition to the doctrine of our Saviour and his apostles, than to destroy people's souls, by depriving them of the benefits of the pastoral office ; and yet those persons are guilty of this sin, who undertake the sacerdotal function, and receive the emoluments, without discharging the duty. From hence it is evident, that those who bring such unqualified persons into the church are much to blame, and that their crimes rise in proportion to the height of their station ;"* with much more to the same effect.

When this epistle reached the hands of the pope, it roused his indignation to the highest pitch. "Who," exclaimed his holiness, "is this old dotard that dares to judge my actions?" They were strains of truth and soberness to which the supreme pontiff had not been accustomed; and putting himself into a towering passion, he swore by St. Peter and St. Paul, that he would utterly confound that old, impertinent, deaf, doting fellow, and make him a talk, and astonishment, and example, to all the world. "What," said he, "is not the King of England, his master, our vassal, or rather, our slave? And will he not, at the lifting up of our finger, cast him into prison?" When his holiness had a little spent his rage, the cardinals, who saw the danger into which the pope was about to plunge himself by his rashness, interposed a word of prudent counsel to him. They represented "that the world began to discover the truth of many things contained in the bishop's letter; and that, if he prosecuted a prelate so renowned for piety, learning, and holiness of life, it might create the court of Rome a great many enemies." They advised him, therefore, to let the matter pass, and conduct himself as if he had never seen the provoking letter.

But the pope's rage was not to be allayed; he excommunicated the bishop of Lincoln, and appointed Albert, one of his nuncios, to succeed him. Greathead, however, supported by a conviction of the rectitude of his conduct, referred his appeal to the tribunal of Christ, and paid no regard to the decree; and what the cardinals foresaw, was eventually realized: the pope's mandate was universally neglected, and the bishop remained in possession of his see. But the venerable prelate was now fast advancing to the end of his labours, which terminated by his death, at his palace at Buckden, on the 9th of October, 1253.

When his holiness heard of the event, he exultingly exclaimed, "I rejoice, and let every true son of the church of Rome rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed." He then gave orders for a letter to be written to the King of England, requiring him to cause the bishop's body to be disinterred, cast out of the church, and consumed to ashes. The cardinals, however, resisted the project, and the letter, though

written, was never sent, owing, probably, to the declining state of the pontiff's health; for he died in the following year.

Whether we are warranted in placing Greathead among "Luther's forerunners," the precursors of the Reformation, is a moot point, which I am not called, in this place, to settle. Mr. Hallam considers it "a strange thing" to place him there, and contends, that he appears to have been imbued in a great degree with the spirit of his age, as to ecclesiastical power, though unwilling to yield it up to the pope. This may be very true; yet surely it is honourable to the good bishop's memory, to have made so bold a stand against the tyranny of the court of Rome, in an age when it trampled upon kings and emperors! The character which is given of him by the monk of St. Albans, Matthew Paris, is not disputed by Mr. Hallam, and, therefore, may be allowed to close this brief notice of him.

"The holy bishop Robert," says he, "departed this world, which he never loved, and which was always to him a place of banishment. He was the open reprover of my lord the pope, and of the king, as well as of the prelates. He was the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of the clergy, the patron of scholars, a preacher to the laity, the punisher of incontinence, the diligent investigator of various writings, and the scourge of lazy and selfish Romanists, whom he heartily despised. In regard to temporal concerns, he was liberal, copious, polite, cheerful, and affable; in spiritual things, he was devout, humble, contrite; in the execution of his episcopal office, he was diligent, venerable, indefatigable."*

This is surely no slender praise, and the man to whom it is justly attributed, in such an age as that, must have been no ordinary character.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, was of a very different spirit: he screwed up the power of the church to the greatest height. He convened a provincial synod at Merton, in Surrey, A.D. 1258, when various canons were enacted, the manifest tendency of all which, was to emancipate the church and clergy from civil authority, and, at the same time, to wreath the yoke of eccle-

* Matt. Paris, p. 876, and Pegge's *Life of Greathead*.

siastical tyranny still faster about the necks of the laity.* It is no wonder, therefore, that the laity were alarmed at these proceedings. The barons addressed a letter to the pope, complaining of these stretches of church power, and of the ignorance and immoralities of the clergy, threatening also to withdraw those ample revenues that had been bestowed upon the church by the piety of their ancestors, since they saw them so shamefully abused. They applied, however, to a wrong quarter for redress; his holiness coldly answered, that he did not suppose the clergy of England at that time were more immoral or ignorant than they had been in former ages; and that it was utterly impossible to withdraw any part of the revenues of the church; for whatever was once dedicated to the service of God was irrevocable.†

Secure of the protection of the holy see, the archbishop was so far from retracting any thing he had done, that he held another council at Lambeth, A. D. 1261, in which the Constitutions of Merton were confirmed and enlarged.

One of the additional canons enjoins every bishop to have one or two prisons in his diocese, for the confinement of clergymen convicted of capital crimes; "for," says the canon, "if any clerk (or clergyman) be so incorrigibly wicked, as that he must have suffered capital punishment if he had been a layman, we adjudge such a one to perpetual imprisonment." So shameless were the clergy of those times, not only in their practices, but in their very laws.‡

Although nothing has been said, for some time, of the exactions of the court of Rome, we are not to imagine that these exactions had ceased; on the contrary, they went on more briskly than ever. The pope had his cashiers, the usurers of Cahors and Lombardy, constantly residing in London, who acted as his agents in money matters; and, in a few years, he is said, partly by the revenues of benefices, and partly by levies of money, to have plundered the kingdom of 950,000 marks; a sum equivalent, says Mr. Hallam, to not less than fifteen millions sterling at present.§

Henry III. died on the 16th of November, 1272, as already mentioned, and Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, did not long

* See Spelman, Lynwood, and Johnson's Councils, for particulars.

† Annal. Burton, p. 388; Wilkin. Concil. t. i. pp. 736—740.

‡ Johnson's Canons, ann. 1261. § Hist. of Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 306.

survive his friend and patron. Let us here pause for a moment, and take a review of the prodigious fabric of ecclesiastical tyranny, and of the deplorable oppressions under which our unhappy ancestors groaned, in that superstitious age.

During the reign of Henry III., A. D. 1246, a letter of complaint was transmitted to the pope, the joint product of the king, the prelates, and the barons of England. In that letter they complain, 1st, That the pope, not content with the annual payment of Peter-pence, exacted from the clergy great contributions, without the king's consent, and contrary to the customs, rights, and liberties of the realm of England. 2. That the patrons of churches could not present fit persons to the vacant livings, the pope conferring them generally upon Italians, who understood not the English language, and carried out of the kingdom the money arising from their benefices. 3. That the pope oppressed the churches by exacting pensions from them. 4. That Italians succeeded Italians, contrary to the decree of the council of Lyons; and that these Italians were invested in their livings without trouble or charges; whereas the English were obliged to prosecute their rights at Rome, at a great expense. 5. That in the churches filled by Italians, there were neither alms nor hospitality; neither was there any preaching; and the care of souls was entirely neglected. 6. That the clause *Non obstante*, generally inserted in the pope's bulls, absolutely destroyed all laws, customs, statutes, and privileges, of the church and kingdom.* To those now specified, were added many other grievances, no less oppressive and intolerable; such as, the pope's filling the highest dignities of the church by his own power, and making the archbishops and others pay exorbitant sums for their preferments; his drawing all causes of any importance to Rome, and keeping the parties long waiting for their determination, at a great expense. If to all these we add, the great sums that annually went to Rome, for pardons, indulgences; dispensations, &c., we shall be surprised that the kingdom was not drained of all its wealth.

But, independent of all these oppressions and exactions of the court of Rome, the clergy at home claimed various privileges and

* M. Paris, p. 699; An. Burton, p. 307.

immunities that were quite inconsistent with the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. Among these was an exemption from all civil authority and jurisdiction, by which they were at liberty to commit the most atrocious crimes almost with impunity. The ecclesiastical courts encroached greatly on the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and claimed the sole right to judge of all causes relating to tithes, marriages, testaments, and many other things, under the pretext that they had some connection with *spiritual* concerns. The possessions of the clergy, too, never diminishing, but daily increasing, were now swelled to an enormous bulk, and threatened to swallow up the whole lands of the kingdom. These things cried aloud for reformation; and in Edward I., who now succeeded to the throne, England was blest with a prince who, in some measure at least, checked the accumulation of national evil.

The see of Canterbury was at this time filled by one Peckham, a Franciscan friar, who, having paid his holiness a good round sum for his nomination, was consecrated by the pope in person; after which he came over to England, and was peaceably received by Edward; the king not thinking it expedient at that moment to engage in a quarrel with the court of Rome. This prelate held several synods or councils—one at Reading, in August, 1279, and another at Lambeth, A.D. 1281; at both of which, canons were enacted that were far from meeting the views of King Edward, and who, consequently, intimated his disapprobation. This extorted from the primate, in 1281, a sharp letter to the king, in which he complains that the church was oppressed, contrary to the decrees of popes, the canons of councils, and the sanctions of orthodox fathers; in which, says he, “there is the supreme authority, the supreme truth, the supreme sanctity; and no end can be put to disputes, unless we can submit our solemnities to those three great laws.” Whether this archbishop had read the New Testament, or ever heard of such a book, I am not able to inform you; but one thing is very plain, that, in referring to supreme authority, supreme truth, and supreme sanctity, he takes no more notice of it than if no such standard of authority, truth, and holiness were in existence! In this epistle, the primate roundly declares that no oaths shall bind him to do any thing against the interests and liberties of the church; and very kindly offers “to absolve the

king from any oath he may have taken that can any wise incite him against the church." This thundering letter, however, made no impression on King Edward, who had now formed his resolution to clip the wings of the clergy, and abridge their power and wealth.

Archbishop Peckham died in 1292, and, after a vacancy of two years, was succeeded by Robert Winchelsey, who sat very uneasy in the primate's chair. King Edward, being much engaged in war, was greatly pressed for money to carry it on, and made frequent demands upon the clergy, which were considered by them as grievous encroachments on the immunities of the church. These demands for money became more frequent and heavy during the primacy of Winchelsey, on account of the long and expensive war with Scotland. In the year 1294, while the archbishop was at Rome, Edward seized all the money which had been collected in England for the holy war, as it was called, and deposited it in several monasteries, and applied it to his own use. A few months after this, he convened an assembly of the clergy at Westminster, September 21st, 1294, and demanded from them one-half of all their revenues, both spiritual and temporal. This demand, we may be sure, was not very cheerfully complied with, and they obtained an audience of the king for the purpose of persuading him to accept of a more moderate proportion. The clergy had appointed William Montford, Dean of St. Paul's, to be their spokesman on the occasion; but no sooner had the orator commenced his harangue, than he was thrown into so violent an agitation of spirits, owing, it was said, to the king's angry countenance, that he sunk to the ground, and expired upon the spot! When the clergy, after this awful catastrophe, had returned to the Monks' Hall, at Westminster, their deliberations were interrupted by the intrusion of Sir John Havering, who was sent by the king, and, in a fierce menacing manner, addressed the assembly in this laconic speech:—"Reverend Fathers! if any of you dare to contradict the king's demand in this business, let him stand forth in the midst of this assembly, that his person may be known and taken notice of as a breaker of the peace of the kingdom." None of the clergy had courage to return an answer to this speech, or make any further opposition to the king's demand.

Hearing what havoc the king of England was making of the church's revenues, Archbishop Winchelsey applied to the holy see for protection and aid. Boniface VIII. was then pope; one of the greatest champions for the power, wealth, and privileges of the clergy, that ever filled the papal chair. His holiness accordingly issued his bull, prohibiting all princes from levying any taxes on the clergy in their dominions, without the leave of the holy see, and forbidding the clergy to pay any such taxes—threatening both princes and clergy with excommunication in case of disobedience.* Armed with this impenetrable shield, as he supposed, Winchelsey returned to England, and soon had occasion to try its strength and efficacy; for, on the 3d of November, 1296, the king held a parliament at St. Edmund's Bury, in which he demanded from the clergy a fifth of all their moveables. They refused to comply with this demand; and the archbishop produced the pope's bull, which he had till then kept secret, as the ground of their refusal. Though King Edward was much displeased at the refusal, and still more at the pretence on which it was built, he thought it advisable not to proceed immediately to extremities, but gave them till the next meeting of parliament to consider the matter. At the meeting of the next parliament, 15th January, 1297, the clergy still persisted in refusing to comply with the king's demand.

Fully aware that this dispute was now come to a crisis, and that he must either establish the right of king and parliament to tax the possessions of the clergy without the consent of the pope, or for ever give it up, Edward determined to carry his point. With this view, he told the clergy, that since they would contribute nothing to the support of his government, they should receive no protection from it: and he instantly gave orders to all the judges to do every man justice against the clergy, but to do them justice against no man! At the same time he directed writs to all the sheriffs in England, commanding them "to seize all the lay fees of the clergy, as well secular as regular, together with their goods and chattels, and keep them in their possession until they received further orders from him." These two things brought

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 706. Heming, vol. i. p. 104.

such a torrent of abuses on the clergy—they were assailed with such injuries and distresses—that many of them very soon complied with the king's demand, and were glad to obtain the protection of the government and restitution of their estates and goods. Even the archbishop himself, the chief author of all this disturbance, after he had been stripped of all, was, at last, brought to submission, and paid the fifth of his moveables to redeem the rest of his possessions.* Thus, by his wise and prudent and steady measures did King Edward triumph over the covetous and selfish claims of the pope and clergy, when their power was at the highest. But, having pursued my subject in detail to the end of the thirteenth century, it may be proper, before we enter upon the affairs of the fourteenth, to pause, and notice a few particulars which, properly speaking, appertain to it.

There appear to have been but few innovations in the doctrine of the church of England in this period; the minds of the clergy being much more keenly engaged in the pursuits of power and wealth, than in speculative disquisitions. There happened, however, a considerable change in the sentiments of the church on the article of Transubstantiation, in the course of the thirteenth century. In the beginning of the century, the doctrine of the church on this subject was, as declared by the fourth general Lateran council, "that the bread was substantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood." But before the end of the century, the faithful were taught to believe, "that both the body and blood of our Lord—nay, the whole living and true Christ—was given them at once, under the species of bread; and that the wine which was given them at the same time to drink, was not the sacrament, but mere wine."† There were also several changes in the worship and discipline of the church in this period. The number of festivals was considerably increased; bells were tolled at the elevation of the host, to engage the adoration even of those who were without the church.

In partaking of the eucharist, sometimes a cup of wine was given to the laity, though it was declared to be no part of the sacrament; at other times they were put off with the washings of

* Walsingham, pp. 68, 69. M. West. p. 429. Heming, vol. i. p. 107.

† Du Pin, vol. ii. p. 96. Spelm. Concil. vol. ii. p. 320.

the priest's fingers. Confession was more strictly and more generally enjoined than formerly, and none were permitted to communicate who did not give evidence of their having confessed. General excommunications came also into use in this century, by which all who were guilty of certain vices and crimes, though known only to God and their own consciences, were declared to be excommunicated. The crimes against which they were denounced, were such as injured the clergy, by non-payment of tithes, defrauding them of any of their dues, or stealing any thing belonging to the church. These excommunications were to be published by every parish priest in his holy vestments, with bells tolling and candles lighted, before the whole congregation, in the mother tongue, on Christmas-day, Easter, Whitsunday, and All-hallows Day. That these excommunications might make the greater impression on tender consciences or timorous natures, they contained the most horrible, infernal curses that could be devised. The following may serve as a specimen:—"Let them be accursed, eating and drinking, walking and sitting, speaking and holding their peace, waking and sleeping, rowing and riding, laughing and weeping, in house and in field, on water and on land, in all places. Cursed by their head and their thoughts, their eyes and their ears, their tongues and their lips, their teeth and their throats, their shoulders and their breasts, their feet and their legs, their thighs and their entrails. Let them remain accursed from the bottom of the foot to the crown of the head, unless they bethink themselves and come to satisfaction. And just as this candle is deprived of its present light, so let them be deprived of their souls in hell."* Such was the bitter, unchristian language of the excommunications of those times; and for crimes, be it observed, not committed against the Majesty of Heaven, but for defrauding the clergy of their usurped rights.

And now that the subject of these excommunications is fairly before us, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of introducing a few observations on it from the correct pen of Mr. Hallam.

"Excommunication," says he, "whatever opinions may be entertained as to its religious efficacy, was originally nothing more

* Wanley's Catalogue.

in appearance than the exercise of a right which every society claims—the expulsion of refractory members from its body. No direct temporal disadvantages attended this penalty for several ages; but as it was the most severe of spiritual censures, and tended to exclude the object of it not only from a participation in religious rites, but, in a considerable degree, from the intercourse of Christian society, it was used sparingly, and upon the gravest occasions. Gradually, as the church (of Rome) became more powerful and more imperious,”—and he might have justly added, in proportion as it became more corrupt and degenerate, more secularized and estranged from the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ—“excommunications were issued upon every provocation, rather as a weapon of ecclesiastical warfare, than with any regard to its original intention.” “The spiritual courts in England, whose jurisdiction is so multifarious, and, in general, so little of a religious nature, had, till lately, no means of enforcing a sentence against their contentious jurisdiction but by excommunication. Thus the boundary between temporal and spiritual offences became less and less distinct; and the clergy were encouraged to fresh encroachments as they discovered the secret of rendering them successful.”

These excommunications became, in the hands of the clergy, both of Rome and of England, a most terrific and frightful engine of church power. By our common law in the present day, and in the reformed church of England, an excommunicated person is incapable of being a witness, or of bringing an action; and he may be detained in prison till he obtains absolution. These actual penalties were formerly attended with marks of abhorrence and ignominy, still more calculated to make an impression on ordinary minds. They were to be shunned like men infected with the leprosy, by their servants, their friends, and their families. In some places, a bier was set before the door of an excommunicated individual, and stones thrown at his windows,—a singular method of compelling his submission. Everywhere, the excommunicated were debarred of a regular sepulture, which, though obviously a matter of police, has, *through the superstition* of consecrating burial-grounds, been treated as belonging to ecclesiastical control. Their carcasses were supposed to be inca-

pable of corruption, which seems to have been thought a privilege unfit for those who had died in so irregular a manner.

“ But as excommunication was not always efficacious, the church had recourse to a more comprehensive punishment. For the offence of a nobleman, she put a county, for that of a prince, his entire kingdom, under an interdict, or suspension of religious offices. No stretch of her tyranny was perhaps so outrageous as this. During an interdict, the churches were closed, the bells silent, the dead unburied; no rite but those of baptism and extreme unction performed. The penalty fell upon those who had neither partaken nor could have prevented the offence, which was often but a private dispute, in which the pride of a pope, or a bishop, had been wounded. This was the main-spring of the machinery that the clergy set in motion, the lever by which they moved the world. From the moment that these interdicts and excommunications had been tried, the powers of the earth might be said to have existed only by sufferance.”*

But that which most arrests our attention, and claims our indignation, in the church history of this period, is the insatiable avarice, and boundless ambition, of the court of Rome. Its various artifices to drain this unhappy country of its treasure, and fleece both the clergy and laity, were almost innumerable. What prodigious sums of money were yearly carried out of England to Rome, by pilgrims; by those who prosecuted appeals and law-suits before that court; by prelates who went thither to obtain consecration, and the confirmation of their elections; by such as went to solicit, or perhaps to purchase church preferments, which were almost all bestowed by the pope; by the legates and nuncios who from time to time carried off incredible sums, raised on various pretences; by the Italians, who possessed many of the richest benefices in England; by the first-fruits of benefices; by Peter-pence; by the annual tribute imposed upon King John, and his successors, and by a hundred other means which I am not able to specify!

Numerous clerical writers, of the thirteenth and following centuries, complain of these things in terms of unmeasured indig-

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 240, &c.

nation, and seem ready to reform the general abuses of the church. They distinguished, however, clearly enough between the abuses which oppressed themselves and those which it was their interest to preserve; nor had they the least intention of waving their own immunities and authority. But the laity came to more universal conclusions. A spirit of inveterate hatred grew up among them, not only towards the papal tyranny, but the whole system of ecclesiastical government. The rich envied, and longed to plunder, the estates of the superior clergy; the poor learned from the Waldenses, and other sectaries, whose history will presently come before us, to deem such opulence and lordly domination incompatible with the character of evangelical ministers. The itinerant minstrels invented tales to satirize vicious priests; and the common people received with avidity, and eagerly swallowed them. In fine, if the thirteenth century was an age of more extravagant ecclesiastical pretensions than any which had preceded, it was certainly one in which the disposition to resist them acquired greater consistence. The consumption of the Man of Sin was about to commence; and in the following century, the Lord raised up Wickliffe to testify against these abominations. He lifted up his voice like a trumpet, and shook the papal throne to its centre. From his preaching and writings sprang up the Lollards, the first class of Protestants in this country. But to this interesting subject we shall return in a little time, if the Lord permit; in the mean time it may be useful to take a retrospective view of the ground we have traversed, and improve the subject by instituting a comparison between Papal Christianity and that of the New Testament—this will form the subject of the next Lecture.

LECTURE XXXVI.

Recapitulation of the Lectures on the Ecclesiastical Affairs of England—Phenomenon of the Papal government—Sketch of its rise and progress—Elevation of the Bishop of Rome to the mental and ecclesiastical sovereignty of Europe—Estimate of Papal Christianity—Summary of its distinguishing rites, ceremonies, and tenets—Idolatrous use of the cross and crucifix—Deification of the Virgin Mary—Relics, and invocation of saints—Legends—Purgatory, and masses for the dead—Confession and absolution—Transubstantiation—Interdicts and excommunications—Inquisition, or “Holy Office”—The system of Papal Christianity compared with the prophecies concerning Antichrist—Inferences and reflections.

HAVING now given you some account of the ecclesiastical affairs of our own country, from the time that Augustin and his forty missionary associates first arrived and entered upon the conversion of the Saxons, to the end of the thirteenth century, it has occurred to me that it might be no unprofitable undertaking, before we leave the subject and proceed to the general history, to devote a single lecture to the object of reviewing the ground over which we have travelled—recapitulating and concentrating into one point of view some detached topics that we have had occasion to notice, and, by that means, compendize the papal system, at the same time bringing it to the touchstone of the New Testament, the only authorized standard of genuine Christianity.

It has been well remarked by an excellent historian of our own

age and country, that, of all the novelties which followed the dissolution of the Roman empire, the elevation of the Bishop of Rome to the sovereignty that he obtained over the mental and ecclesiastical affairs of Europe, was, in its consequences, the most important. The papal government is indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the history of human nature. It presents the political singularity of a power perpetually broken by short reigns, disputed successions, conflicting rivalries, and, even when most regular, by the incessant elections and accessions of unrelated individuals, which would seem to attach to it every character of human weakness, and yet, amid all these fragments of sovereignty and elements of contradiction, constantly advancing, for several ages, in authority and influence, in exactions and usurpations. What invisible spirit was it, it may be asked, which always knit such elements of feebleness and disorder into that unity and force of action, which made Europe so often tremble at its exerted power, and so long, though often murmuring, yet respectfully, bend in submission to its will? This is a problem which must ever perplex the philosopher and politician, who rarely look beyond second causes, but which the Holy Scriptures throw sufficient light upon to satisfy the humble Christian, and set his mind at rest. He cannot, indeed, undertake to explain *why* the great Governor of the Universe, who orders all things after the counsel of his own most holy will, should permit the existence of such a mass of fraud, deceit, and violence to spring up, corrupting the heavenly religion of the Prince of Peace; why this monstrous power should practise, and prosper, and prevail, as we know it has done for so long a time; but when he finds the spirit of prophecy clearly predicting it, in the writings of Daniel, and other of the Old Testament prophets, a thousand years before it took place; when he finds the same subject resumed, with additional light and manifestation, by the holy apostles, particularly Paul * and John †; and when he finds the same prophetic spirit fixing the precise time of its rise, the qualities of its reign, the term of its duration, and the certainty as well as the means of its final and irretrievable ruin, he rests satisfied, that nothing pertaining to this phenomenon has happened by

* See 2 Thess. ii.

† Rev. xiii.—xvii.

chance ; but that, like the entrance of sin into the world, the whole of this grand apostacy constitutes a part of the divine plan and arrangements, and that HE, whose province it is to educe good out of evil, will finally over-rule it for his own glory and the good of his chosen.

CHRISTIANITY, as it was delivered to the world by Christ and his apostles, and as it still exists in their writings, is divinely adapted to meet the wants of fallen creatures of the human race, and promote their best interests for time and eternity. Its doctrines are calculated to remove man's native ignorance of the character of the true God ; to enlighten his understanding upon all the important concerns of his soul ; rectify the obliquities of his will and affections, and direct his feet into the ways of peace. It is an economy of grace and truth, of which Christ Jesus, the Son of the Highest, is the author and finisher. HE is the centre of the whole system, and in HIM all the lines of divine revelation meet like the rays of the sun in a focus. His mission into our world was full of benevolence and good will to the children of men ; he came to rescue myriads from the ruins of the fall, and bring them to the enjoyment of eternal glory with himself in the heavenly state. His death was the ransom price of their redemption, and they are the purchase of his blood. Having expiated sin by the sacrifice of himself, he rose again from the dead on the third day, and, as the reward of his sufferings, was, by his heavenly Father, exalted to the highest glory in the heavens, and constituted "both Lord and Christ." Seated as King upon God's holy hill of Zion, all power and authority were committed into his hands, both in heaven and on earth, and all the heavenly host were commanded to worship him. His kingdom was set up by the preaching of his apostles on the day of Pentecost ; and the Gospel is the rod of his strength, sent out of Zion, whereby he makes a "willing people in the day of his power." His kingdom is essentially different from all worldly kingdoms, inasmuch as it is founded upon his sufferings, disclaims all human authority in its erection, government, establishment, or continuance ; it is an empire of truth and righteousness, peace and holiness, love and joy. Its subjects are not the men of the world, *as such*, but those who are born again of the incorruptible seed of the word or doctrine of the kingdom,

and so are "of the truth," by believing, obeying, and loving it. The laws by which this spiritual economy is regulated are all to be found in the writings of the evangelists and apostles, and the consciences of its subjects are commanded to be in subjection to these in all things; they are the only laws which suit the genius of this kingdom, and they are incapable of improvement by all the combined wisdom of man. It is at the peril of their souls, that they either add to, or detract from, them. Should emperors, kings, popes and prelates combine to enact new laws, or abrogate the old ones, pertaining to the Redeemer's kingdom, his subjects are bound by the allegiance which they owe HIM, as their only legitimate sovereign, to withstand their interference, saying with his apostles, "We ought to obey God rather than man."

As the great object and design of Christ's kingdom in this world is to train up his redeemed people in meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light, so all the laws of this kingdom are adapted to promote their conformity to HIM, the Captain of Salvation, who was made perfect through sufferings. Humility, self-denial, disconformity to the world, heavenly-mindedness, the passive virtues of meekness, patience, long suffering, gentleness, and the like: these were the striking features in the character of their Lord, and in these things he will have all his followers to be made conformable to himself.

The visible appearance of this kingdom during the first three hundred years, as it was to be seen in the assemblies of Christians, and exposed as the latter were to frequent persecutions, corresponded with the description given of it in ancient prophecy, namely, that of "a bruised reed and smoking flax." The churches consisted generally of "the poor of this world, whom God had chosen, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him." "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called," or made the honoured instruments of calling others, to the knowledge of the truth. The mysteries of redeeming grace were "hid from the wise and prudent, but revealed unto babes;" and for this display of his sovereignty, we find the Lord Jesus thanking his Heavenly Father. On this subject, also, we hear the apostle Paul dealing out a humbling lesson to some proud spirits in the church

at Corinth, by reminding them that "God had chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound those that are mighty, and base things and things despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that *no flesh should glory in his presence.*"

The simple doctrine of the apostles concerning the death and resurrection of Christ, began to be corrupted even in their own days, by the philosophic Greeks; which drew from the former some very severe censures and lessons of admonition to the disciples, to "hold fast the faithful word as they had been taught," and to beware lest any *spoiled them through philosophy and vain deceit.* Nor could anything be more important and necessary than the cautions thus given. The revealed distinction in Deity, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the work of the Holy Spirit, were mysteries that excited the egotism of the Grecian disputer, instead of his forbearance and humble veneration. Impatient to distinguish himself, by exploring through argument, or by supplying through fancy, what argument could not elucidate, and what fancy ought not to have approached; he confused himself with his own subtleties and loquacity. From combating with pagan antagonists, many of the early Christian teachers, prompted by pride, vanity, or interest, soon turned to conflict with each other. Ambition desecrated a path to the distinctions it loved, to the preferment it coveted, in these inexhaustible discussions, these interminable disputes; heresies multiplied in abundance; and an entirely new turn was given to the strain of preaching in many of the churches.

But along with this corruption of doctrine there sprang up a laxity of discipline, and a lust of power and pre-eminence, among the ministers of religion. The spirit of Antichrist was at work in the churches, even in the apostles' days, though under a manifest restraint as long as the Roman Empire retained its pagan form, or heathenish state. This was the *let* or hinderance to the manifestation of Antichrist; and accordingly when Constantine embraced Christianity, took the clergy by the hand, put down paganism by penal statutes, and established the unnatural alliance between church and state, he opened the flood-gates to every corruption in doctrine, discipline, and worship. Hence, as we

recede from the apostolic age, and approach the fifth century, the simplicity which was so characteristic of the religion of Christ in the first and second centuries, was no longer to be found; it was transformed into a public spectacle, a pompous and splendid theatrical exhibition of vain and haughty actors, dazzling the eye, affecting the senses, and exciting the imagination. Jerome, a renowned father of the church, who lived during the fifth century, contrasts the anxiety to have well-built churches, sumptuously adorned with marble and gold, and presenting altars radiant with precious stones; these he contrasts with the indifference that was manifested about having them supplied with able ministers. The saints and martyrs were now held up to veneration, like the deified heroes and emperors among the Pagans; prayers were offered to them for their aid and intercessions; and the eves of their festivals were distinguished by striking solemnities; and the aid of lighted torches was introduced to create impression by a nightly worship. Chrysostom employed all the eloquence of his "golden mouth" to exalt the priesthood to an awful sacredness of professional character, which lifted them above ordinary mortals; and the dresses of the clergy were made as superb and imposing, as gold, gaudy colours, and varied jewels could effect. Supernatural effects were now ascribed to the ecclesiastical rites. The sign of the cross was declared to cure diseases, expel devils, and defeat enchantments. Holy-water was used as if possessed of effects equally magical. Incense, flaming tapers, images, pictures, votive gifts, pretended miracles, pompous processions, and religious pageantry, all used in Pagan worship, were addressed to the senses of the votary, as if the eye, not the heart and reason, were to be the source of his religion, and the guide of his conduct. The profession of Christianity was now completely secularized, and, according to Jerome, the accumulation of wealth was a leading object with the clergy, who even made merchandize with the goods of the church. Some became rich by professing to renounce the world and turn monks; many who were poor and mean before they entered the sacred order, were afterwards distinguished by their affluence and pride. He assures us that though laws had been enacted to prohibit the clergy from taking legacies, yet they contrived to elude this by the instrumentality of

trustees. Canon after canon was issued to forbid the clergy from being usurers; and we may infer from the repetition how inveterate was the practice. So deplorably corrupt had the church become within a hundred and sixty years of its first connection with the state.

I have gone into this brief sketch of matters partly with the view of refreshing your memories on a subject of considerable and perpetual interest; and more especially for the purpose of shewing what kind of Christianity it was that the papal missionaries introduced into England in the days of our Saxon ancestors. It was not the simple, unadulterated religion of the Son of God, but a motley mixture of antiquated Jewish rites, and Pagan superstitions, with as much of the Christian doctrine and institutions as served to render the whole palatable to nominal Christians, and make the offence of the cross to cease. This system of doctrines, ritual, and polity, which, from its origin in this island, may be called PAPAL CHRISTIANITY, or Antichrist, in scripture language, was continued and augmented with renewed zeal by the Norman ecclesiastics, and pursued by the successive rise of new opinions, assailing its various parts; and of those I shall now proceed to take a cursory review.

Within the period which these lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the Church of England embraces, vast and important additions were made to the corruptions of Christianity as existing in the fifth century. Abandoning the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and discarding the laws of the kingdom of Heaven, as matters altogether unsuitable to the new order of things, the zeal of the clergy, and of the multitude led by them, took a new direction. Its energies were employed in building monasteries, in procuring and venerating dead men's bones, in enriching the church in idle and endless processions, in superstitious rites, in useless pilgrimages, in military crusades to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracens, and in obeying the mandates of a distant pope.

It is utterly in vain that you look into the New Testament for any authority from Christ or his apostles enjoining any of these things; on the contrary, when referring to human appointments, or the traditions of fallible men in the concerns of religion, their

language is, "Touch not, taste not, handle not—which all are to perish with the using." They tell us that such things have indeed a show of wisdom in *will-worship* and humility, and punishing the flesh, or body; but they are the doctrines and commandments of men, and concerning them and a thousand other superstitious rites and observances, imposed by the clergy, the Lord will say, "Who hath required these things at your hands?" For the common people, indeed, some apology may be offered, on the ground that they had not the Holy Scriptures in their hands to refer to, and guide them into the revealed will of the Lord; but for those who knew better, and yet imposed them as divine appointments, with them is the greater sin.

It is very manifest that in gradually forming their ritual of ceremonies and doctrines, from the fourth to the fourteenth century, the popes and clergy of the church of Rome consulted the ignorance and prejudices of their age, and their own self-interest, instead of their reason or evangelical truth. They almost wholly discarded the holy scriptures, the written record, the alone authorized standard of truth and error, abandoning it for vague tradition or the decisions of councils. The latter was found more pliable, and its pliability more expedient. The simple, yet sublime doctrines of the gospel, which can alone administer hope to the guilty, and produce the noblest effects on the human mind of which it is capable, were exchanged for the legends of saints and martyrs. The teachers of religion sought for worldly influence, honour, pomp, wealth, and power; and they framed and diffused that artificial and perverted combination and routine of belief, of forms and observances, which best suited earthly ambition and earthly propensities. In proof of the truth of what has now been said, it may be remarked, that in the eighth century, one of the popes was reproached for suffering pagan ceremonies to be practised under his own eyes in the very city of Rome. And I had occasion to remark to you, in a former lecture, that even Gregory the great, desired Augustin and his associates to humour the Anglo-Saxons in some of their superstitions, by giving them a Christian application—to let their idolatrous temples remain, but to purify them with holy water, and other things worse than this. In other countries, and in their general system, they stu-

died what would rather affect and please, than what would improve the people. This, indeed, has been the uniform practice of the court of Rome, in all ages; and we know that this policy has been pursued by the most zealous missionaries of the catholic church in modern times,—witness their proceedings in China, and elsewhere; though wherever it operates, it debases Christianity, and must establish a corrupt system of religion. From the first hour of the first adoption of this worldly policy and cunning, it never failed to be followed by the prevalence of evil, and the destruction of every thing that was discriminating and valuable in Christianity; which led the apostle Paul to say on one occasion, “If I yet seek to please men, I shall not be the servant of Christ.” And on another, “A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.” What account shall we make of the feasts of the ass—the feasts of fools, and the various immoral and disgusting mummeries, pious frauds, and lying legends, that were practised in the catholic church during this period.

But to sum up these miscellaneous observations:—The state of the catholic church, whether you look to Rome or England, was, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical government, instead of that evangelical simplicity which Christ and his apostles had instituted, and which was exemplified in the primitive churches, was become a spiritual domination under the form of a temporal empire. An innumerable multitude of dignities, titles, rights, honours, privileges, and pre-eminences belonged to it, and were all dependant on a sovereign priest, who, being an absolute monarch, required every thought to be in subjection to him. The chief ministers of religion—bishops, abbots, &c.—were actually become temporal princes; and the high priest, being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court and his council, his legates or ambassadors to negotiate, and his armies to murder his flock. The clergy had acquired immense wealth; and, as their chief study was either to collect and to augment their revenues, or to prevent the alienation of their estates, they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations, with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and, of consequence, gross ignorance prevailed. All ranks of men were

extremely depraved in their morals, and the court of Rome had fixed the price of every crime, and published the rate at which it might be commuted for money, in the tax-book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and revelation allowed, the pope prohibited, and, for money, dispensed with those which both forbade. Church benefices were sold to children, and to laymen, who then let them to under tenants, none of whom performed the duty, for which the profits were paid; but all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock, to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed—and, what was more astonishing, he was permitted to exercise—a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs gratified his will, he put on a triple crown, ascended a throne, suffered them to address him as “his holiness,” and to kiss his feet. When they disobliged him, he suspended all religious worship in their dominions; published false and abusive libels, called bulls, which operated as laws, to injure their persons; discharged their subjects from their allegiance to them; and gave their crowns to any who would usurp them. He claimed an infallibility of knowledge, and an omnipotence of strength; and he forbade the world to examine his claim. He was addressed by titles of blasphemy; and, though he owned no jurisdiction over himself, yet he affected to extend his authority over heaven, earth, and hell, as well as over a middle place, called purgatory; of all which places, he affirmed that he kept the keys!

Religion itself, under such a system of church polity, must of necessity partake of its nature, and bear some relationship to its character. It consisted in the performance of numerous ceremonies, of Pagan, Jewish, and Monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to man. The church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses of men; it was calculated to excite and interest the feelings, while it left the understanding and judgment uninformed and unaffected. Music stole the ear and soothed the passions. Statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments, beguiled the eye, while the pause which was produced by that sudden attack, which a multitude of objects made on

the senses, on entering a cathedral, or other spacious decorated edifice, was enthusiastically mistaken for devotion. Public worship was performed in an unknown tongue; and the sacrament, as they called it, was adored as the body and blood of Christ. The pomp attending the ceremonial, produced in the people a notion that the performance of it was the practice of piety, and religion degenerated into gross superstition. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or scripture, retained all its heathenish enormity, committing the most horrid crimes; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing monasteries, churches, and religious houses, and bestowing donations on the church and clergy. Human merit was introduced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of Deity were distributed by canonization among the creatures of the pope.

The pillars that supported this edifice, were immense riches, arising, by imposts, from the sins of mankind; idle distinctions between supreme and subordinate adoration; senseless axioms, called the divinity of the schools; preachments of buffoonery, or blasphemy, or both; false miracles and midnight visions; spurious books, and paltry relics; oaths, dungeons, inquisitions, and crusades. The whole constituted what they were pleased to denominate, THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC CHURCH, and scandalously imputed it to the holy one of God, the Lord Jesus Christ.*

I. In selecting a few striking instances of the superstitious rites of the papal church, such as made a part of the religious system imposed upon our forefathers, we may begin by noticing the *use of the cross and crucifix*. Such a death as that of the Saviour, by such a character, in such a cause, and borne with such wondrous fortitude and patience, from motives of pure benevolence, for objects so utterly worthless and undeserving, must always produce sympathetic veneration in the believer's bosom. At the sight of the cross, the compassionate recollections are accustomed to recur. The cross was, therefore, made the perpetual companion of the catholic clergy—in their private devotions, at their public worship, in their domestic ministrations, on their buildings, in their high-

* Robinson's Works, vol. i. pp. 5—8.

ways, within their houses, with their missions, in their cells, on their dress, in every exercise of their official pomp or pastoral duty, the cross was displayed with great apparent respect and continual impression. It is a natural inquiry, whence did this arise, or what could give occasion to it? And the reason is obvious: they were no longer under the influence of the *doctrine* of the cross; it was no longer that which reigned in their hearts and formed the animating principle of their lives; and, therefore, they substituted the image, or visible representation of it, for the thing signified—the shadow for the substance. And in this way did the leaders in religion put the cheat upon the common people. Having driven them from the reading of the scriptures, as a thing which they persuaded them was of no use, but rather dangerous to them, they presented them with an image of wood and stone, or gold and silver, as what was far preferable to the doctrine of the cross, and better calculated to work upon their affections. In this manner they sensualized the minds of the people, and gradually paved the way for the worship of the host, and all the idolatrous practices connected with it.

II. The deification, or *worship of the Virgin Mary*, is another superstitious rite of the papal church, which obtained general celebrity during the period we are treating of. The birth of Christ was found to be a circumstance which, like his death, touched the tenderest feelings of the heart. A beautiful mother, nursing an angelic babe, few could contemplate without emotion. The catholic clergy, ever intent upon gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the multitude, singled out this natural circumstance, and converted it into one of the most prominent and sacred parts of their system. The earliest efforts of the arts in their humblest, as well as in their most polished state, have been invariably employed by the church of Rome to make the interesting representation in what they call the *Madona*—a figure, engraved in marble, or wrought in gold or silver, or painted by the artist; in which the Virgin is invested with every attribute of purity, tenderness, pity, and condescension. What more natural to a guilty mortal, when labouring under the horrors of an alarmed conscience, and recollecting a thousand deeds of wrong and cruelty, dreading too the anger of Heaven, than to propitiate and implore the interposi-

tion of a kind and compassionate mother ! The clergy encouraged them to regard the Virgin Mary as the queen of heaven, the sovereign lady of the angelic hosts, the empress of the world ; for such were the titles by which she was invoked in England during the fourteenth century : and the feelings, the fears, and the hopes of our rude forefathers eagerly prompted them to make her a mediatrix in the skies. The scriptures were little known, and less consulted, and, therefore, were not supposed to discountenance this fine theory. It is a true saying, that men readily believe what they wish to be true ; and, therefore, they willingly combined to place her as an effective goddess in the skies, whose intercession with her son was warmly urged for all her votaries, and who, in process of time, came to be considered as almost the only channel of mercy here. The clergy, observing how useful this opinion was, and how productive it might be made to the emoluments of the papal hierarchy—themselves also, in all probability, partaking of the general credulity—universally patronized and strenuously enforced it. It was one of the papal delusions that was the last given up in this country ; and in others it still maintains its ancient impressions on the catholic mind.

III. A source of influence peculiarly operative, from its connexion with the Pagan superstitions of our forefathers, was derived from the awful and mysterious qualities attributed to *relics*, or portions of the decayed bodies of a departed saint, especially of an ecclesiastic canonized by the pope ; for the ascription of sanctity, previous to official canonization, was a prescribed heresy. No power but that of the pope was competent to constitute a saint.

Death, even to an enlightened mind, is an awful concern. We cannot, therefore, wonder that it should be a source of terror and superstition to the ignorant and impenitent. All nations believe that some state of animation succeeds to death, though the fond hope has been dressed in a thousand fantastic shapes, both of terror and superstition. That the mysterious dead may revisit the world from which they have been corporally severed, has been the popular belief of many countries, and hence sprung necromancy, or the invocations of the dead ; and wonders performed by their agency, or in their name, have been favourite practices in most countries, and especially among our Gothic ancestors. It

was in perfect harmony with these vague and wild suppositions that the clergy of the church of Rome industriously diffused the belief, and maintained the certainty, that a miraculous power attended the genuine and authorized relics of every legal saint. Absurd and ridiculous as we know it to be, yet no opinion was more fervently embraced or more tenaciously retained than this chimera, with the analogous efficacy of holy water, consecrated tapers, and jargon exorcisms; because all the inherited traditions of the ancient world coincided on this point with the opinions of the catholic priests!

IV. Intimately connected with this superstition, was the religious *invocation of the departed saints*. Let it be once conceded that their relics, or mortal remains, could work miracles—how much more their personal existence? Thus, the very same principle which led the Pagans of old to people the skies with intermediate divinities, renewed the fond mistake and favourite theory, though under a new denomination, and in a new costume of character and dress. The saints of the catholic church were beatified monks, as Odin, among the Saxons, was a beatified savage; and the classical gods and goddesses had been little else in manners than the deified heroes and heroines of Greece. This delusion was such an unauthorized assumption of the power of awarding the destinies of mankind, and placing sinful mortals in heaven, that it may well excite one's astonishment—it was surely “sitting in the temple of God, and displaying the attributes of Omnipotence.”

V. The *legends* of the saints was a necessary appendage to the superstitions now mentioned. The monasteries embraced a large portion of the national population, comprising every variety of human character and genius; and among their diversified fraternity were many individuals of vivid fancy and strong feeling, sometimes even of diseased imagination. Their legendary tales, therefore, were numerous, and sometimes not a little impressive. They gave a powerful stimulus to the cause of superstition. No saint was created and raised to the calendar without a competent portion of legends to his life. This, however, has been the source of much evil in the Christian church. Biography is both a pleasing and profitable kind of reading; but to render it such,

facts should be truly stated, and simply narrated; whereas the lives of monks and nuns, with which the biography of the catholic church abounds, is disfigured and falsified by the fictitious drapery and machinery with which they are accompanied: the lives of their saints are full of fabulous miracles, and extol many loathsome mortifications that are productive of no virtues. The power assumed by the pope, of creating saints, was an impious invasion of the rights of the supreme Being, and an actual superceding of that final judgment which it appertains to him alone to award. The pope's bull of canonization placed the dead individual not merely in heaven, but in that high character in heaven, that to him the prayers of mortals were to be addressed; grounded too on the persuasion that he could and would procure from the Deity, for his suppliant, the favours he desired. It was a species, therefore, not only of beatification, but of an approach to deification—it was an arrogated power of creating a celestial nobility; and one of the most certain paths of attaining this proud distinction was a zealous devotion to the interests of the papal see. Thomas Becket had no other claim. St. Dunstan, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Ignatius—what other claim had they?

Again, (VI.) it may be fairly doubted if human policy ever invented a more powerful engine for enslaving the human mind than the doctrine of *purgatory*. The final judgment of the human race is claimed by the Lord Redeemer as his prerogative and office;* and therefore no sophistry could divest him of it. But an intermediate purgatory, the fiction of the catholic church, could be shaped and administered, diminished or extended, at the option of the priesthood. The duration of this state was found to be as manageable as the language which expressed it, and was made to be entirely subservient to the will of the priest. It was he alone who could pronounce or explore whether the dying individual would have to endure a hundred, a thousand, or tens of thousand years of penal fire. It was the rites, the machinery, and payments, which he dictated, that had the bewitching power of abridging or determining the allotted portion. Wherever this doctrine was believed, the priest had the

* John, ch. v.; Matt. xxv.

mind of his votary bound in an adamantine chain. To have any prospect of comfort after death, it was necessary that the priest and church should be propitiated. This at last became so well understood, and so completely organized, that some monasteries and churches had their settled tables of necessary offices and pecuniary payments, each of which was powerful enough to resist a certain portion of the pains of purgatory. To every mass for the dead a power of abolishing a determinate number of days or years of this probationary fire was allotted, and these masses were to be purchased by proportionate sums of money. The rich and great, therefore, had always the power of making the first eras of the next world as pleasant to them as the present. The poor were less secure; and their absolute obedience and servile obsequiousness were the only means by which they could procure safety. This was one of the causes of the munificent donations to monasteries and churches, which rendered them so affluent and powerful.

VII. The practice of *auricular confession*, and the power of priestly *absolution*, are also among the engines of papal usurpation and authority, from which, reason, sensibility, and delicacy seem to shrink, and they have been scandalously abused in that church. The minuteness of the examination, and the continual recollection of polluting vices, could never be favourable to virtue in either priest or penitent; and as absolution was granted on contrition and penance, and not refused as often as solicited, its tendency could only be to lead the conscience to seek its repose and safety in the sacerdotal ceremony, and thus to make ritual religion the satisfactory substitute for moral rectitude, and the piety of the heart. But there are many and glaring evils resulting from the practice of auricular confession. When once the priest became master of the secret vices of an individual family, that moment he had that family under his control; and though the dread of being so situated may, in some instances, have operated as a check on flagrant immorality, its tendency to enslave society is very manifest. The catholics, indeed, plead that the priests are forbidden to disclose the secrets entrusted to them at confession under severe penalties; but, independently of the power with which he is vested of appointing the adapted penance, and of giving or with-

holding the desired absolution, the means of alarm and injury which the knowledge of actions, sometimes involving life, property, and reputation, inevitably gave to the priest, even without betraying his trust, and the personal shame at the consciousness of his knowledge, were abundantly sufficient to subject the sinner to his control. The importance of the possession of this source of influence and government was so well understood among the Romish clergy, that it was one of the first privileges eagerly desired and obtained among the mendicant orders, and most fiercely contended for by the parochial clergy. The servility of the world, and the gain thence resulting to the clergy, in process of time led them to abuse their power by trafficking with *indulgences* beforehand; thus enabling the rich to purchase impunity in sinning prior to the commission of the crime, and thus tempting them to vice by the anticipating pardon. But this monstrous atrocity was not brought forth until a little before the time of Luther; and reason, once awakened, was not long insensible to this abuse, which, like all the other superstitions of the Romish clergy, perished from its own folly.

VIII. I must not omit to mention in this catalogue of papal superstitions, their doctrine of *transubstantiation*. That the sacramental bread and wine became, after the consecrating words of the priest, the actual flesh and blood of the Saviour, was, in the eleventh century, the popular belief of the clergy throughout almost the whole of Europe; and that the pope, in then fixing it in the catholic creed, acted in conformity with the wishes of a majority of the clergy at that period, cannot be fairly disputed. But it is equally clear, that it was not the received doctrine of the *Christian world* prior to that period, taking that term to denote the entire catholic church. As to the doctrine itself, it cannot be expected that I should, in this place, enter upon a formal refutation of it. According to Dean Swift, it is "a doctrine, the belief of which makes every thing else unbelievable." We know, indeed, that the council of Trent thought proper to decree that, "by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is effected a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood; which conversion is fitly and properly termed,

by the holy catholic church, transubstantiation." Thus the venerable council thought proper, in its superlative wisdom, to decree ; and moreover to anathematize all that should dare to question the reality of the transformation. Every genuine papist professes to believe this doctrine, and every popish priest, not only professes, but swears to the belief of it. In this case, faith is not an exercise of the understanding—the senses of tasting, seeing, and feeling, deceive their possessors—that which was simple bread and wine at the first, is said, by the pronouncing of the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum,*" by the priest, to be changed into a God, and instantly held up to be adored by the people, and afterwards literally eaten and drank by them in ten thousand different places at the same instant of time ! There are some things so extremely absurd and ridiculous, that it is difficult to expose them, or make argument to bear upon them ; and of this sort is the doctrine of transubstantiation.

This impudent fiction is not only a palpable contradiction to the senses and reason of mankind, but a most pernicious falsehood ; being the chief foundation of that fictitious power of pardoning sin, and of saving or damning men, according to their own pleasure, which the Romish ecclesiastics have blasphemously arrogated to themselves, and by which they render men utterly negligent of holiness, and of all the ordinary duties of life. It strikes at the root of the Christian religion. It subverts the doctrine of the cross of Christ, and removes the only foundation on which a sinner can reasonably hope for the pardon of his sins and the salvation of his soul. It lays the basis of an idolatrous worship, in the daily *sacrifice of the mass*, and has been converted into a source of incalculable profit to the whole body of popish ecclesiastics. "The saying of masses," as one observes, "keeps the church of Rome more priests in pay than any prince in Christendom can maintain soldiers ; and the church has raised more money by their means than the richest bank or exchequer in the world was ever owner of. It is the truest patrimony of their church, and has enriched it more than any thing else. It was that which founded their greatest monasteries and their richest abbeys, and it had well nigh brought all the estates of this kingdom into the church, had not the statute of Mortmain put a check to it." I say nothing of the horrid blasphemy connected with the doctrine of transub-

stantiation, because I have already touched upon this in some of the preceding lectures; I say horrible blasphemy—for what can be more so than the scandalous pretext, that a sinful worm of the earth, invested with the title of priest, could create the Creator of all things! This monstrous assumption once admitted, the inference was irresistible. If the clergy were, indeed, possessed of the power of creating the very Deity whom they worshipped, they became by their office a supernatural order of men; they could do that of which angels were incapable. They were, indeed, workers of miracles, and Thomas Becket became reasonable in treating them as if they were angels or divinities whenever they came before him.

IX. I have still to speak of the power of *excommunication* and *interdict*, claimed and practised by the church of Rome—a power the most subtle in its device, the most penal in its operation, the most tyrannical in its principle, and the greatest tax on the credulity of mankind that political ambition has ever invented; but of these monstrous assumptions some notice has been taken in former lectures, and I therefore shall not dwell upon them. They constituted the most formidable artillery of the see of Rome, and the curses that were often attached to them are too loathsome to repeat. Mr. Hallam justly observes, that “this was the main-spring of the machinery that the clergy set in motion, the lever by which they moved the world. From the moment that these interdicts and excommunications had been tried, the powers of the earth might be said to have existed by sufferance.” But the abuse of the power, happily for the nations of Europe, in a great measure served to counteract its malevolence. These engines of Papal malignity became so frequently misused as to rouse the indignation and contempt of mankind; and, although they may still subsist in name, they are sinking fast into oblivion, from the abhorrence and ridicule of every feeling and reflecting mind.*

* In the reign of our King John, England remained under an interdict six years three months and a half, in consequence of a quarrel between the King and Pope Innocent III., about some investitures of churches, collations of benefices, and other matters. In this instance, not only the king and his court, but all the people of England also, who had nothing to do with the quarrel, were excommunicated. During this interval many thousands of the inhabitants of the country died; and,

X. Of the *Inquisition*, or "holy office," as the catholics rather chuse to designate it, I shall in this place say nothing, as the subject will shortly come before us in all its terrific forms and shapes, in the destruction of the Albigenses, of France, and the Waldenses, of Piedmont. We shall then see "the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," according to prophetic testimony; Rev. xvii. 6. In the mean time, I close this review of Papal Christianity, with an attempt to decide its character, by bringing it to the touchstone of the New Testament.

Such of you as are tolerably well acquainted with the papal controversy, will not need to be told with what affected levity and contempt the clergy of the church of Rome treat the imputation of *Antichristianism* to that system of tenets, ceremonies, laws, and practices, which constitute what we denominate popery. To ward off this unwelcome imputation, they would fain persuade us that Antichrist is to be sought in Imperial and Pagan Rome*—according to which notion, the power that is designated "Antichrist" in the writings of the apostles, was not to be an ecclesiastical, but a civil power! a very convenient evasion, unquestionably, could it be established. It deserves to be remarked also, that several distinguished divines, belonging to the church of England, actuated by something like a spirit of sympathy or fellow-feeling towards the papists, have entered their protest against the application of the name "Antichrist" to that corrupt church; aware, probably, that could it be substantiated, they themselves might be compelled to take up the lamentation of some of old—"thus saying, thou reproachest us also"! It may, therefore, be no unprofitable way of winding up this Lecture, to examine the

according to the rules of the Romish church and the Pope's judgment, were eternally damned!—not for any heresy or crime of their own, be it observed, but solely on account of this quarrel between the king and the pontiff. Matthew Paris, who lived during the interdict, says, "All the sacraments of the church ceased in England, saving only confession and the communion of the host in the last necessity, and the baptism of infants. The dead bodies were carried out of the towns, and, as if they had been the bodies of dogs, they were buried by the highways and in ditches, without prayers and without service of priests."—p. 217.

* Those who would see this point ably discussed, should read Bishop Hurd's *Sermons on the Study of Prophecy*, vol. ii. Sermon. i.

writings of the holy apostles on this interesting subject, and by that means we shall be enabled to judge for ourselves, with what propriety the Church of Rome is identified with Antichrist.

If, then, you turn to Paul's first epistle to Timothy, chap. iv., you will find him thus foretelling a *general apostacy* which was to take place in the Christian Church, after his day:—"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly," says he, "that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, (rather *demons*,) speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth," ver. 1—3.

Now, how well all this agrees with what we have seen of the conduct of the Romish clergy, in the course of these lectures, must I think be manifest to all of you. The lies that they propagated, concerning the apparitions of angels, the ghosts of departed saints, the miracles done by them and by their relics, and by the sign of the cross—all preached up by monks and priests, and even bishops, and committed to writing, in the fabulous legends of their saints, to render them objects of adoration, is surely sufficient to justify the application. Look to the efforts made to enforce the celibacy of the clergy; and as to "abstaining from meats," we see this verified in their prohibition of the use of animal food during the forty days of Lent, and two days every week, whereon to taste flesh is sin.

Look next to 2 Tim. iii., "This know also, that in the last days, perilous times shall come; for men shall be lovers of their own-selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof—from such turn away." ver. 1—5.

This is evidently an amplification of the same subject to which the apostle had referred in the first epistle; nor can we reasonably doubt that he has the Romish clergy principally in view, in all the epithets which he here uses. Selfishness, and the love of money,

persons without natural affection, covenant-breakers, slanderers, betrayers, men addicted to sensual pleasures, and so forth, are all of them epithets descriptive of the practices of the Romish monks and friars during the dark ages. Not only did the clergy defend all these enormities, but they encouraged the people by their false doctrine to commit them, and even went before them in the practice of these enormities. When, for instance, it is said, that they should be without natural affection, does it not remind us of the celibacy of the clergy, and of their encouraging children to become monks and nuns, contrary to the will of their parents? And, does not the character of truce-breakers call to our recollection that article of the catholic creed, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics?" In this way I might go over the whole catalogue of opprobrious epithets, and shew you how applicable they all are to the clergy of the Romish church. But not to dwell longer on this, I shall now direct your attention to that ever memorable prediction concerning this awful apostacy, which is recorded 2 Thess. ii. ver. 3—12: "Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

I do not affect to be ignorant, that learned men have offered different interpretations of this remarkable prophecy, but where

is the subject on which they have not differed? The facts and circumstances, however, that are mentioned in this prophecy, are so strongly marked, that they will not easily apply, except to the persons and events intended by the Spirit of God. After all that I have heard and read upon the subject, to me it appears plainly a prediction of the corruptions of Christianity, which began to work secretly in the apostles' days, (ver. 7,) but which were restrained while Paganism was the established religion of the Roman empire, and the emperors and magistrates were heathens. In the year of our Lord 312, this restraint was removed by the conversion of Constantine; and from that moment, the Man of Sin, the mystery of iniquity, began to be openly revealed. When the heathen magistrates were taken out of the way, and the clergy, under the auspices of Constantine and his successors began to meet in general councils, and to arrogate to themselves the right of establishing what articles of faith and discipline they thought proper, and of anathematizing all who rejected their decrees—corruption rushed into the church like a torrent? Now the worship of saints and angels and images was introduced; in process of time, the celibacy of the clergy was praised as an act of the highest piety; meats of certain kinds were prohibited; and a variety of superstitious mortifications of the body were enjoined by the decrees of council, in opposition to the express laws of God. In a little time, idolatry and superstition was recommended to the people by false miracles, and every deceit which wickedness could suggest; such as the miraculous cures pretended to be performed by the bones and other relics of the martyrs, in order to induce the besotted multitude to worship them as mediators. They feigned visions of angels, who they said had appeared to this or that hermit to recommend celibacy, fastings, mortifications of the body, and living in solitude; to these were added the apparition of souls from purgatory, who begged that certain superstitions might be practised for delivering them from that confinement. Thus did these assemblies of ecclesiastics, who by their decrees enjoined these corrupt practices, shew themselves to be the “Man of Sin,” that “wicked one” in his first form, whose coming, or advancement towards maturity, was to be with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, or false miracles,

opposing HIM who is head over all things to the church—its only Lord and Lawgiver; setting aside his laws, institutions, and ordinances, and substituting the doctrines and traditions of men in their place. Some centuries, however, elapsed before the bishops of Rome, who took the lead in this ungodly confederacy against Christ, exalted themselves against all that is called God, or worshipped. It was not until the civil and ecclesiastical, or the temporal and spiritual power, became united in the see of Rome, and the latter had obtained the support of the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, that this antichristian power, this Man of Sin, or wicked one, sat in the temple or church of God, arrogating to himself the peculiar honours of Deity. For then it was, that the clergy became the sovereigns of Rome—and this was that little horn which Daniel saw coming up among the ten horns, having “the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things,” to shew that its dominion was founded in the deepest policy, and that its strength consisted in the bulls, interdicts, excommunications, and anathemas which, with insufferable audacity, it uttered against all who opposed its usurpations.

Upon the whole, I think every impartial person who carefully compares the history of papal Christianity, as it has been exhibited in these Lectures, with the prophecies delivered by the Apostle Paul concerning the apostacy which was to take place in the latter days, must allow their identity,—must allow that the little horn of Daniel—the Man of Sin, and the wicked one of the Apostle Paul—or the Antichrist of the Apostle John, are one and all to be found realized in the church of Rome. For, according to the energy or strong working of Satan, “with all power and signs and lying wonders,” they have managed to supplant the power and authority of Christ in his own kingdom, and exalted themselves above all that is called God, or an object of worship; and have long sat in the temple of God, as God, shewing themselves as divine, or exercising the power and prerogatives of God. And forasmuch as, in the exercise and acquisition of their spiritual tyranny, they have trampled upon all laws, human and divine, and have encouraged their votaries in the most scandalous and enormous acts of wickedness, the Spirit of inspiration has thought fit to brand them

with the appellations of "the Man of Sin—the Son of Perdition—the Lawless One." In short, the annals of the world cannot produce persons and events to which the prophecies concerning the latter-day apostacy can be applied with so much fitness as to the entire system of papal Christianity. This is the subject which the whole book of the Apocalypse was written to elucidate; and the more that book is studied and compared with the history of past ages, particularly the events of the Christian church, the more demonstrable will the evidences of our holy religion be found.

In conclusion, let me beseech you to compare this system of things—I mean papal Christianity—with the simple doctrine of Christ and his apostles. Reflect on what the Gospel itself is, as delivered by its great Author, and promulgated by his ambassadors, the fishermen of Galilee, and the pupil of Gamaliel. Consider how it made its way in the world. It went forth in its native might and majesty, unarmed, save with the force of truth—unrewarded, save with the divine blessing. It subdued the bigotry of the Jew; it confounded the wisdom of the Greek. It bade defiance to the sword of the Cæsars; it levelled with the dust the altars of paganism. It reared its holy standard and unfurled its spotless banner upon the ruins of pagan temples, and of heathen shrines. It extended its knowledge, and diffused its blessings, through the length and the breadth of the Roman world, and proved the divinity of its origin by the wide and rapid propagation of its doctrines, notwithstanding all the difficulties with which it had to encounter. It was not until three hundred years of its existence had elapsed, that Christianity was in any way identified with the civil power; and, from the period in which it was allied with the state, we date the decline of its strength and purity. It was not by accommodating the doctrine of the Cross to the depraved tastes of an ungodly world, that the holy apostles made converts to it; but by exhibiting it in its naked purity, and, by manifestation of the truth, commending themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. They considered the hearts of men to be strongly fortified with presumptuous reasonings against the knowledge of God and the doctrine of Christ; but their testimony was mighty, *through*

God, to demolish these fortifications, "casting down reasonings, and every eminence exalted against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." Divested of human additions, its nature is the same—its tendency the same—its power the same. When the rulers of this world shall have wisdom enough to take it out of the hands of priests, and leave it to rest for success upon the arm of its Divine Founder, it will march on again, in its strength, "conquering and to conquer."

And how consoling is the reflection, that the same Spirit of Prophecy which foretold the rise of this monstrous antichristian power, more than five hundred years before any of the actors in the fearful drama were called into existence, has, with equal clearness and certainty, predicted its utter overthrow and total ruin. "The Lord shall consume that Wicked One with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy it with the brightness of his coming." The kings of the earth, who, at one time, and with one consent, gave their power and strength to the beast, "shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." "The kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail and lament for her, saying, Alas, alas, that great city, Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus, with violence, shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all;" Rev. xviii. Such is the prediction; and do we see no traces of its begun accomplishment? We surely cannot be so inattentive to the signs of the times. We have only to turn an eye to France,—that kingdom which contributed more than any other to lift Antichrist to his throne,—and consider what has been doing there in our day, to find proof of the fact. But if France be too remote for our ken, let us look nearer home, and open our eyes to what is passing around us, in reference to this portentous theme,—and "if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant."

LECTURE XXXVII.

Christianity in Europe endangered by Mahometanism in the eighth century—The Arabs out of Spain invade France, but are defeated with terrible carnage, and thrice repulsed—Charlemagne subdues the Saxons and barbarous Northern Tribes—Lends his powerful aid to the Papal See—Revives the Empire of the West—Review of his Character and Reign—Conduct of the Bishops under his sons and successors—Remarks—Some Account of the Sect of the PAULICIANS—Glance at the Valleys of Piedmont—Claude, bishop of Turin ; his character, principles, and numerous followers, A.D. 730—850.

IN several preceding Lectures, I have sketched the history of the church of England, from its commencement, in the times of the Anglo-Saxons, to the end of the thirteenth century : we now return to that period at which the first volume of these Lectures closed, and shall endeavour to take up the thread of the narrative of ecclesiastical affairs in other kingdoms and states where we then laid it down—commencing with France, the monarchs of which country had more influence in forwarding the views of the court of Rome, and lifting Antichrist to his throne, than all the other powers of Europe conjointly.

In the early part of the eighth century, the very existence of the profession of Christianity was endangered for a time, by the progress which the followers of Mahomet were making in establishing themselves in some of the states of Europe. Having

subjected Asia and Africa to their victorious arms, they, at this crisis, poured into Spain in immense numbers, overran that fine country, and took up a permanent residence in it. From Spain they invaded France in vast multitudes, animated with a confidence of enthusiasm which required all the physical strength and martial prowess of that nation to resist. It was in the year 732, that this formidable invasion took place; at which time Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, held the reigns of government in that country, not under the title of King, but as his deputy, or as Mayor of the Palace, and was called on to decide the great question, whether Christianity or Mahometanism should thenceforth be the religion of Europe. The danger of the attack may be fairly judged of by the length of the battle by which it was repressed. The sanguinary contest lasted seven days—a longer time, probably, than almost any other single struggle, for the immense consequences that were attached to the decision. Happily, on the seventh day, the Franks triumphed; and above 300,000 Arabs slain, announced the magnitude of the peril from which Europe had been delivered. But, undismayed by a destruction which would have exhausted most nations, the Mahometans twice afterwards renewed the contest, in an attempt on France, during the life of Charles Martel; but as often were they repulsed by that skilful warrior, who stemmed the fierce torrent, and, in the end, drove the assailants beyond the Pyrenees, never to repass them again.*

It was not long after this, that the cause of civilization and the profession of Christianity were again endangered, not from the arms of the Mahometans, but from the pagan hordes of barbarian idolaters, who then monopolized the finest parts of the continent of Europe. These were the continental Saxons—the Northmen, who occupied the shores of the Baltic—the Hungarians, dwelling between the Danube and Bosphorus—and the Slavonians, who diffused themselves over all the regions between the Elbe, the Frozen Sea, and the Danube. These were the four great divisions of those pagan tribes; and they

* Turner's *England, Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 9, and the note.

were all as much opposed to Christianity as were the Mahometans, though not so infuriated with the spirit of proselytism. It was about forty years after the defeat of the Mahometans, of which I have lately spoken, that these hostile tribes, who, for some time before, had disturbed the peace of the kingdom of the Franks, combined in another bold and daring effort to possess themselves of the country. The throne was at that time filled by Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, who maintained a state of war against them, with few intermissions, during the long period of three-and-thirty years. His talents and perseverance were ultimately crowned with success, and Saxony was reduced to a state of submission, and acknowledged the sovereignty of Charlemagne.

The reign of this monarch is one of the most important in the history of Europe. That it was very destructive to human life among the barbarous nations, is a calamity to be regretted by the benevolent mind; but it is certain that the improvement and civilization of Europe was greatly advanced by his wars and their devastations. The barbarous nations who at that time peopled the northern parts of Europe, had become too populous, daring, warlike, and restless, for their own comfort, or the tranquillity of the world. The consequence may be easily imagined:—they were continually making inroads on the more civilized states; and it fell to the lot of France to check their incursions, and oppose a barrier to their aggressions. All these barbarous tribes fought furiously against the more peaceable and civilized, until they were enfeebled into a taste for more peaceful life, and the victories of Charlemagne contributed much to accelerate that desirable object. Like our good King Alfred, he grew up to manhood, in a great measure, if not totally, ignorant of letters; but he corrected this evil of his youthful days, amid his splendid successes; and he aspired, by legislation and wise political arrangements, to mitigate the barbarism of the Continent. He built cities, established bishoprics, founded abbeys, and became a patron of learning and learned men. Much of this was praiseworthy; yet it must not be concealed, that the great qualities of this prince were alloyed by vices of no ordinary turpitude. Nine wives, whom he divorced with very little cere-

mony, sufficiently attest the licentiousness of his private life; and, though not constitutionally cruel, he was, like another Napoleon at a later date, wholly indifferent as to the sacrifice of human life, by means of which his objects were attained. He caused four thousand Saxons to be beheaded in one day in cold blood—an act of atrocious butchery; after which his persecuting edicts, pronouncing the penalty of death on those who refused to be baptized, or even who ate flesh during Lent, seem scarcely worthy of notice.

Yet, after all, Charlemagne was a most pious and dutiful son of the church of Rome, and all his efforts were directed to encourage the power and pretensions of the papal hierarchy, for which reason it is that I have thought it expedient to dilate a little upon his character and reign. The bishops of Rome had been much annoyed, about that time, by the petty sovereigns of the Lombards; and one of them—viz. Leo III., applied to the French monarch for protection against his ambitious enemies. Crossing the Alps, Charlemagne speedily annihilated the rude and illiterate kingdom of the Lombards, and thereby established the bishops of Rome in their territorial sovereignty. The pope, finding himself emancipated and aggrandized by his liberalities, to reward him for this signal act of his favour, crowned him Emperor of the West, thus investing him with the sovereignty of Italy. The services which Charlemagne had rendered to the chair of St. Peter naturally made him a great favourite with the court of Rome. And as the small portion of learning then to be found was monopolized by the clergy, we cannot be surprised that they should obtain the most signal marks of his favour. He established the payment of tithes; and admitted the clergy to seats in the national assemblies, associating them with the secular nobles in the administration of justice: in return for which courtesy, they honoured him with marked distinction, allowing him to preside in councils purely ecclesiastical. Accordingly, in the year 794, we find him seated on a throne in the council of Franckfort, with one of the pope's legates on either hand, and three hundred bishops waiting his nod. The object of the council was to investigate the sentiments of two Spanish bishops, who differed in judgment respecting the doctrine of Christ's sonship. The monarch opened

the proceedings, and proposed the condemnation of this new heresy. The council decided conformably to his will; and, in a letter to the churches of Spain, founded on that decision, Charlemagne expressed himself thus:—"You entreated me to judge of myself: I have done so: I have assisted as an auditor and an arbiter in an assembly of bishops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, we have settled what *must be believed* ! !"

The idolatrous practice of worshipping images, I have already spoken of;* and only advert to it, in this place, for the purpose of introducing an incident connected with the subject, in which Charlemagne was concerned. It was during his reign that the Greek Empress Irene convened the second council of Nice, which had for its object the settlement of the question—*what kind of worship should be paid to images*. The council accordingly decreed that we ought to render to images an honorary worship, but not a real adoration, the latter being due only to God. In the translation of the acts of this council, which Pope Adrian sent into France, either by accident or design, the meaning of the article respecting images was entirely perverted, for it ran thus:—"I receive and honour images according to that adoration which I pay to the Holy Trinity." The French monarch was so shocked at this piece of impiety, that, in the effervescence of his zeal, and with the aid of the clergy, he drew up a treatise, since known by the name of the *Caroline Books*, in which he treated the Nicene council with the highest contempt and abuse, and transmitted it to Pope Adrian, calling upon him to excommunicate the empress and her son as heretics. His Holiness, however, excused himself on the score of image-worship, at the same time rectifying the mistake that had occurred. He took that opportunity, nevertheless, to apprise the king, that he would certainly declare the empress and her son *heretics*, if they did not speedily restore some lands which formerly belonged to the church, and of which they had sacrilegiously purloined him! "I cannot," said the sovereign pontiff, "after what the council of Nice has done, declare Irené and her son heretics; but I shall

* See Vol. i.—Lect. xxvii.

declare them to be such, if they do not restore to me my patrimony in Sicily."

The conduct of the pope in the coronation of the French monarch deserves to be mentioned, were it only for its curiosity. Charles went to Rome in the year 800, under the pretext of receiving the oath of fidelity from his Roman subjects, and at the special request of Pope Leo III. He had passed six days in private conferences with the latter, during which, no doubt, the drama was prepared. On Christmas-day, as the king assisted at mass in St. Peter's church, in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and while upon his knees before the altar, the pope advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As soon as the people perceived it, they exclaimed, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great and pious Emperor of the Romans!" The pope then conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the occasion; and, as soon as the monarch was seated, paid him those honours which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Roman emperors. His Holiness then presented him with the imperial mantle; and, on being invested with it, Charles returned to his palace amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

According to one of our best historians, a seal was put on the glory of Charlemagne, when he was crowned Emperor. His father, Pepin, had borne the title of Patrician, and he had himself exercised with that title a regular sovereignty over Rome. Money was coined in his name, and an oath of fidelity was taken by the clergy and people. But the appellation of Emperor seemed to place his authority over all his subjects on a new footing. It was full of high and indefinite pretension, tending to overshadow the free election of the Franks by a fictitious descent from Augustus. All this must have had a tendency rather to weaken than establish his throne, and shews his want of wisdom in suffering the pope to cajole him into such a measure. The greatness and glory which he acquired by his martial exploits, and the government of his subjects, could receive no augmentation by a mere title. The epoch which his reign created in the history of the world, the illustrious families

which prided themselves in him as their progenitor, the very legends of romance, which are full of his fabulous exploits, have cast a lustre around his name, and testify the greatness that has embodied itself in that name. Like Alexander the Great, or his successor, Napoleon, he seemed to be born for universal innovation. In a life restlessly active, we see him reforming the coinage and establishing the legal divisions of money; gathering about him the learned of every country; founding schools and collecting libraries; interfering, but with the tone of a king, in religious controversies; and meditating to mould the discordant codes of Roman and barbarian laws into an uniform system. The chief political error of his reign consisted in his lending his powerful aid to the support of the Romish hierarchy; and, in doing that, he little imagined what misery he was entailing upon his successors, upon his kingdom, and upon the whole of Europe. But perhaps his greatest eulogy is written in the disgraces of those who succeeded him, and the miseries of Europe. "He stands alone," says Mr. Hallam, "like a beacon upon a waste, or a rock in the broad ocean. In the dark ages of European history, the reign of Charlemagne affords a solitary resting-place between two long periods of turbulence and ignominy, deriving the advantages of contrast both from that of the preceding dynasty, and of a posterity for whom he had formed an empire, which they were unworthy and unequal to maintain."*

The reign of Charlemagne forms such an important epoch in history, and especially in the annals of the church, that I should be doing great injustice to my subject, were I to dismiss it with this short and superficial notice; and though it be foreign to my purpose to enter minutely into a detail of his military exploits, or of his more private history, his efforts to uphold and extend the boundaries of the pope's temporal power and territorial acquisitions, are sufficiently important and interesting to be briefly glanced at. The learned Mosheim, speaking of him, tells us that succeeding generations, filled with a grateful sense of the famous exploits which Charlemagne had performed in the service of Christianity, canonized his memory, and turned

* Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, vol. i. ch. i.

this bloody warrior into an eminent saint. In the twelfth century, Frederic I., emperor of the Romans, ordered Pascal II., whom he had raised to the pontificate, to enrol the name of this mighty conqueror among the tutelary saints of the church : and, indeed, Charlemagne merited this honour, according to the opinions which prevailed at that period of time ; for, to have enriched the clergy with large and magnificent donations, and to have extended the boundaries of the church, no matter by what methods, was then considered as the highest merit, and as a sufficient pretension to the honour of sainthood. But in the esteem of those who judge of the nature and character of sanctity by the decisions of the Gospel on that head, the sainted emperor will appear utterly unworthy of that ghostly dignity. For, not to enter into a particular detail of his vices, whose number counterbalanced that of his virtues, it is undeniably evident that his ardent and ill-conducted zeal for the conversion of the Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, was more animated by the suggestions of ambition than by any rational principle of piety ; and that his main view in these religious exploits was to subdue the converted nations under his dominion, and to tame them to his yoke, which they supported with impatience, and shook off by frequent revolts. It is, moreover, well known that this boasted saint made no scruple of seeking the alliance of the infidel Saracens, that he might the more effectually be enabled to crush the Greeks, notwithstanding their profession of the Christian religion.*

That Charlemagne patronized learning and learned men, cannot be denied. He assembled them from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of royal academy ; and he became the oracle of theologians both by his doctrine and power.

ALCUIN, our learned countryman, who has been already mentioned, in a former Lecture, being sent on an embassy to the French court, by Offa, king of Mercia, had the good fortune to attract the particular notice and regard of Charlemagne, who earnestly solicited, and at last prevailed on him to settle at his court, and become his preceptor in the sciences. He ac-

* Mosheim, Cent. viii. part i. ch. i.

cordingly instructed that prince in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity, and was treated with so much kindness and familiarity by the emperor, that, by way of distinction, the courtiers pronounced him "the emperor's delight." Having passed many years in the most intimate familiarity with the French monarch, Alcuin at length, with great difficulty, obtained his permission to retire to his abbey of St. Martin's la Tour. Here he kept up a constant correspondence with the emperor; and their letters evince their mutual regard for religion and virtue, and their anxiety to promote them to the utmost of their power. As one of these letters throws some light upon the learning of the age, I shall here introduce an extract:—

"The employments of your Alcuin," says he to the emperor, "in his retreat, are suited to his humble sphere, but they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. I spend my time in the halls of St. Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with a taste for the learning of the ancients; in describing to others the order and revolutions of those shining orbs which adorn the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining to others the mysteries of Divine wisdom which are contained in the holy Scriptures,—suited my instructions to the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train up many to be ornaments to the church of God, and to the court of your Imperial Majesty. In doing this, I find a great want of several things, particularly of those excellent books in all arts and sciences, which I enjoyed in my native country, through the expense and care of my great master, Egbert. May it, therefore, please your Majesty, animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit me to send some of your young gentleman into England, to procure for us those books which we want,—and transplant the flowers of Britain into France, that their fragrance may no longer be confined to York, but may perfume the palaces of Tours."

Charlemagne often solicited Alcuin to return to court; but he excused himself, and remained at Tours till the time of his death, May 19th, A.D. 804. He is said to have been master of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; besides being an ac-

complished orator, a philosopher, and a mathematician. His works, which consist of fifty-three treatises, homilies, commentaries, letters, poems, &c., are comprised in two folio volumes. But, from this brief mention of Alcuin, I now return to his great master, Charlemagne, of whom Mr. Gibbon tells us, that "the dignity of his person, the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish Charles from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from his restoration of the Western Empire."*

This is no slender eulogium, and applied, as it is, to his political character and station, it may be very just; but with all these fine traits, a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome unhappily mingled itself with all his policy, and led him to engage in theological disputes and quibbles unworthy of his character and exalted station. I present you with one single specimen of it, contained in a letter which he wrote to Odilbert, bishop of Mentz, and it certainly exhibits a striking proof of the state of religion in that age.

"We have often wished," says his Imperial Majesty, "if we could accomplish it, to converse with you and your colleagues familiarly, on the utility of the holy church of God. But although we are not ignorant of the real concern with which you watch over divine things, yet we must not omit, while we trust in the co-operating influence of the Holy Spirit, by our authority to admonish and exhort you to labour in word and doctrine in the church of God, more and more studiously, and with watchful perseverance; so that, by your pious diligence, the word of God may spread and flourish extensively, and the number of the Christian people may be multiplied, to the praise and glory of our Saviour. Wherefore, we desire to know in writing, or from your own mouth, in what manner you and your clergy teach and instruct both those who are candidates for the holy office of the ministry, and the people committed to you in the sacrament of baptism.—That is, why does a child first become a catechuman—and what is a catechuman?

* Decline and Fall, ch. xlix.

and so of other things in their order. Of examination—what is it? Of the creed—what is the interpretation or meaning of it among the Latins? Of belief—in what manner are we to believe in God the Father Almighty, in Jesus Christ, his Son, and in the Holy Spirit? &c. Of renouncing Satan, and his works and pomp—what is this renunciation? What is the meaning of breathing on the person, and exorcising him? Why does the catechuman receive salt? Why are his ears touched—the breast anointed with oil—the arms crossed—and the breast and arms washed? Why are white garments put on? Why is the head anointed with the holy chrism? why is it covered with a mystical vail? and why is conformation made with the body and blood of Christ. All these things we require you by careful study to examine, and to report an accurate account of them to us in writing; and, farther, to state whether you so maintain and preach these things, and govern your own life by the doctrines which you preach.”

This great monarch died in the year 814, in the 72nd year of his age, and 46th of his reign. He had wisely maintained a thorough control and supremacy over the clergy; and his son Louis, who succeeded him in the government, was, perhaps, still more vigilant in chastising their irregularities, and reforming their rules of discipline. But that which they were compelled to yield to the father, it was not equally easy for the son to obtain. Louis, therefore, drew on himself the inveterate enmity of a race of men who united with the turbulence of martial nobles a skill in managing those engines of offence which were peculiar to their order, and to which the implicit sanctity of his character laid him entirely open. All our historians agree in describing the successor of Charlemagne as a most amiable, pious, and good-natured prince; but he was unequal to the task of upholding the mighty structure of his father's power, and it began rapidly to decay. There was no defect in Louis's understanding and courage; he was accomplished in martial exercises, and in all the learning which an education, excellent for that age, could supply. No one could be more anxious than himself to reform the abuses of administration; and, whoever compares his capitularies with those of Charlemagne, will perceive that, as a legislator, he was

even superior to his father. The defect lay entirely in his heart; and this was nothing but a temper too mild and gentle, connected with great scrupulosity of conscience. The clergy took advantage of this amiable weakness, and became, as we say, "the plague of his life." As the subject is not uninteresting, and especially as it serves to illustrate the character of the priesthood of the CHURCH of Rome, we shall go a little into it.

Three years after his accession to the throne, Louis admitted his eldest son, Lothaire, to a share in the government of the empire, and conferred the provinces of Bavaria and Aquitaine, as subordinate kingdoms, upon the two younger brothers, Louis and Pepin. This arrangement, however, gave offence to his nephew Bernard, at that time King of Italy, who consequently revolted, and levied war against his uncle in contempt of his imperial authority; and, in this rebellious conduct, he was countenanced and encouraged by the Archbishop of Milan and the Bishop of Cremona. The French monarch, on this occasion, acted with promptness and vigour. He raised a powerful army, and was preparing to cross the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops, taken prisoner, and sentenced to lose his head. Louis, the uncle, mitigated his sentence to the loss of both his eyes. The punishment was inflicted, but the unhappy prince survived it only three days. To prevent further troubles arising from the same quarter, Louis thought proper to order that three of the natural sons of his father, Charlemagne, should be shut up in a convent.

In a short time the French monarch was seized with keen remorse for his conduct. He accused himself of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannical cruelty to his three brothers, whom he had placed in confinement. In this melancholy mood, he became a convenient tool in the hands of the clergy; and it grew at length to such a height, that he impeached himself in an assembly of the states, and requested the bishops to enjoin him public penance. The latter, now sensible of his weakness, set no bounds to their usurpations. They concluded that they might do any thing they pleased with so pious a prince! They no longer waited for the emperor's confirmation of their elections; but exalted themselves above the throne, and the whole fraternity

of the clergy claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Even the monks, while they pretended to renounce the world, seemed to aspire to the government of it.

In the year 822, the three sons of this monarch were associated in a rebellion against their own father—an unnatural crime, in which they were encouraged by the clergy. On this occasion, the emperor was abandoned by his army, and fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. In all probability, he would have lost his crown, had not the nobility taken pity on their humbled sovereign, and, by sowing the seeds of dissension among the three brothers, contrived to restore him to his dignity. Ten years afterwards, these three unnatural brothers formed a new league against their father; and the reigning Pope, Gregory IV., went to France in the army of the eldest of the brothers (Lothaire), under pretence of accommodating matters, but in reality with an intention of employing against the emperor that power which he derived from him, and hoping for an opportunity of asserting the supremacy and independence of the holy see. The presence of the pope, in those days of superstition, was of itself sufficient to determine the emperor's fate. After a deceitful negotiation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothaire, the unfortunate emperor found himself at the mercy of his rebellious sons. He was deposed in a tumultuous assembly, and Lothaire proclaimed emperor in his stead; after which infamous transaction, Pope Gregory returned to Rome.

To give stability to this revolution, and at the same time conceal the deformity of their own conduct, the bishops of Lothaire's faction had recourse to a curious artifice. "A penitent," said they, "is incapable of all civil offices;—a royal penitent must, therefore, be incapable of reigning. Let us subject Louis to a perpetual penance, and he can never re-ascend the throne." He was accordingly arraigned in an assembly of the states by Ibbo, archbishop of Rheims, and condemned to do penance for life. Louis was at the moment confined, as a prisoner, in a monastery at Soissons; and, being greatly intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony shamefully degrading. He prostrated himself upon a hair cloth, which was spread before the altar, and owned himself guilty of the charges brought against him in the

presence of many bishops, canons, and monks; Lothaire also being present, that he might enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. But this was not all. The degraded emperor was compelled to read aloud a written confession, in which he was made to accuse himself of sacrilege and murder, and to enumerate among his crimes, the marching of troops in Lent; calling an assembly on Holy Thursday; and taking up arms to defend himself against his rebellious children. In all this it is easy to trace the influence of the priesthood; and we may see how easy it is for superstition to transform into crimes the most innocent, and even necessary, actions. After having made this humiliating confession, Louis, at the command of the archbishop, laid aside his sword and belt, divested himself of his royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and retired to the cell that was assigned him.

The feelings of nature and the voice of humanity, however, in a little time, prevailed over the prejudices of the age and the policy of the clergy. The infamous and unnatural Lothaire became an object of general abhorrence; and his father, of compassion. The two younger brothers united against him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obedience, paying homage to Louis as their lawful sovereign; and the ambitious Lothaire was compelled to crave mercy, in the sight of the whole army, at the feet of a parent and an emperor whom he had lately insulted. The father died in the year 840, in the 64th year of his age, and 27th of his reign, leaving to his unnatural son, Lothaire, a crown, a sword, and very rich sceptre. The latter, after swaying the imperial sceptre for fifteen years, thought proper to resign it, and take the habit of a monk, that, according to the canons of the church, he might atone for his crimes, and, though he had lived a tyrant, die a saint. In this pious disguise, he expired before he had worn it a week.

When the late Emperor Louis bequeathed the government to Lothaire, he stipulated for a portion of territory in favour of Charles the Bald, his youngest child, then seventeen years of age, which was granted. But scarcely was this latter prince warm in

his seat, when he conspired with his brother Louis to dispossess Lothaire of the empire. Here the descendants of Charlemagne exhibited a horrible specimen of fraternal hatred. A battle was fought at Fontenay, in Burgundy, than which few that are upon record were more sanguinary: one hundred thousand men are said to have fallen on the spot! Lothaire was defeated, and obliged to abandon France to the arms of his victorious brothers. The latter, to make sure of victory, had won over the clergy to their cause; urging their suit on the ground that Lothaire, in order to raise his troops with the greater expedition, had promised his Saxon subjects the liberty of renouncing Christianity, the very idea of which was shocking to the church of Rome. Accordingly the bishops assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, and, after examining the misconduct of Lothaire, in the instance referred to, inquired of the two brothers, Charles and Louis, whether they chose to follow his example, or to govern according to the laws of God; in plain terms, whether they would continue to enforce Christianity on the Saxons? Their answer may be easily anticipated. "Receive, then, the kingdom by the divine authority," said the prelates; "we exhort you, we command you, to receive it." Thus they settled the point, presumptuously enough, in the name of Heaven! Nevertheless, Lothaire, through his indulgence to the Saxons, and other expedients, was enabled to raise a new army and recover his throne.

After concurring in this nefarious undertaking, Charles had little right to complain, when, some years afterwards, an assembly of bishops declared himself to have forfeited his crown, released his subjects from their allegiance, and transferred his kingdom to Louis of Bavaria. Nor, in truth, did he pretend to deny the principle which he had contributed to maintain. Even in his own behalf he did not appeal to the rights of sovereigns, and of the nation whom they represent. "No one," says this degenerate grandson of Charlemagne, "ought to have degraded me from the throne to which I was consecrated, until at least I had been heard and judged *by the bishops*, through whose ministry I was consecrated, who are called the thrones of God, in which God sitteth, and by whom he dispenseth his judgments; to whose pa-

ternal chastisement I was willing to submit, and do still submit myself.”* It is obvious from all this, that the power obtained by national churches, through the superstitious prejudices which then prevailed, was as dangerous to civil government as the subsequent usurpations of the Roman pontiff, against which most of our episcopalian writers almost exclusively direct their animadversions. Voltaire has remarked that this ninth century was the age of bishops, as the eleventh and twelfth were of popes. It seemed as if Europe was about to pass under a domination of the hierarchy as absolute as had been exercised by the priesthood of ancient Egypt, or the druids of Gaul and Britain. But, having given you a brief account of the state of ecclesiastical affairs in France and Italy during the ninth century, I shall not pursue the subject further at present, but devote the remainder of the present Lecture to matters of a somewhat different complexion.

In my former course of Lectures,† I endeavoured to trace out the progress of dissent from the catholic church, from the period that it became so corrupt as to make a secession from its communion justifiable; and I particularly mentioned the Novationists in Italy, the Donatists in Africa, and the Ærians, whose churches were mostly in the Lesser Asia. I now resume this subject, and, with the feeble glimmering of light which pervades the general darkness of the middle ages, shall, as far as I am able, pursue it.

It was about the year 653, that a new sect arose in the East, under the name of PAULICIANS, which first claims our attention. There resided in the city of Mananalis, in Armenia, an obscure person of the name of Constantine, with whom this sect appears to have originated. One day a stranger called upon him, who had been a prisoner among the Saracens in Syria, and, having obtained his release, was returning home through this city: whether there was any relationship between the parties, or whether any previous knowledge of each other had existed, does not appear, nor where this stranger's home was; but he was kindly received by Constantine, and entertained some days at his house. It seems that he not only professed Christianity, but had been

* Schmidt, Hist. Germ. t. ii. p. 217. Voltaire's Gen. Hist. vol. i. ch. 15.

† See vol. i.—Lect. xxv.

the deacon of a Christian church. To requite the hospitality of his generous host, he gave Constantine two manuscripts which he had brought out of Syria; and these were the four gospels, and the epistles of the Apostle Paul. From the nature of the gift, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the stranger set a value upon these manuscripts,—that he was himself acquainted with their contents, and was one that knew the truth,—all which receives corroboration from the fact, that he had been an office-bearer in a Christian church. It is also highly probable that the conversation of Constantine and his guest would occasionally turn upon the contents of these manuscripts. The latter must, during his captivity, have heard much of the coarse invectives of the followers of Mahomet against the Christian superstitions, as they termed them; for it was the favourite topic of Arab eloquence and zeal, on their first irruptions; and that his conversation and present had effects of this sort on the mind of Constantine is evident, for, from the time he got acquainted with the contents of these writings, it is said he would touch no other books. He himself became a teacher of the doctrines of Christ and his apostle. He threw away his Manichæan library, exploded and rejected many of the absurd notions of his countrymen, and led them to abandon their former teachers whom they had most venerated; nor did he spare the superstitions of the Greek church and its hierarchy.*

It is not to be denied or concealed, that the history of the Paulicians comes down to us involved in much obscurity, for we can trace it only through the writings of those who were inimical to their profession; yet I am of opinion that it is possible, even from this source, to collect sufficient evidence to satisfy the candid mind that there were among these people many real Christians, anxious to regulate their faith and practice by the rules of the gospel. They are charged by their adversaries with totally rejecting the scriptures of the Old Testament; but we have no proof that they possessed a copy of those writings, at least at their

* We derive this account from Petrus Siculus (Peter the Sicilian), who was sent from the Greek Emperor, Basil the Great, to the Paulicians, in Armenia, in 870, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. See his *Historia*, in the *Biblioth. Max. Pat.* vol. xvi. pp. 814—825.

first setting out. They were accused of holding the two principles of the Magians and Manichæans, with various other visionary tenets maintained by those ancient heretics; but Mr. Gibbon, who seems to have studied their history well, assures us that “the Paulicians *sincerely condemned* the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on them.”* Surely, then, we are bound in all candour and fairness to acquit them of any connection with such heterodox principles, even though Mr. Gibbon himself, inconsistently enough, chuses to fix them on the Paulicians. The following extract from that learned writer will serve to shew how they stood affected towards the corruption that then abounded in the catholic church:—“Against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine,” says Mr. Gibbon, “they were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion as by the silence of the Apostle Paul and the evangelists. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colours. They reasoned that an image made with hands was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvas must be indebted for their merit or value;—that miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed;—that the true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The Mother of God, in the creed of the Paulicians, was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in heaven and ministry upon earth.”

Such, according to Mr. Gibbon, was the estimation in which the Paulicians held the trumpety innovations of the church of Rome, and Greek church too; and which of us does not regard them in the same light? The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, they held to be peculiar “to the communion of the faithful;” that is, ought to be restricted to believers: and in

* Decline and Fall, ch. liv.

this again, surely, we must allow they were right. But let us attend the historian as he proceeds :—" The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit ; but they were incapable of desiring the wealth and honours of the catholic clergy. Such antichristian pride they bitterly censured ; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue." Much of this looks very primitive and consistent with the New Testament.

By the labours of Constantine, who assumed the cognomen of Sylvanus, numerous disciples were made and gathered into societies ; and the sect, in a little time, was spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates. Churches were formed, as much upon the plan and model of the apostolic churches as it was in their power to bring them. Six of their principal ones took the names of those to which the Apostle Paul addressed his epistles—Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica ; their pastors also took scriptural names, as Titus, Timothy, Justus, Tychichus, Sylvanus, &c. &c. " This innocent allegory," says Gibbon, " revived the memory and example of the first ages. In the gospel and the epistles of Paul, his faithful followers investigated the creed of primitive Christianity ; and whatever might be the success, a Protestant must applaud the spirit of the inquiry." In this, as a humble individual, I heartily concur. Christianity was delivered to mankind, in its most perfect form, in the writings of the evangelists and apostles ; and happy had it been for the world, could the teachers of religion have rested satisfied with it in that state, without corrupting it by the doctrines and commandments of men ! No object can be more laudable than the attempt to bring back the Christian profession to its original simplicity, which evidently appears to have been the case with the Paulicians. In this good work Constantine Sylvanus spent twenty-seven years of his life, taking up his residence at Cibossa, and disseminating his opinions all around.

Alarmed at the progress which these novel opinions were making, and the growing importance of the sect, the Greek emperors began to persecute the Paulicians with the most sanguinary

severity, and the scenes of Galerius and Maximin were re-acted under the Christian names and forms. "To their excellent deeds," says the bigoted Peter of Sicily, "the divine and orthodox emperors added this virtue,—that they ordered the Montanists and Manichæans (meaning the Paulicians) to be capitally punished, and their books, wherever found, to be committed to the flames; and further, that if any person was found to have secreted them, he was to be put to death, and his goods confiscated." "What more," asks Mr. Gibbon, "could bigotry and persecution desire?"

A Greek officer, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Coronia to strike (Constantine Sylvanus) the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, this minister of justice, whose name was Simeon, placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their own pardon, and the proof of their penitence, to stone to death their spiritual father. But they turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands; and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found." This apostate, whose name was Justus, after putting Constantine Sylvanus to a violent death, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren; and as many as were ascertained, and could be collected, were massed together into an immense pile, and, by an order from the Emperor Justinian, consumed to ashes.

Simeon, the officer, struck with astonishment at the readiness with which the Paulicians could die for their religion, became himself a convert, renounced his honours and fortunes, and, three years afterwards, went to Cibossa, and became the successor of Constantine, a zealous preacher among the Paulicians, and at last sealed his testimony with his blood.

From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose. The great instrument of their multiplication, was the New Testament; and I may here be allowed to mention a singular occurrence of the conversion of one of their most successful teachers, related by Petrus Siculus. A young man, whose name was Sèrgius, conversing one day with an aged woman of the sect of the Paulicians, was thus

addressed by her:—"I hear, Sir, that you excel in literature and erudition, and are besides, in every respect, a good man: tell me; then, why you do not read the sacred gospels?" He answered, "It is not lawful for us, profane persons, to read them, but for priests only." "Not so," she replied; "there is no respect of persons with God; he wills that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; but your priests, because they adulterate the word of God, do not read all to you." She then repeated to him various portions of the holy Scriptures. After hearing them, he took the gospels, examined them for himself, and became a Paulician.* The importance of this man's conversion may be estimated by its results: for thirty-four years he devoted himself to the ministry of the gospel, or, to give it you in his own words, "From the east to the west, and from the north to the south, have I been proclaiming the good news of salvation, and labouring on my knees." Through every city and province that he could reach, he spread abroad the savour of the knowledge of Christ, and with such success, that the clergy of the churches of Rome and Constantinople considered him to be the forerunner of Antichrist, and declared that he was producing the great apostacy foretold by the Apostle Paul! The bigoted Petrus Siculus pronounces him "the wolf in sheep's clothing, the devil's chiefest champion, the crafty dissembler of virtue, (i. e. an accomplished hypocrite,) the enemy of the cross of Christ, a blasphemer, the hater of Christ, the mother of harlots;" all which epithets, says Mr. Sharon Turner, have only one meaning,—viz. "that he taught with great effect."†

The minute history of the Paulicians, I am not competent to trace out, were this the place for doing it. The best historians are agreed in assuring us that, from Asia Minor, they were transplanted into Thrace; that they penetrated Bulgaria; and that they were introduced into Italy and France, in which latter country they appear to have given rise to the Albigenses, with which sect we shall frequently find them associated, if not identified, in the persecuting edicts of the court of Rome. These

* Petrus Siculus, pp. 822, 828.

† History of England, Middle Ages, vol. v. p. 120, note 20.

people were harassed by persecution for a long period of time; but the Greek Empress, Theodora, surpassed all her predecessors in the race of cruelty and extermination. "Her inquisitions," says Mr. Gibbon, "explored the cities and mountains of the Lesser Asia; and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed, that, in a short reign, a hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames!"* And here, for the present, I leave the history of the Paulicians—a topic which will frequently come before us again, as we proceed with the subject of these Lectures.

It was about the beginning of the ninth century that a flood of light burst upon the valleys of Piedmont, in the ministry of CLAUDE, bishop of Turin; of whom, this seems the proper place to furnish some account. This great man was born in Spain, and, in the early part of his life, was chaplain in the court of the Emperor Louis, son of Charlemagne, whose history has been adverted to in the former part of this Lecture. Even at that time, Claude was in high repute for his knowledge of the Scriptures, and his first rate talents as a preacher; in consequence of which, says the Abbe Fleury, "the French monarch being apprised of the deplorable state of darkness in which a great part of Italy was involved, in reference to the doctrines of the gospel, and anxious to provide the churches of Piedmont with a teacher who might counteract the growing rage for image worship, promoted Claude to the see of Turin, about the year 817." This was a memorable incident in the arrangements of Divine Providence, as will more fully appear hereafter, when we come to trace the history of the Waldenses—the "meek confessors of Piedmont," who for eight hundred years, during which "all the world wandered after the beast," kept the testimony of God, and the faith of Jesus. Of these remarkable people, we may, under God, regard Claude as the spiritual father, or founder of the sect; on which account, it will be necessary to dwell a little upon his history.

The expectations of the Emperor Louis were not disappointed in the labours of Claude. By his preaching, and still more by his numerous and valuable writings, he ably illustrated the holy

* Gibbon, ch. liv.

Scriptures, and drew the attention of multitudes to their plain and simple meaning, unadulterated by the corrupt glosses of the catholic clergy. This is witnessed of him by the Abbe Fleury, who was himself a catholic ;—"in truth," says he, "he began to preach and instruct with great application." On arriving at the scene of his labours, he found all the places of worship in Turin full of the images of saints ; and perceiving that the people were stupidly paying adoration to them, the spirit of Claude, as of Paul, at Athens, was stirred in him, and he instantly set about pulling them down with his own hands. This raised a prodigious ferment in the city, and, as he declares, "every one was ready to open his mouth against me." No way disconcerted at this, he began to declaim against the prevailing superstitions of the catholic church, images, relics, pilgrimages, and crosses, which he did in the most free and fearless manner. The monks were presently up in arms against him, reviling him as a blasphemer and a heretic ; and even his own congregation became so refractory, that, in a little time, he went about in fear of his life !

When Claude had spent about ten years in preaching and writing against the prevailing corruptions of the catholic church, some of the clergy began to enter the lists against him, attacking him with great scurrility. Among these was a French monkish writer of the name of Dungalus, who censured him with great asperity for taking upon himself, after a lapse of eight hundred and twenty years, to blame those things that had been in continual use in the church,—as if there had been none before his time that had had any zeal for religion ! It is not likely that such reasoning as this would have any weight with a person of Claude's enlightened judgment and zeal for the purity of divine worship. He well knew that the question was not, how long these abominations had prevailed ? but, were they divine appointments, or the inventions of fallible men ? If the latter, they deserved no quarter at his hands, nor at the hands of any other man who professed to fear God, and reverence his authority.

The Bishop of Turin had a friend, in the early part of his life, whose name was Theodomir, an abbot, and, as it would seem,

a person whose friendship he valued, for he dedicated to him his Commentary on the Book of Exodus, which he published in the year 821. About two years after this, in consequence of the noise that was occasioned by the bold and noble stand which Claude had made against the corruptions then prevalent in the Romish church, Theodomir wrote to him on the subject, and at the same time forwarded him certain pieces, which appear to have been written against him, in which he was attacked, probably by some of the monks, or papal clergy, and expressing a wish that he would draw up a reply to them, for the vindication of the truth and the satisfaction of his friends. He complied with his friend's request; and I will give you the substance of his Apology; in his own language:—

“I have received,” says he to Theodomir, “by a special messenger, your letter, and the accompanying articles, wholly stuffed with babbling and fooleries. You tell me that you have been troubled in consequence of my fame being spread abroad, not only throughout all Italy, but also in Spain and other countries,—as if I were preaching a new doctrine, or setting myself up as the founder of a new sect, contrary to the rules of the ancient catholic faith, which is an absolute falsehood. I am not much surprised, however, that the members of Satan should talk of me at this rate, since they called [Christ] our Head a deceiver, and one that had a devil! I promulgate no new heresy, but keep myself to the *pure truth*,—preaching and publishing nothing but that. On the contrary, as far as in me lies, I have repressed, opposed, cast down, and destroyed, and do still repress, oppose, and destroy, to the utmost of my power, all sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies, and shall never cease so to do, God being my helper, as far as in me lies: for, since it is expressly said, ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself the likeness of any thing, either in heaven above, or the earth beneath,’ &c.—this is not only to be understood of the images and resemblances of strange gods, but also of those of celestial creatures.”

He then proceeds to unravel and expose the sophistry by which the papists would apologize for having upon their walls

the images of Peter or of Paul, of Jupiter, Saturn, or Mercury,—as that they were not meant for real deities or real apostles; consequently, they ought to be called by another name,—meaning, probably, than idols. He then ridicules the absurdity of paying adoration to that which has neither life, nor sense, nor feeling, but is the work of men's hands. "Surely, if we ought to worship them," says Claude, "it should rather be while they are alive, than as represented in stone or wood, without life, feeling, or reason. If we may neither worship nor serve the works of God's hand, how much less may we do so to those of men, adoring them in honour of those whose resemblances it is said they are? If the image that is worshipped be not God, wherefore bow down to false images? and why, like a slave, bend the body to pitiful shrines and the work of men's hands? Assuredly, to pay adoration to visible images, or any created being whatever, whether heavenly or earthly, spiritual or corporeal, is to transfer to it that which is due to God alone, and to expect from it the salvation of the soul, which God only can bestow. All such persons are of the number of those concerning whom the apostle said, 'they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is over all, God blessed for ever.'

"But mark," says this intrepid reformer, "what the followers of superstition and false religion allege. They tell us that it is in commemoration and honour of our Saviour, that they honour and adore the cross!—persons who are pleased with nothing pertaining to the Saviour, but that which is pleasing to the ungodly—the reproach of his sufferings, and the token of his death. Hereby they make it manifest that they see nothing in him but what the wicked saw and perceived, whether Jews or heathens, who were ignorant of the import of his resurrection, not considering him but as altogether swallowed up of death: without regarding what the apostle says, 'We know Jesus Christ no longer according to the flesh.' But God commands one thing, and these people do quite the contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, and not to worship it; but these are all for worshipping it, whereas they do not bear it at all. Now to serve God after this manner is to go a whoring from

him. For if it is our duty to adore the cross, because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which he, in the days of his flesh, came into contact with? Did he not continue nine months in the womb of a virgin? Why then do they not, on the same principle, worship all that are virgins, seeing that a virgin brought forth Jesus Christ? Why do they not adore mangers and old clothes, because the Saviour was laid in a manger and wrapped in swaddling clothes? Why do they not adore fishing boats, because he slept in one, and from one of them preached to the multitudes, and caused a net to be cast out, wherewith was caught a miraculous draft of fishes? Why do they not adore asses, seeing he entered into Jerusalem on the foal of an ass?—and lambs, because it is written of him, ‘Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world:’ but this sort of men would rather eat live lambs than worship their images! Why do they not worship lions, seeing Jesus is called ‘the Lion of the tribe of Judah’? or rocks, since it is said, ‘and that rock was Christ’? or thorns, because he was crowned with them? or lances, because one of them pierced his side?

“All these things are ridiculous enough, and rather to be lamented than set forth in writing; but we are compelled to state them, in opposition to fools, and to declaim against those hearts of stone which the arrows and sentences of the word of God cannot pierce. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors! Why are ye gone astray from the truth? and why, having become vain, are ye fallen in love with vanity? Why do ye crucify again the Son of God, and expose him to an open shame, and by that means make souls, by troops, to become the companions of devils, estranging them from their Creator, by the horrible sacrilege of your images and likenesses, and thereby plunging them into endless misery?”

The venerable Claude then goes on to attack their pilgrimages to Rome, and the supremacy of Peter over the other apostles,—insisting that the papal gloss on Matt. xvi. 18, is false, and calculated to mislead the stupid and ignorant multitude, destitute of all spiritual knowledge; enticing them to betake themselves to Rome, to seek the intercession of an apostle, in the hope of obtaining eternal life; the absurdity of which he exposes with

great force, warning them against placing any confidence in the merits or intercession of any saints. "Return, O ye blind!" says he, "return to Him who, coming into the world, enlightens every man. All of you, however numerous ye may be, who depart from this light, ye walk in darkness, and know not whither ye go, for the darkness has put out your eyes. Understand ye this, ye people without understanding! Ye fools, when will ye be wise?"

In concluding this spirited defence, Claude takes notice of a charge brought against him, of having dishonoured "the apostolic lord," Pope Paschal, from whom he had received his episcopal charge. In reply to this, he begs Theodimir to remember that he alone deserves the name of apostolic, who is the keeper and guardian of the apostle's doctrine, and not the man who boasts himself of being seated in the chair of the apostle, and at the same time neglects to acquit himself of the apostolic charge; for the Lord said of the Scribes and Pharisees, that they "sat in Moses' seat."

This abstract of Claude's vindication is abundantly sufficient to shew us that he was animated with all the zeal and intrepidity of a reformer. Discarding all human authority in matters of religion, he uniformly makes his appeal to the law and the testimony,—the doctrines of Christ and his apostles,—as the only infallible standard of truth and error. His writings were considerable, for he was indefatigable in explaining the Scriptures. He wrote three books on Genesis, in the year 815, besides a Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, of which there are copies in this country. He wrote a Commentary on Exodus, in 821, and another on Leviticus, in 823; besides which he wrote comments on all the apostolic epistles, which have been found in later ages, in manuscript, forming two volumes, in the Abbey of Fleury, near Orleans, in France. Of all his voluminous productions, however, the only one that has been printed is his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. "We need only read this Commentary," says the learned Dr. Allix, "to assure us that he everywhere asserts the equality of all the other apostles with the Apostle Peter: this we find in ten several passages of that Commentary. He declares the primacy of Peter to consist solely in the honour he had of founding

the church [or opening the door of faith], both amongst Jews and Gentiles. Indeed, everywhere throughout his writings, he maintains that Jesus Christ is the only head of the church: he overthrows the doctrine of human merits in such a manner as overthrows all the nice and subtle distinctions of the papists on that subject; he anathematizes all the traditions of fallible men in the concerns of religion; maintains that sinners are justified by faith without the works of the law, which was Luther's favourite doctrine. So far was he from maintaining the infallibility of the church of Rome, that he contended that it was subject to error; deprecates the offering up of prayers for the dead, as a useless thing; and severely lashed the superstition and idolatry which was then generally practised under the authority of the court of Rome."*

In his Commentary on Matthew, Claude has furnished a truly interesting and scriptural illustration of the Lord's Supper, which I am compelled, for want of room, to omit; but it merits attention, as shewing how remote his views were from the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was beginning to creep into the church even in his day.

Claude continued his labours at Turin until the year 839, by which time the valleys of Piedmont were filled with his disciples; and while a night of awful darkness sat brooding on almost every other part of Europe, the inhabitants of Piedmont preserved the Gospel among them in its native simplicity, and rejoiced in the healing beams of the Sun of righteousness.

That an opposer so zealous and intrepid as Claude was, should have escaped the fury of the church of Rome, may be thought not a little surprising. But we must remember that the despotism of that wicked court had not yet arrived at its plenitude of power and intolerance. It is nevertheless manifest that he held his life in continual jeopardy. "In standing up for the defence and confirmation of the truth," says he, "I am become a reproach to my neighbours, to that degree, that they who see, not only scoff at, but point at me one to another. But God, the father of mercies and author of all consolation,

* Dr. Allix's Church of Piedmont, 4to, ch. ix.

hath comforted us in all our affliction. On His protection I rely, who hath armed and fortified us with the armour of righteousness, and of faith, the tried shield of our salvation."

Ecclesiastical history furnishes us with few more respectable characters than that of Claude, of Turin. The learned Dr. Allix, in his "Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont," has given copious extracts from his writings on various subjects, all of which shew him to have been possessed of a sound, enlightened, and discriminating judgment, zealous for the purity of divine truth, and the simplicity of Christian worship; and that he was animated with all the boldness and intrepidity of a reformer. "He bore a noble testimony," says Mr. Robinson, "against the prevailing errors of his time, and was, undoubtedly, a most respectable character. There is no positive proof that the disciples of this zealous bishop formed separate churches, neither did he teach any such doctrine, nor did he set them an example, nor are there any records produced in proof of the fact. It is admitted, that if the Vaudois had reasoned consequentially on the principles of their master, they would, after his death, have dissented [from the communion of the Romish church]; but there is no evidence that they did so reason."* With this latter remark I do not altogether agree; because it appears to me to be wholly at variance with matter of fact. We cannot, indeed, undertake to specify how soon after the death of Claude, the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont began to form themselves into congregational churches, on the plan of those formed by the apostles, and the model of which is left us upon record in their writings; but our inability to do this, is accounted for by Mr. Robinson himself; when he immediately adds, that "the history of the churches of Piedmont is defective for want of records."† He himself tells us, from an old chronicle, that, at the beginning of the tenth century, one of Claude's successors was Ammulus, a very wicked man, who lost his life while engaged in a fox-chace! It is not very likely that the disciples of Claude would walk in fellowship with such a bishop; they would dissent as a matter of course; and that they did so, the history of the Waldenses, on which we shall presently be called to enlarge, affords the most indubitable evidence.

* Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 447.

† Ibid, p. 448.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

Introductory Remarks—Mosheim's Account of the Popes of the Tenth Century—Reflections—Revenue of the Clergy—Tithes claimed as a right—Donations and Legacies to the Church—Apprehensions of the end of the world being at hand; how improved by the Clergy—Regulation respecting the Canonization of Saints—Superstitious Rites attached to Baptism and the Lord's Supper—Berenger opposes the doctrine of Transubstantiation—His unaccountable versatility—Increase of festivals, rites, and ceremonies—St. Bernard and his exploits—Rise of the Petrobrusians, and death of their founder—The Henricians, and death of their founder—Arnold of Brescia, founder of the sect of the Arnoldists—His history, labours, and death—Reflections.

IN some recent Lectures, while narrating the proceedings which took place between the court of Rome and the clergy of the church of England, I found it necessary, in order to make the subject intelligible, to intersperse occasional strictures on the characters and conduct of several of the popes or bishops of Rome; and I believe I also apprised you that it was my intention to resume some of these topics, and go more fully into them hereafter. My reason for now mentioning the matter is, that should I happen to fall into a repetition of any thing that has been already said, you will excuse what it is almost impossible to avoid in going over the same period of time, and discussing matters so intimately connected.

The era with which the present Lecture commences is the tenth century,—that is, from the year 900, onwards, in the annals of the church. The learned Mosheim, when describing this period, tells his readers that “the history of the Roman pontiffs who lived

in this (tenth) century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess." This I am sure you will agree with me in considering to be a very strange sort of character to give of a race of ecclesiastics who arrogated to themselves the blasphemous appellation of "His Holiness;" for, admitting the learned writer's account of them to be correct, it is not possible that such men could be Christians, even of the lowest grade. Such an admission would go to stultify all that the New Testament insists on as essential to the Christian character! What a humbling view, then, does this fact give us of the state of mental degradation and moral darkness in which all Europe, with the exception of a few despised sectaries, was then held, and, as I may say, held spell-bound! To admit such men to be in reality what they assumed to be,—the ministers of Jesus Christ, his vicars or vicegerents upon earth; to admit that constitution of things which was under their direction, control, and management, and of which they formed the main-spring, or actuating principle, to be that spiritual economy of which HE avowed himself, in answer to the Roman governor, to be the head or king,—is to put darkness for light, and light for darkness; it is, in effect, to destroy the essential difference in the nature and properties of things; to call evil good, and good evil. No, my friends; the more you examine this subject, in the light of divine revelation, the less hesitation will you have in saying of the church of Rome—"This is BABYLON THE GREAT, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth—the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit—a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." But let us hear Mosheim a little further on this point:—"To those who consider the primitive dignity and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruption of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church which we have now before us. Both in the eastern and western provinces the clergy, i.e., of the churches of Rome and Constantinople, were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid—ignorant, more

especially in religious matters—equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse; who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants who have been the scourges of mankind.”*

I shall not trouble you with even a catalogue of the names of those pontiffs who flourished or figured during the period of time to which the present Lecture is devoted—viz. the tenth and eleventh centuries. From the year 900 to 1000 there were thirty of them. Let them rest in peace until that awful hour arrives when the summons shall be given, “Awake, ye dead, and come to judgment!” and oh, what disclosures will then be made! Our present concern is to look into the system which arrogated to itself the proud and impious titles of “The Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church,” out of which there was no salvation; to trace something of its history, mark its discriminating features, and shew its opposition to the real church of Christ.

The revenue of the clergy at this period continued, through ecclesiastical policy, to be almost daily augmented. The tithes, which had been introduced under the reign of Charlemagne, and at first paid voluntarily and partially, were now claimed as a right, and universally demanded. They were payable, not for land only, but for its produce, and always in proportion to the culture and improvement. In the year of our Lord 895, a council was held at Tribur, near the city of Mentz, in Germany, at which not only the payment of tithes was enforced, but the principle was laid down on which they ought to be paid; it runs thus:—“All things are God’s; he gives nine parts to men, and

* Mosheim’s Eccles. Hist. Cent. x. Part 2.

reserves the tenth to himself, for the maintenance of his church and ministers. The faithful payment of them, therefore, is first, *a right and debt due to the church* ; it is, next, a proper expression of homage and regard essential to the Christian character ; and it is necessary that they who serve at the altar should be duly supported, that they may be free from worldly labour and care." It is then added, that these funds ought to be divided into four parts ; that one should belong to the bishop, a second to the other clergy, a third to the poor, and the fourth to maintain the public buildings and other expenses of the church. One cannot but admire the prudence and discretion of the ecclesiastics who composed this council, in not attempting to produce any authority from either Christ or his apostles for this imposition of tithes, now first claimed as "*a right and debt*:" it was taken for granted, and the thing passed as a matter of course.

But donations, legacies, and mortgages of land and other property, formed a continual accession of ecclesiastical revenue ; and to this nothing of a general nature contributed more than the apprehension, which almost universally prevailed about the end of the tenth century, that the consummation of all things was at hand. I had occasion to advert to this matter in a former Lecture, in which some notice was taken of the strain of preaching among the clergy in our own country at that period, and also of the singular view which some of them entertained of Antichrist, who was then expected shortly to appear.*

The opinion that the end of the world was at hand was founded on an erroneous interpretation of Rev. xx. 2—4. From this passage many of the clergy, in their ignorance and simplicity, and others, carried along with the popular current, taught that the end of the world was at hand, that the Man of Sin was to be revealed, and that then the general judgment was to take place.† As the end of the tenth century approached, the consternation became universal ; pleasure, business, and property were abandoned. Any remarkable phenomenon, such as an eclipse, seemed the certain forerunner of the awful dissolution of nature. Many

* See page 49.

† Abo adv. Arnulph. Cod. Canon. Eccl. Rom. p. 401.

were easily persuaded, by the more knowing and crafty, to convey their property to the church, and by such a sacrifice to secure the remission of their sins, and an inheritance among the just. Others, of their own accord, testified their indifference to this world, and their desire of securing a better inheritance, by divesting themselves of their most valuable property, which they transferred to the church; and some, who had nothing else to bestow, subjected themselves to a state of servitude to the clergy, deeming it more safe and honourable, that when Christ should appear, of which they had no doubt, that they should be found among his servants, and already attached to his possession. Among the forms of conveyancing then in use, and which have come down to our time, you may take the following as a specimen:—"Considering the near approach of the dissolution of the world, and the importance of being prepared with a composed mind to meet that awful event: wherefore, in the name of God, I and my spouse, trusting in the mercy and remuneration of Him who hath said, 'Give alms of what you possess, and behold all things are your's—We give, grant, and convey for ever, &c. &c. &c.: And if any one of our heirs, which we trust will not happen, should attempt to contravene and frustrate this our intention and donation, let him be forthwith excommunicated and delivered over to the society of Judas, the betrayer of our Lord.*" In such a form of conveyance as this, one may easily trace the hand of the clergy, who, no doubt, secretly sang, "*Quantum profuit nobis hæc fabula*," &c., as pope Leo the Tenth is reported to have done at a later period.

The canonization of saints is an article which, at this time, underwent some important regulations. In that age of gross ignorance and superstition, it was thought necessary that every man should enjoy the patronage of some saint, who might mediate for him in the concerns of his soul, through whom he might obtain easy access to God and Christ, and thus they became the ordinary source of his fancied safety and consolation. And to such a height did this frenzy arrive, that "the one Mediator between God and man" was comparatively seldom mentioned;

* *Marculfi Monachi Formal. lib. ii. 3.*

and even his Divine Father seemed to be almost totally forgotten. It would appear that hitherto the bishops, in each country, had arrogated to themselves the privilege of making as many saints as they, in their great wisdom, thought fit; and they had converted it into an enormous source of patronage and influence. At length, the popes, who were seldom lacking in a due attention to what could be made contributory to their own power and wealth, first coveted, and at length seized upon this important privilege, as their own just and exclusive right; and it became a high crime and misdemeanor to acknowledge any person, whatever his merit might be, as a saint, without the sanction of the court of Rome.

The first person found on record, who was formally canonized as a saint, was Udalric, or, as he is commonly called, Ulric, a person of noble family, educated as a monk in the Abbey of St. Gall, ordained Bishop of Augsburg, A.D. 925, and who died in the year 973, at the advanced age of 80. There was nothing remarkable in his life, on account of which he deserved that honour, if we except his success in defending his episcopal city against the Huns, a warlike tribe of pagans who attempted to possess themselves of it. Ulric had the character of being punctual in observing the rites of the church, rigid in attending to the rules of his order, and of blameless and inoffensive habits. Twenty years after his death, the church of Rome, desirous of engrossing this power of saint-making, and of reducing it to a precise form, assembled in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran, in the city of Rome, for that purpose. Luitolphus, one of Ulric's successors, went to Rome on this special purpose, rose in the council, read the life of Ulric, and moved that he should be admitted canonically, or be canonized as a saint. The council, considering his life, his miracles, and their own power expressed in these words of Christ—"he that receiveth you, receiveth me," and further, considering the great utility and consolation arising from the mediation of saints, did set apart the said Ulric, of venerable memory, as a saint to be honoured with divine worship.*

The multiplication of saints and relics of course increased

* *Acta Consilior.* vol. vi. p. 727.

the number and variety of religious rites and ceremonies. The carved work on the building, the paintings on the altar, the habiliments of the clergy, and the manner of conducting the worship, were accommodated to the country, the temper and manners of the saint supposed to patronize the particular church that was dedicated to him. Some saints might be thought more austere than others; but all of them were understood to be pleased with outward pomp and decoration. In conformity to the general taste, originally derived from Jews and heathens, now consecrated by custom, the simple ordinances of the gospel were covered with a gaudy drapery, which tended only to obscure, misrepresent, and disfigure them; in fact, the ceremonies attached to them were so numerous and glaring, that the true import and design of the ordinances were overlooked and lost sight of.

The ordinance of baptism, indeed, began to be corrupted and perverted at a very early period; but it may be proper to give a sketch of the ritual circumstances which were, at this time, attached to it. In cases of necessity, it might be performed or administered by any person, male or female; and, forasmuch as it was held by the church to be indispensably necessary to salvation, it might be done at any time, even before the child was born.* But, in ordinary circumstances, the previous and accompanying ceremonies of baptism were numerous and imposing. The candidate, having passed through a course of preparatory instruction, all of human tuition, was at length pronounced a fit subject for the ordinance. Salt was then applied to his mouth as a sign of the excited desire of baptismal water. He was exorcised, or purified, from all demoniacal and magical influence. The priest then breathed on him, in token of his receiving the Holy Spirit—the principle of spiritual and eternal life. His nose and ears were anointed with spittle, in imitation of Christ's anointing the blind man's eyes with clay and spittle when he gave him sight. The candidate's breast and shoulders were anointed with oil, the symbol of protection against temptation, on the one hand, and of enduring patiently every trial, on the other; he

So at least says the Abbe Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* i. p. 478.

then, in an audible voice, renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil, on which the apostles' creed was delivered to him. He was led into the water, and three times immersed, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. On coming out of the water, he was clothed with white raiment, his head anointed with the sacred chrism—significant of spiritual affections, and covered with the mystic veil—the emblem of the heavenly crown; and, finally, he was confirmed with the solemn imposition of the bishop's hands.* Such were the additions and *improvements*, as, no doubt, they thought them, which the clergy had then made in Christ's ordinance of baptism: let us now see how the matter stood with the other institution of his kingdom.

The Lord's Supper had begun to undergo considerable mutilations long before this time; but it was now that the doctrine of transubstantiation began to be publicly broached, and, about the twelfth or thirteenth century, brought to its consummation. There is reason to think that, so early as the time of Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, this leaven of heresy began to work. That eminent pope, having given the eucharistical bread to a female communicant, accompanying it with these words,—“the body of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul,”—the woman smiled, for the bread happened to be part of her own offering, as usual in those times; and, on being questioned as to the reason of her mirth, she said, “It was because he had called that the body of Christ, which she had baked with her own hands.”† But in proportion as the faith of the real presence was established, the ordinary oblation bread was withdrawn; and the unleavened cake, or wafer, was substituted, and a kind of adoration was offered to it, as to the person of the Son of God. Virtues without end were ascribed to it, and to the prayers and entire service attending its celebration. It was considered in the light of a sacrifice offered to God, which secured blessings to any one, living or dead, on whose account it was celebrated. Masses, that is, the celebration of the eucharist with certain ceremonies, were purchased for money; their price was understood and settled; the

* *Ambianensis Epistola*, in *Bib. Pat.* tom. ii. pp. 617—664.

† *Gregor. Vita*, l. ii. c. 41.

routine of ceremonies to be performed at each of them was regulated; attempts to curtail the ritual, by thrusting several masses into one general form, was strictly prohibited; and they were commanded to be performed, not in private houses and gardens, but in places duly consecrated by a bishop.* The number of masses said to have been performed on some special occasions is almost incredible. At the meeting of the Council of Mentz, A.D. 847, the members of it fasted three days, in order to conciliate the favour of Heaven on their meeting, and ordered three thousand masses to be celebrated in every parish, for the king, queen, and the royal family.†

And now that the subject is before us, I may mention, as a matter of curiosity or amusement, the ceremonies that were employed to prepare the sacramental bread, as I find them described by the Abbe Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History,—we cannot possibly have better authority. The church very properly preferred for the purpose the best kind of wheaten flour; but the clergy selected the grains of it singly with their own hands; they then washed it, and put it into a sack made for the purpose. A servant, of approved cleanliness and sanctity, was entrusted to carry it to the mill—(the grinding stones were carefully washed and cleaned)—covered with a priestly robe over all his body, head, and face, his eyes excepted; he superintended the grinding, and devoutly sifted the flour. Two priests and two deacons, in their official dress, afterwards kneaded it with cold water to preserve its whiteness, and formed it into suitable, thin, small, round pieces, and, in latter times, into wafers. A novice was employed to toast them; the wood was dry, prepared, and charred for the purpose; and psalms were sung during the work.‡ Such was the usual process by which the sacramental bread was prepared, that was afterwards to be consecrated by the officiating priest, and converted into the actual body of the Redeemer!

It is not difficult to perceive what an air of sacredness must be thrown over the whole matter by all this imposing ceremony; and

* Sixth Council of Paris, *Acta Concilia*, A.D. 829.

† *Idem*, p. 847.

‡ Fleury, tom. xiii. p. 539.

how well it was calculated to beguile the simple, and prepare them for the hocus-pocus of transubstantiation. Both reason and conscience must approve and require, that whatever relates to the orderly celebration of the Lord's Supper—that divine ordinance which the Saviour himself instituted as the memorial of his death and passion—should be done with the utmost order and decorum; but every reflecting mind, and a sound understanding and judgment—every one acquainted with the institution and import of the Lord's Supper, as laid down in the holy Scriptures, must condemn this routine of preparatory ceremonies as foolish and ridiculous—and even be shocked at the doctrine taught and inculcated by the church of Rome, that the elements, when consecrated, became the actual flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. Who can wonder that the clergy themselves should be hypocrites and infidels, and that the judicious and conscientious part of the people should separate themselves from such a mass of abominations, as I shall presently have to shew you was the case?

It was not until about the middle of the eleventh century, that the doctrine of transubstantiation became a subject of general discussion, or provoked much public controversy. But, at that time, one Berenger, president of the public school at Tours, and afterwards Archbishop of Angers, one of the most able and exemplary men of his time, entered his protest against it, maintaining that the bread and wine are not changed, but retain the same qualities after as before consecration; and that they are mere symbols, or material representations of the death of Christ, and its spiritual effects, which believers contemplate by faith. This rational and scriptural account of the eucharist was immediately impugned both in France and Germany, and condemned in the Council of Rome, which was convened by Pope Leo IX., A.D. 1050; and again in the Council of Paris, which was assembled the same year by Henry I., king of France. Berenger was summoned to attend both these councils, but he declined it; and, undismayed by the sentences which the councils pronounced against him, he persisted in maintaining, and even propagating, though in a more cautious manner, his own opinions. In proportion to his success, and the avidity with which his doctrines were countenanced by others, did his

opponents become jealous and virulent. A council was held at Tours, A. D. 1055, in which the famous Hildebrand, of whom mention has been frequently made in this course of Lectures, and who was raised to the papal chair under the title of Gregory VII., presided in the capacity of legate. Berenger, convicted and overpowered, though not convinced, submitted—a sad instance of human frailty—and, through the fear of man, solemnly abjured his opinions!—but no sooner was the restraint removed, than he resumed and continued to disseminate his former doctrines.

In the year 1059, Pope Nicholas II. summoned him to a council at Rome, where he was so pressed and overawed, that he agreed to take and subscribe the following oath:—"I, Berenger, an unworthy deacon of the church of St. Maurice, in Anjou, knowing the true and apostolic faith, disapprove and detest all heresy, and especially that of which I am accused,—‘the construing the bread and wine, placed on the sacred altar and consecrated, to be still no more than a sacrament, and not the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; that they cannot be sensibly, but sacramentally, handled by the priests, and consumed by the faithful,’—wherefore I submit to the holy Roman church, and to the apostolic faith, and with my mouth and heart profess concerning the holy sacrament, that I hold the same faith which my lord and venerable Pope Nicholas and this sacred synod have delivered, and commanded me, with evangelical and apostolical authority, to keep—namely, that the bread and wine, placed on the altar after consecration, are not a mere sacrament, but also the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are handled and broken by the priests, and consumed by the people (*sensuali*) sensibly as such, and not sacramentally or figuratively, This I swear, by the holy and co-substantial Trinity, and by the very sacred Gospels of Christ. All who contravene this faith, I hold and declare accursed for ever; and, if I shall ever think or speak contrary to it, I shall deserve the utmost severity of censure. All which, after due perusal, I have freely subscribed."

It was surely not without reason that the Scripture hath said, "cease ye from man," &c.; and it is painful to record the dissimu-

lation of one whose mind was naturally capable of much freedom and independence. But the truth is, that no sooner was Berenger at liberty, and in France again among his friends, than he declared his abhorrence of the doctrine which he said he had been obliged to avow; but which he now again abjured, and more zealously than ever taught and defended his former opinions.

After the lapse of twenty years, Berenger was found to have acquired many followers, and a party too powerful to be intimidated, by ordinary means, in his own country. Pope Gregory VII. now deemed it necessary, if possible, to quash a controversy which was unfavourable to the dignity and authority of the church. He, therefore, summoned Berenger to appear at Rome, A.D. 1079; and there at a public council, persuaded him to take the following oath:—"I, Berenger, with the heart believe, and with my mouth confess, that the bread and wine placed on the altar and consecrated by prayer, and by the words of our Redeemer, are substantially converted into the true, proper, and vivifying flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and, after consecration, is the true body of Christ, who was born of the Virgin, and suspended on the cross, and who is now exalted on the right hand of the Father; and is the very blood of Christ, which flowed from his side, not only by sign and virtue of the sacrament, but, in propriety of nature and verity of substance, as is expressed in this summary, as I read, and you understand. This is my belief, nor will I more teach any other faith. So help me God, and these holy Gospels of God."*

No sooner was Berenger returned to France, than he again retracted this solemn oath, and even declaimed publicly against the doctrine which it contained. Many persons now wrote against him, among whom was Lanfranc, our Archbishop of Canterbury; but the pope, either secretly agreeing with him, or under a conviction that the controversy might subside the sooner if let alone, declined to take any further proceedings against him. Berenger appears to have been ultimately torn with remorse, on account of his duplicity and repeated perjury. He became deeply humble and penitent, adhering however to his first faith of the

* *Acta Concilior.* tom. vi. p. 1, p. 1585.

simple and figurative nature of the elements of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation. Berenger died at St. Cosme, near Tours, on the 6th of January, 1088, at the advanced age of ninety. The catholic writers say that he died in their faith, on the article of the eucharist ; but Mosheim, who has investigated the whole controversy with much patient industry and success, affirms the contrary. It is certain that his writings tended in no inconsiderable degree to break the fetters of superstition, and introduce among mankind some portion of religious light and liberty. He left many disciples, whose successors, in the subsequent ages, promoted the revival of learning, and helped forward the Reformation.

It would be an endless task to describe the various festivals, rites, and ceremonies, which the infallible church, in her superlative wisdom, almost every year instituted : nor were their objects less numerous. They were instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary—of particular saints—of all saints—and of all departed souls. Lighted lamps and candles became a mark of distinction, and the number of them at the altar and in the church, was regulated in proportion to the eminence of the saint, or the solemnity of the occasion. Aldric, bishop of Mans, ordained, that in his cathedral there should be fifteen lights, ten of oil and five of wax, kept burning every night : on Sundays, thirty of oil and five of wax ; and on more solemn occasions, ninety of oil and ten of wax—making a hundred. If this prelate, who was considered to be rather parsimonious, was thus profuse, how much more luminous would other churches be, whose funds were more ample, and whose bishops were more liberal ?

I ought not to omit mentioning in this place, that one of the main lights of the church of Rome at this time, if not the very chiefest, was St. Bernard ; a name that will often force itself upon us in these Lectures, and of whom, therefore, it will be proper to give you some account. He was born in the year 1091, in the village of Fontaine, province of Burgundy, in France. In 1115, the monastery of Clairvaux was founded, and Bernard was made the first abbot of this religious house, where many famous men were bred up under his tuition. Such was the high reputation which he attained among all ranks of people, that no ecclesias-

tical affair or dispute of almost any kind was carried on without having recourse to his advice. In the election of a pope, in the conviction of a heretic, in the condemnation of a refractory bishop, in the measures to be adopted for persecuting and punishing the sectaries that troubled the church, the word of St. Bernard was law. He flourished during almost half a century, dying in the year 1153, after having founded 160 monasteries,* and, as the catholics say, wrought innumerable miracles, in consequence of which he obtained the honours of canonization.

Yet it is due to the character of Bernard to say, that he was not an indiscriminate supporter of all the measures of the court of Rome, or all the corruptions of the priesthood. On the contrary, we find him at times using the greatest freedom of speech in lashing the vices of the clergy of his day, and making himself highly obnoxious to them by his free remonstrances; of which the following may serve as a specimen. Adverting to the enormous pomp and magnificence which characterized some of the abbots of his time, he thus breaks out:—"Who, at the outset, when the order of monks began, would have ever imagined that monks would have become so wicked as they since have! Oh, how unlike are we to those in the days of Anthony! Did Macarius live in such a manner? Did Basil teach so? Did Anthony ordain so? Did the Fathers in Egypt carry themselves so? How

* We, in this protestant country, appear to be very imperfectly informed respecting the extent and magnificence of the monasteries in France and Spain, and other catholic countries; and, therefore, a few lines bestowed upon the subject may not be unacceptable in this place.

The monastery of Clugny, of which the celebrated Peter Abelard was an abbot, and in which he ended his days, was sufficiently capacious to hold two hundred monks,—their number sometimes exceeded that; yet the buildings and revenue were so great, that three kings, with their respective retinues, once lodged in that monastery at the same time, without dislodging any of the monks!—See *Dr. Raakin's France*, vol. iii. p. 185. One would think it must have exceeded in capaciousness the new palace at Buckingham Gate, recently built for the King of England. Yet, we are told that a hundred and sixty of these monasteries were erected in France during the life, and under the auspices of one single man, the renowned St. Bernard! What their total number was in France, prior to the revolution of 1789, and in Spain and Portugal, at this day, is a question I have not at this instant the means of answering. Happily, in our own country, they were, at the worst of times, comparatively less numerous; and, during the reign of Henry VIII., even what there were received a death blow.

is the light of the world become darkness ! How is the salt of the earth become unsavory ! I am a liar, if I have not seen an abbot having above sixty horses in his train. When ye saw them riding, ye might say, 'These are not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles—not shepherds of souls, but princes of provinces.' Oh, vanity of vanities ! The walls of churches are glorious, while the poor are starving." Even the popes themselves occasionally fell under the lash of Bernard. He wrote to Eugenius, and also to Innocent II., imputing to them the blame of all the wickedness which disgraced the church.*

But I must now quit the Romish church for a while, in order that I may give you some little account of two or three champions of the truth, and advocates of primitive Christianity, who were raised up about this time, to stem the torrent of corruption, and plead the cause of their God and Saviour.

About the year 1110, in the south of France, in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence, appeared PETER DE BRUYS, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of heaven, and exerting the most laudable efforts to reform the abuses and remove the superstitions which disfigured the beautiful simplicity of gospel worship. His labours in this good cause were crowned, we are told, with abundant success. He was made the honoured instrument of awakening the attention of many to the great concerns of eternity, and pointing them to the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." He continued his labours during a period of twenty years, when he was called to seal his testimony with his blood. He was committed to the flames at St. Giles's, a city of Languedoc, in France, by an enraged populace, instigated by the clergy of the catholic church, who apprehended their traffic to be in danger from this new and intrepid reformer. His followers were called Petrobrusians ; but of his religious tenets,

* The works of this great luminary of the church form two folio volumes, and they are in high repute among the zealots of the papacy. Of the complexion of his Sermons, and perhaps, as characteristic of the style of sermonizing at that period, the following extract may suffice for the reader's amusement. The passage will not bear translating :—"Ex Deo et homine cataplasma confectum est, quod sanaret omnes infirmitates tuas. Contusæ sunt autem, et commixtæ hæc duæ species in utero Virginis, tanquam in mortaliolo. Sancto Spiritu, tanquam pistillo, illas suaviter commiscente."—Ste. Bernardi, Serm. iii. in Vigil. Nativ. ed. Mabillon, tom. i. p. 771.

the following five particulars are all that history has handed down to us :—"That the ordinance of baptism was to be administered only to adults ; that it was a piece of idle superstition to build and dedicate churches to the service of God, who, in worship, has a peculiar respect to the state of the heart, and who cannot be worshipped with temples made with hands ; that crucifixes are objects of superstition, and ought to be destroyed ; that, in the Lord's Supper the real body and blood of Christ were not partaken of by the communicants, but only represented in the way of symbol or figure ; and lastly, that the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, can in no way be beneficial to the dead."*

A few years after the decease of Peter de Bruys, rose up an Italian by birth, whose name was Henry, and on account of his residing there, generally denominated HENRY OF TOULOUSE ; he of supposed to have been a disciple of the former, and became the founder of a sect, called the Henricans. He had been, it seems, both a monk and hermit ; but having received the knowledge of the truth, he became a zealous reformer. Leaving Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, he proceeded to Mans, and being banished thence, removed successively to Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and other cities in France ; and at length, in the year 1147, to Toulouse, exercising his ministerial function in all those places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming with fervour, and even vehemence, against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions introduced by them into the Christian church. At Toulouse he was warmly opposed by the celebrated St. Bernard, mentioned above ; by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. He was seized however in his retreat by a certain bishop, and carried before Pope Eugenius III., who presided in person at a council convened at Rheims ; and who, in consequence of the accusations brought against him, committed him to a close prison, in the year 1148, in which he soon ended his days.† Mosheim says, "we have no accurate account of the doctrines of this

* Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, vol. iii. Cent. xii. part 2. § 7.

† Dr. Allix says he was "burnt at Toulouse."—*Remarks on the Churches of the Albigenses*. p. 129, 4to. ed.

reformer transmitted to our times. All we know of that matter is, that he rejected the baptism of infants; censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy; treated the festivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught.”*

Having thus briefly introduced to your notice these two intrepid reformers, I cannot satisfy myself to quit the subject without enlarging a little upon it. The Romish party laboured hard to fix upon them the stigma of Manichæism, heresy and schism. The invidious task was taken up by Peter, abbot of Clugny, by Cardinal Baronius, and Bossuet, bishop of Meaux; and it is amusing to see the charges which they have brought against them. To give you a specimen of these things—one of the horrid accusations brought against Peter de Bruys was that, on Good Friday, he collected as many crucifixes as he could, and boiled his meat with them, to the amazement and scandal of the catholics who stupidly worshipped them. Another article of crimination is, that he maintained it to be the duty of priests and monks to marry rather than live in a single state, defiled with impurity. A third was, that he and his disciples did not acknowledge the Old Testament; to refute which he actually wrote a treatise to prove its divine authority. And as to the other heretical charges brought against him, let every one judge for himself of them by a comparison with the New Testament. The burning of this reformer, says the learned Dr. Allix, did not stifle the doctrine he maintained; it had taken too deep root in that quarter to be extinguished by his death; on the contrary, it increased very considerably, after it was once watered with the blood of the martyr. The opposition which the disciples of Peter de Bruys made to the false worship of the church of Rome, served greatly to awaken the attention of the people, and filled the provinces with Albigenes, as we shall see hereafter.

* Mosheim, Cent. xii. part ii. This learned writer's reason for doubting whether Henry was a disciple of Peter de Bruys, does not seem very cogent. He admits that their creed was the same, so far as it is known,—they were both equal enemies to crucifixes,—but Peter de Bruys bore one in his hand as a standard to attract the veneration of the people!

As to his disciple and successor, Henry, I have already hinted that he was strenuously opposed by the renowned St. Bernard, who wrote letters to the Count of St. Giles on the subject, thus describing the state of affairs :—" How great are the evils which we have heard and known to be done by Henry, the heretic, and what he is still every day doing in the churches of God ! He wanders up and down in your country in sheep's clothing, being indeed, a ravenous wolf ! but, according to the hint given by our Lord, we know him by his fruits. The churches are without people,—people without priests,—priests without due reverence,—and lastly, Christians without Christ. The churches of Christ are looked upon as synagogues ; the sanctuary of God is denied to be holy ; sacraments are no longer esteemed sacred ; holy feasts are deprived of festival solemnities : men die in their sins—souls are frequently snatched away to appear before the terrible tribunal, who are neither reconciled by repentance, nor armed with the sacred communion. The life of Christ is denied to Christian infants, by refusing them the grace of baptism, nor are they suffered to draw near unto salvation ; though our Saviour tenderly cried on their behalf—' Suffer little children to come unto me.' This man is not of God, who acts and speaks things so contrary to God ; and yet, alas ! he is listened to by many, and has a people that believe him. O, most unhappy people ! At the voice of an heretic, all the voices of the prophets and apostles are silenced, who, from one Spirit of truth, have declared that the church is to be called by the faith of Christ out of all the nations of the world : so that the divine oracles have deceived us ; the eyes and souls of all men are deluded, who see the same thing fulfilled which they read before to have been foretold ; which truth, though it be most manifest to all, he alone, by an astonishing and altogether *Judaical* blindness, either sees not, or else is sorry to see it fulfilled ; and at the same time by, I know not what diabolical act, persuades the foolish and senseless people not to believe their own eyes, in a thing that is so manifest ; and that those that went before have deceived ; those that come after have been deceived ; that the whole world, even after the shedding of Christ's blood, shall be lost ; and that all the riches of the mercies of God, and

the grace of the universe, are devoted upon those alone whom he deceives.”*

Such is the doleful strain of wailing and lamentation in which the pious St. Bernard thought proper to indulge himself over Henry; and I am of opinion that the more carefully it is scrutinized, the more will it be found to furnish the reformer's eulogy. You perceive that here is no complaint of propagating unsound doctrine contrary to the faith once delivered to the saints; neither is there any attempt to impute immoral and licentious practices to the object of his vituperation. Had either of these existed, we cannot doubt of Bernard's readiness to avail himself of them, in order to fix a stigma on his character, and blacken his reputation. But the whole turns upon Henry's opposition to the authority of the church, the power of the priesthood in conferring grace, the denial of infant baptism, and similar corruptions of Christianity; while the whole letter is a clear demonstration of the astonishing success that attended Henry's ministry.

Before I close the present Lecture, it will be proper to lay before you some account of another most powerful opponent to the church of Rome, who rose up in Italy, and who, in fortitude and zeal, was inferior neither to Peter de Bruys nor Henry, while in learning and talent he excelled them both. This was ARNOLD OF BRESCIA; a man universally allowed to have been possessed of extensive erudition, and remarkable for the austerity of his manners; but, according to the report of his adversaries, of a turbulent and impetuous spirit. Arnold was cotemporary with Henry, and survived him eight years, viz. from 1147 to 1155. He appears to have held precisely the same opinions as Peter de Bruys and his disciple, Henry: of course, we may consider the whole three as coadjutors in the work of reformation, though labouring in different countries.

Arnold, at an early period of life, travelled into France, and became a pupil of the renowned Peter Abelard. In this school he imbibed some of the tenets, and a portion of that freedom of thought which distinguished his master; after which he returned to Italy, and, assuming the habit of a monk, began to propagate

* Epistolæ Ste. Bernardi, 240.

his opinions in the streets of Brescia, where he was not long in attracting attention. The zeal of this daring reformer was at first directed against the wealth and luxury of the Romish clergy. Taking his stand on the Saviour's good confession, witnessed before the Roman governor, "My kingdom is not of this world," Arnold maintained that the temporal power of the church was an unprincipled usurpation of the rights of secular princes, and that most of the corruptions which disgraced the Christian religion, as well as the animosities that distracted the church, sprang from the power and overgrown possessions of the clergy. These bold truths were propagated not as matters of mere speculation, or as an explanation of the various calamities which then troubled the church,—they were held as the foundation of a system of reform, which the people were excited to carry into execution; and the clergy were called upon to renounce their usurped possessions, and to lead a frugal and abstemious life, on the voluntary contributions of the people. The inhabitants of Brescia were roused by the eloquent appeals of their countryman. They revered him as the apostle of religious liberty, and rose in rebellion against their accredited bishop. The church took alarm at these dangerous commotions; and, in a general council of the Lateran, held in the year 1139, under the authority of Pope Innocent II., Arnold was condemned to perpetual silence. Providentially he made his escape from Italy, and found an asylum in the Swiss canton of Zurich. Here he again began his career of reform, and succeeded in making converts for a time, of the Bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate. The exhortations of St. Bernard, however, in a little while reclaimed these yielding ecclesiastics to the catholic fold, and Arnold was driven by persecution to hazard the desperate experiment of fixing the standard of revolt in the very heart of Rome.

Here, for a time, he found protectors among the nobility and gentry. He harangued the populace with his usual fervour, and inspired them with such a regard for their civil and ecclesiastical rights, that a complete revolution was effected in the city. The supreme pontiff struggled in vain against this invasion of his power, and at last sunk under the pressure of calamity. His successors, Celestine and Lucius, who continued in the chair of

St. Peter only a few months, were unable to check the popular frenzy. The leaders of the insurrection waited upon Lucius, demanded the restitution of the civil rights which had been usurped from the people, and insisted that his holiness and the clergy should trust only for their stipends to the pious offerings of the faithful, as at the beginning. The pope survived this astounding demand only a few days, when he was succeeded by Eugenius III., who, dreading the mutinous spirit of the inhabitants, withdrew from Rome, and was consecrated in a neighbouring fortress.

Arnold, who had withdrawn from Rome during this extraordinary insurrection, hearing of the escape of the newly elected pope, repaired once more to the city, and animated with fresh vigour, the energies of the populace. He called to their remembrance the achievements of their forefathers; and painted in the strongest colours, the sufferings which sprung from ecclesiastical tyranny. And he charged them as men and as Romans, never to admit the pontiff within their walls, till they had prescribed the limits of his spiritual jurisdiction, and fixed the civil government in their own hands. This was laying the axe to the root of the tree! But the people were ill instructed in their duties, and acted more from the impulse of passion than a cool deliberate judgment. For, headed by the disaffected nobles, the phrenzied populace attacked the cardinals and other ecclesiastics, set fire to the palaces, and compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the new constitution.

The Roman pontiff, now firmly seated in his episcopal dignity, could no longer view with patience the excesses of this ungovernable mob; but, placing himself at the head of his troops, he marched against the city; and, after some trifling concessions on his part, was reinstated in all his official dignity. The friends of Arnold were nevertheless still numerous, and for ten or a dozen years continued to agitate the city. It was not until our countryman, Adrian IV., was raised to the pontifical chair, A.D. 1154, that anything like a settled peace was established. It seems probable that during the intervening space of time, Arnold was permitted to continue in the city. But at this time a riot having

taken place, during which a cardinal was either killed or wounded in the street, Adrian held an interdict over the guilty city, and from Christmas to Easter deprived it of the privilege of religious worship. This bold and sagacious measure gave a sudden turn to the minds of the people. Arnold and his followers were expelled from the city, and fled for protection to the Viscounts of Campania. But his holiness was not satisfied with merely restoring tranquillity to his capital. A spirit of revenge inflamed his bosom; and he instigated Frederic Barbarossa to force Arnold from his asylum in his territories. Immediately after this, in the year 1155, this intrepid reformer was seized by Cardinal Gerard, and committed to the flames, in the midst of a fickle-minded populace, who gazed with stupid indifference on the expiring hero, who had fallen in the defence of their dearest rights, and whom they had formerly regarded with more than mortal veneration! His ashes were thrown into the Tiber; but, though no corporeal relic could be preserved to animate his followers, the efforts which Arnold made in the cause of civil and religious liberty were cherished in the breasts of future reforming spirits, and inspired those mighty attempts, in Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which have chained down and finally destroyed the monster, superstition.

“We may truly say,” says the learned Dr. Allix, “that scarcely any man was ever so torn and defamed on account of his doctrine as was this Arnold of Brescia. Would we know the reason of this? It was because, with all his power, he opposed the tyranny and usurpation which the popes began to establish over the temporal jurisdiction of the kings of the earth. He was the man who, by his counsel, renewed the design of re-establishing the authority of the senate of Rome, and of compelling the pope not to meddle with anything but what concerned the government of the church, without invading the temporal jurisdiction; this was his crime, and this indeed, is such a one as is unpardonable with the pope, if there be any such.”

It cannot indeed be denied that Arnold was heretical, according to the canons of the Romish church. For, in common with his two predecessors, Peter de Bruys, and Henry of Toulouse,

he impugned the doctrine of transubstantiation, and denied that baptism should be administered to infants.* And this alone, in the judgment of the church, was sufficient ground for his condemnation. We cannot reasonably doubt that Arnold had the testimony of his own approving conscience, that the cause in which he was so zealously engaged, was that of God and of truth. It is impossible not to admire the genius and preserving intrepidity of the man. To distinguish truth from error in an age of darkness, and to detect the causes of spiritual corruption in the thickest atmosphere of ignorance and superstition, evinced an enlightened judgment, and a mind of more than ordinary stretch. But to struggle against superstition entrenched with power,—to plant the standard of reform in the very heart of corruption, and to keep possession of her capital for a number of years, could scarcely have been expected from an individual who, under God, had no power but that of his eloquence, nor any assistance but what he derived from the justice of his cause. Yet such were the individual exertions of Arnold, which posterity will appreciate as one of the noblest legacies which former ages have bequeathed. Every triumph that is gained over ecclesiastical power stretched beyond its just limits, in whatever country it is sanctioned, and under whatever system of religion it is exercised, is the triumph of truth and reason over the worst passions of the human heart.

The memory of Arnold was long and fondly cherished by his countrymen, and his tragical end occasioned deep and loud murmurs; it was regarded as an act of injustice and cruelty, the guilt of which lay upon the Bishop of Rome and his clergy, who had been the occasion of it. The disciples of Arnold, who were numerous, and obtained the name of Arnoldists, separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, and long continued to bear their testimony against its numerous abominations.

* "*Præter hæc, de sacramento altaris, et baptismo pavorum, non sane dicitur sentire.*"

LECTURE XXXIX.

*Rapid progress of Dissent in the 12th century—Enumeration of the various Sects that arose ; derivation of their Names, &c.—Vene-
ma's Ecclesiastical History quoted on this subject ; his account
of their imputed heretical tenets ; attempt to classify them—
Inquiry into the charge of Manichæism—Mosheim's Account of
the Creed of Manes and his followers—Quotation from Mr.
Hallam's Middle Ages, accusing the Paulicians and Albigenses of
maintaining that heresy—Objections to his view on the matter—
from the testimony of Gibbon—from a Swiss MS.—from a
candid examination of the character and principles of the Sect—
Some account of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, A.D. 1160—1185.—
Persecution of his followers—Decrees of Synods and Councils, &c.*

WE are now arrived at that period in the history of the Christian church, when it will be my pleasing task to withdraw your attention, in some degree at least, from the corruptions of the church of Rome,—the crimes and cruelties of Antichrist,—and fix it upon the humble followers of the Lamb, the disciples of the Prince of peace—a race of men who, in the worst of times, “held fast the testimony of God and the faith of Jesus, and who loved not their lives unto the death.” These were “the salt of the earth,” in their day and generation,—the chosen witnesses of the truth, “who sighed and cried for the abominations that were committed” by persons laying claim to the Christian character,—a poor and afflicted people who trusted in the name of the Lord.*

* Ezek. ix. 4. ; Zeph. iii. 12.

We read in the Apocalypse, ch. xiii. 3, of a time when "all the world wondered after the beast;" and yet, at the beginning of the next chapter, the holy prophet tells us that he looked, and behold "a Lamb stood on the Mount Zion, and with him a hundred forty and four thousand, having his father's name written in their foreheads;" ch. xiv. 1. This was the redeemed company, ver. 4, "first fruits to God and the Lamb,"—persons who had not defiled themselves with the mother of harlots, or her unchaste daughters,—but "in whose mouth there was no guile, being without fault before the throne of God."

It is upon the history of these people that we are now more particularly called to enter. It is, indeed, a pleasing consideration that the Most High hath never left himself without witnesses in the world. In the antediluvian age, when all flesh had corrupted its way before God, Noah and his family were an exception; Gen. vi. So also, during the awful apostacy which took place in the days of Ahab, one of the kings of Israel, we find the Prophet Elijah lamenting that "the children of Israel had forsaken the covenant, thrown down God's altars, and slain his prophets with the sword; that he alone was left, and they sought his life, to take it away;" 1 Kings, xix. 10. It turned out, however, that even then, God had reserved to himself 7000 souls that had not bowed the knee to the image of Baal; ver. 18. And, not to be tedious, the case is much the same in the instance before us. In the darkest period of papal corruption we can trace the followers of the Lamb,—the persecuted witnesses of the truth,—among the Novationists, the Donatists, the Ærians, the Paulicians, the disciples of Claude of Turin, &c. &c.* The

* "All our divines affirm, all our historians prove, and the church of Rome does not deny, that there have been from the days of the apostles, various **DISSENTERS** from all established corporations called churches. They have been loaded with innumerable calumnies, recorded under odious names, taxed with holding detestable errors, and branded with public infamy; but at the Reformation these dissenters were traced, brought out of obscurity, washed and new clothed, and produced as evidences upon the trial of the question, '*Where was your church before Luther?*'"

"I have seen enough to convince me, that the present English Dissenters, contending for the sufficiency of Scripture, and for primitive Christian liberty to judge of its meaning, may be traced back in authentic documents, to the Nonconformists, to the Puritans, to the Lollards, to the Valenses (Waldenses), to the Albi-

King of Zion lives, and is ever mindful of his cause, against which he has declared that the gates of hell shall never prevail. He raises up instruments to defend it, and though to short-sighted mortals it may seem at times to be overthrown by its adversaries, He causes Zion to trim her lamps afresh, and shine with renewed lustre.

At no period of time did the kingdom of Christ appear to be so depressed, and overwhelmed with corruption, as during the former part of the 12th century. Yet, in the last Lecture we had an opportunity of witnessing the faithfulness of Christ to his promise, that he would be with his church alway, even to the end of the world. We have seen him raising up three noble champions to advocate his cause, in the persons of Peter de Bruys, Henry of Toulouse, and Arnold of Brescia; each of whom, after kindling the torch of reformation; and pleading the cause of their divine Master, sealed their testimony with their blood.

The able and faithful preaching of these men was followed by a rich harvest of converts, in all the southern provinces of France, and the states of Italy; and, as we shall presently have occasion to shew, the court of Rome took the alarm, and called into action all the implements of torture and destruction wherewith it was armed, in order to suppress and exterminate them, as *heretics that troubled the church!* The sequel will also shew “the woman,” or false church, “drunken with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;” Rev. xvii. 6. It will be necessary, however, before we proceed with the narrative, to spend a little time in an attempt to classify these heretics, as they are called, and, if possible, reduce the subject to something like system and order. This has become the more necessary in the present day, inasmuch as, not only the Romish party, but also many protestant writers, have, through their want of discrimination, involved the subject in mystification and confusion.

genses, and I suspect, through the Paulicians, and others, to the Apostles. These churches had sometimes a clandestine existence, and at other times a visible, I wish I could say a legal one; but at all times they held more truth and less error than the prevailing factions that persecuted them. One branch uniformly denied the baptism of infants—all allowed Christian liberty, and all were enemies to an established hierarchy reigning over the consciences of their brethren.”—*Robert Robinson*, in his Preface to Claude’s Essay, vol. ii. p. 53.

The dissenters from the church of Rome, in the twelfth century, passed under a considerable variety of names; some of which they derived from their teachers; some from their manner of life; some from the places where they dwelt; some from the fate they suffered; and some from the kindness and respect shewn them by their neighbours. There was nothing either new or remarkable in this. The disciples of Christ, when at the first they began to multiply, so as to attract the notice of their unbelieving countrymen, went under various names,—such as Nazareens, Galilæans, Believers, Men of the Way, &c. &c., until at length they obtained the common appellation of Christians.

It would not be easy to furnish a perfect catalogue of the various names and titles that were given to the sects that sprang up at this time in opposition to the church of Rome, but the following are the principal ones. They were called Cathari, or Gazari, Paterines, Paulicians or Publicans, Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, Leonists, or the poor of Lyons, Insabbatists, Bons Hommes, or good men, Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Turpelini or Turelupini, Passignes, Josephists, Manichæans, Albigenses, Waldenses or Vaudois; and in our own country, after the times of Wickliffe, their usual appellation was, first, that of Lollards, and afterwards, Puritans, Nonconformists, and Dissenters.

Of some of these titles, it may be in your recollection that I have already had occasion to give a sufficient explanation. For instance, in the last Lecture, you had the origin of the Petrobrusians, the Henricians, and the Arnoldists; and it was then shewn that these names were derived from three noted preachers that rose up during the twelfth century, in France and Italy, to preach Christ's gospel, and bear their testimony against the corruptions of the church of Rome. The Paulicians also were noticed in a preceding Lecture, as a sect which rose in Armenia during the seventh century, and, being violently persecuted by the Greek emperors of Constantinople, were driven to seek an asylum in Thrace, Hungary, Bavaria, Lombardy, Switzerland, France, and other countries,—every where carrying their religious tenets along with them, and bearing a uniform testimony to the abominations of popery. The epithet "Publicans," is said to have been a cor-

ruption or abbreviation of that of "Paulicians," consequently they were one and the same sect;* even as the term *Gazari* was the German name for *Cathari*. Concerning the Paulicians, therefore, I shall only further add, in this place, and I wish you to bear it in mind, as a fact which will be found to throw considerable light on this perplexed and intricate article of church history, but of which I shall hereafter adduce sufficient evidence to convince every impartial inquirer; viz., that these people, the Paulicians, were the parent stock from which by far the greater part of these different sects took their rise.

The learned Venema, who appears to have studied this subject carefully, and than whom we cannot well have higher authority, tells us in his *Ecclesiastical History*, tom. vi. § 115—126, that the name "Insabbati," or "Sabbatatorum," was derived from their wooden shoes, which the French called *sabots*, and with this both Mosheim and Gibbon agree. He adds that "they were called 'Paterini' on account of their sufferings.† The appellations, Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Bulgarians, and Albigenses, were derived from the countries in which they dwelt, and where they most abounded. In Flanders and Artois they were principally called *Turpelini*, or *Turelupini*, because of the many miseries to which they were exposed, according to a proverb used in that country, by which children whose fate was unfortunate were called Turelupins, from one Turelupin, the father of some children who perished miserably." Such is the explanation which Venema gives us of several of these epithets, nor do I see any reason to question his general correctness in the matter. But that which is of importance for us to notice is this; viz., that these various titles and appellations, according to this explanation, do not indicate so many different sects, maintaining contrary or conflicting doctrinal sentiments or modes of worship; for nothing of this kind is laid to their charge by their Romish adversaries, who condemned and persecuted the whole of them under the denomination of *heretics*, that troubled the church, and at times under the class of *Manichæans*. It may be worth while, however, to spend a little time in this place, in inquiring

* See Dr. Rankin's *History of France*, vol. iii. p. 199.

† From the word *pati*, to suffer, or *patiens*, suffering; hence *patience*.

how far they were entitled to either of these opprobrious epithets. And, first, with respect to the imputation of *heresy*, the following extract from Venema's Ecclesiastical History will serve to set this matter in a tolerably clear light:—

“The chief articles of their *heresy*,” he tells us, “were the following:—1. That the holy Scriptures are the only source of faith and religion, without regard to the authority of the Fathers and of tradition; and although they principally used the New Testament, yet, as Usher proves from Reinier and others, they regarded the Old also as canonical Scripture. From their greater use of the New Testament, however, their adversaries took occasion to charge them with despising the Old. 2. They held the entire faith, according to all the articles of the Apostles' Creed. 3. They rejected all the external rites of the dominant church (the church of Rome), except baptism and the Lord's Supper; such as [the sanctity of] temples, vestures, images, crosses, the religious worship of the holy relics, and the remaining (five) sacraments: these they considered as inventions of Satan and the flesh, and full of superstition. 4. They rejected purgatory, with masses and prayers for the dead, acknowledging only two terminations of the present state—heaven and hell. 5. They admitted no indulgences, nor confessions of sin, with any of their consequences, except mutual confessions of the faithful for instruction and consolation. 6. They held the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist only as signs, denying the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist; as we find in the book of this sect concerning Antichrist, and as Ebrard of Bethunia, accuses them in his book against heresies. 7. They held only three ecclesiastical orders,—bishops, priests or presbyters, and deacons,—and that the remainder were human figments: that monasticism, or monkery, was a putrid carcass, and vows the invention of men; and that the marriage of the clergy was lawful and necessary. 8. Finally, they asserted the Roman church to be the Whore of Babylon; and denied obedience to the pope or bishops, and that the pope had any (scriptural) authority over other churches, or the power of either the civil or ecclesiastical sword.”

The quotation now made from this eminent foreign professor, will enable you to form a tolerably correct judgment, how far the

charge of *heresy* is fairly imputable to these various classes of dissenters from the church of Rome; and though it exhibits the judgment of only an individual, and that individual a Protestant divine, I shall presently submit to you quotations from the writings of several eminent men among the Catholics themselves, which will amply corroborate and confirm what Venema has said of them, and leave no doubt upon your minds of its correctness. All that I request of you, at present, is to keep in mind, that nothing is laid to their charge on the score of unsoundness in the faith, or defectiveness in moral conduct; on the contrary, they are said to have held fast "the form of sound words"—"the faith once delivered to the saints,"—and were generally blameless in life and conversation. Their heresy, therefore, consisted in refusing to receive the traditions of men as a part of the religion of Christ, and in bearing a testimony against the innovations, usurpations, corruptions, and abominations of the apostate church of Rome. And if this be heresy, which of *us* can plead exemption from it?

But another infamous imputation laid to their charge, not indeed of all, but only some of them, is, that they were *Manichæans*.

In labouring to fix this stigma on these dissenters, the Romish party have been more successful than in the former case, for they have succeeded in persuading many protestants that they were actually infected with that odious system. It will, however, be proper in this place to explain what the principles held by the Manichæans were, before I proceed to inquire to what extent, if indeed at all, these dissenters are justly chargeable with maintaining them.

The sect of the Manichæans derived its origin from a person of the name of Manes, or, in Latin, Manichæus. He was a Persian by nation, educated among the Magi, and was one of their number before he embraced Christianity, about the end of the third century, A. D. 277. His doctrine was a motley mixture of the tenets of Christianity with the ancient philosophy of the Persians, in which he had been instructed during his youth. The following is Dr. Mosheim's account of the Manichæan system.*

"There are two principles from which all things proceed,—the

* Eccles. Hist. vol. i. Cent. iii. ch. v.

one a most pure and subtle matter called **LIGHT**, the other a gross and corrupt substance called **DARKNESS**. The Being who presides over light is called God; he that rules the land of darkness bears the name of Hyle, or Demon. The ruler of the light is supremely happy, and consequently benevolent and good: the prince of darkness is unhappy in himself, and, desiring to render others partakers of his misery, is evil and malignant. These two beings have produced an immense multitude of creatures resembling themselves, whom they have distributed through their respective provinces. He held, that Christ is that glorious intelligence whom the Persians called Mithras—a splendid substance endowed with life, and having his residence in the sun: the Holy Ghost, a luminous and animated body, diffused throughout every part of the atmosphere which surrounds this terrestrial globe. He held, that the God of the Jews was the prince of darkness,—affirmed that the Old Testament was not the word of God, but of the prince of darkness, and rejected as spurious the four Gospels, and indeed most of the canonical Scriptures: he also maintained the transmigration of souls,* &c. &c. So much for the

* In the Manichæan system, as above explained, there was little, if any thing, that can be considered new, except the foolish attempt to mingle the simple doctrines of the Gospel with what was held by heathen philosophers long before Manes was born. The Gnostics, the Cerdonians, the Marcionites, and several other sectaries, had introduced this wicked doctrine before Manes occasioned any contest about it; yet they were by no means its inventors, but found it in the writings of the heathen philosophers. Plutarch gives an account of the antiquity and general prevalence of this doctrine, not merely as an historian, but as one who strenuously adhered to it himself, (*see his Isis et Osiris*, p. 369, Franc. 1599,) and he refers to Heraclitus and Euripides, as maintaining it. The English reader will find an interesting account of this matter in the *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, ART. MANES, in which there is an extract from Plutarch, which furnishes a full and explicit account of the doctrine of the two principles with which Manes laboured to incorporate the doctrines of the Gospel. In the same article, he will find some useful information relating to the spread of this absurd and horrid doctrine, in Italy, Africa, and the Lesser Asia, with the efforts made by the popes of Rome, and emperors of Constantinople, to extirpate the heresy. I can only find room for the concluding sentence of the article, which I quote with satisfaction:—"It was said that the Albigenses were Manichæes, but this is generally believed to be a falsehood, and nothing but a calumny fostered upon that much-injured people, to justify the unheard-of cruelties and persecutions which were exercised against them." This I believe to be true; and am further of opinion, that it is equally true of the Paulicians, for reasons which will presently appear.

Manichæan system, which may in truth be denominated a *heresy*, in the scriptural sense of that term, as subverting the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. Our business now is to inquire how far the various sects of dissenters from the Romish church which sprang up during the twelfth century, are justly chargeable with having imbibed that pernicious heresy. But here it may be proper to state, *in limine*, that our inquiry must not be supposed to be directed to every individual who might think proper to assume the name, or a connexion with any of these classes of dissenters, whether Catharists, Paterines, Paulicians, Albigenses, or any other sect. Such a supposition is totally out of the question. There is no denomination of Christians, either now or in any preceding age of the church, that would hold itself answerable for the principles, opinions, or conduct of all who might chuse to pass under their name. Even the Romish party itself would demur to this, and protest against the rule as unreasonable, uncandid, unjust. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to ascertain what were the avowed and recognized tenets of the general body of these dissenters, in reference to the Manichæan heresy, without descending to minute particulars or fractional parts; and upon the principle now laid down, I apprehend we shall not find it very difficult to repel the accusation of the church of Rome, that any of these sects were Manichæans.

In investigating this matter it will not be necessary, I presume, to scrutinize the sentiments of every particular class or sect: there are certain land-marks to be traced in the writings of both papists and protestants which will serve to guide us through this intricate subject, without wandering into bye ways and devious paths, in which the ablest and most learned of our writers on ecclesiastical affairs have lost their way, and greatly perplexed themselves. To illustrate what has now been remarked, I will lay before you an extract of some length from a cotemporary writer of our own country, of well-merited celebrity: I refer to Mr. Henry Hallam, who, in his *History of the Middle Ages*, in discussing this particular subject, thus proceeds:—"Many ages elapsed, during which no remarkable instance occurs of a popular deviation from the prescribed line of belief; and pious catholics console themselves by reflecting that their forefathers, in those

times of ignorance, slept at least the sleep of orthodoxy, and that their darkness was interrupted by no false lights of human reasoning. But from the twelfth century this can no longer be their boast. An inundation of heresy broke in that age upon the church, which no persecution was able thoroughly to repress, till it finally overspread half the surface of Europe. Of this religious innovation we must seek the commencement in a different part of the globe. The Manichæans afford an eminent example of that durable attachment to a traditional creed which so many ancient sects, especially in the east, have cherished through the vicissitudes of ages, in spite of persecution and contempt. Their plausible and widely-extended system had been, in early times, connected with the name of Christianity, however incompatible with its doctrines and its history. After a pretty long obscurity, the Manichæan theory revived, with some modification, in the western parts of Armenia, and was propagated, in the eighth and ninth centuries, by a sect denominated PAULICIANS. Their tenets are not to be collected with absolute certainty from the mouths of their adversaries, and no apology of their own survives. There seems, however, to be sufficient evidence that the Paulicians, though professing to acknowledge, and even to study the apostolic writings, ascribed the creation of the world to an evil deity, whom they supposed also to be the author of the Jewish law, and consequently rejected all the Old Testament. Believing, with the ancient Gnostics, that our Saviour was clothed on earth with an impassive celestial body, they denied the reality of his death and resurrection.* These errors exposed them to a long and cruel persecution, during which a colony of exiles was planted by one of the Greek emperors in Bulgaria. From this settlement they silently promulgated their Manichæan creed over the western regions of Christendom. A large part of the commerce of those countries with Constantinople, was carried on for several centuries by the channel of the Danube. This opened an immediate intercourse with the Paulicians, who may be traced up that river, through Hungary and Bavaria, or sometimes taking the route of Lombardy, into Switzerland and France. In the

* These, the reader will recollect, were the principles of the Manichæans; and of the Paulicians holding them, our author says, there is "sufficient evidence!"

last country, and especially in its southern and eastern provinces, they became conspicuous under a variety of names, such as Catharists, Picards, Paterines, but, above all, Albigenses. It is beyond a doubt that many of these sectaries owed their origin to the Paulicians; the appellation of Bulgarians was distinctively bestowed upon them; and, according to some writers, they acknowledged a patriarch or primate resident in that country. The tenets ascribed to them by all contemporary authorities coincide so remarkably with those held by the Paulicians, and, in earlier times, by the Manichæans, that I do not see how we can reasonably deny what is confirmed by separate and uncontradicted testimonies, and contains no intrinsic want of probability.*

It is not necessary further to extend this quotation; enough has been adduced to shew how this learned writer identifies the Paulicians with the Manichæans. He speaks of them as “reviving the Manichæan theory,” and “promulgating their Manichæan creed over the western regions of Christendom;” and adds, that from them sprang the Catharists, Picards, Paterines, and Albigenses. Now, this account of the matter appears to me to be liable to many and strong objections, as I shall proceed to shew:—

1. If any credit is to be given to the declarations of the Paulicians themselves, they could not possibly be Manichæans, in the strict and proper sense of that term. On this point, I need do no more than quote the words of Mr. Gibbon, who says—“The Paulicians *sincerely condemned* the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the *injustice* which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of the Apostle Paul and of Christ.”† Here I ask, where is the candour and fairness of imputing to a class of Christians sentiments and opinions which they solemnly deprecate and deny? It no doubt suited their malignant adversaries, who thirsted for their blood, to fix that stigma upon them; but it might surely be expected, from a Protestant historian, to pay some little deference to their own testimony of their own principles. But,

2. Mr. Hallam himself (in a note, p. 467) quotes from Mr.

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. ch. ix. part ii. pp. 461—465.

† *Decline and Fall*, ch. liv.

Planta's History of Switzerland (p. 93, 4to. edit.), the following paragraph, as serving in a remarkable manner to illustrate the antiquity of Alpine protestantism. "A curious passage," says he, "singularly descriptive of the character of the Swiss, has lately been discovered in a MS. Chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, which appears to have been written about the beginning of the 12th century. 'Religionem nostram, et omnium Latine ecclesiæ Christianorum fidem, laici ex Suaviâ, Suiciâ et Baviariâ, humiliare voluerunt; homines seducti ab antiquâ progenie simplicitatis hominum, qui Alpes et viciniam habitant, et semper amant antiqua. In Suaviam, Baviariam et Italiam, borealem sæpe intrant illorum (ex Suiciâ) mercatores, qui Biblia ediscunt memoriter, et ritus ecclesiæ aversantur, quos credunt esse novos. Nolunt imagines venerari, reliquias sanctorum aversantur: olera comedunt, raro masticantes carnem, alii nunquam: *appellemus eos idcirco Manichæos,*'" &c.

The literal translation of this passage is as follows:—

"Laymen out of Suabia, Switzerland, and Bavaria, have chosen to degrade our religion, and the profession of all Christians of the Latin (or Roman) church; men deriving their descent from an ancient race of simple people who inhabit the Alps, and who have always been fond of ancient things. Merchants or persons in trade belonging to them, often make excursions out of Switzerland into Suabia, Bavaria, and the northern parts of Italy, who have learnt the Bible by heart, and who condemn the rites of the church (of Rome), which they regard as innovations. They refuse to worship images, and despise the relics of saints. They live chiefly on herbs, seldom eating animal food, and some of them never. These, *therefore*, we call Manichæans."

Here, then, we have a key to the whole mystery: the plot is unravelled. These people were denominated Manichæans, not because they held the impious tenets of *Manes*, or any thing akin to them; such absurd and monstrous opinions are not so much as once hinted at: "We call them *Manichæes*," says the writer, *because* "they refuse to worship images, pay no deference to the relics of the saints; they live chiefly on herbs, rarely touching flesh, and some not at all."

Now, I have no inclination to contest the point with Mr. Hallam, about the precise date of this MS. He is at full liberty to place it in any century he pleases between the seventh and the fourteenth: it will not affect my argument in the least. But, I ask, what does the writer say? He speaks of a class of men inhabiting the Alps and adjacent countries, who were laymen, and sought to degrade the religion of all the Latin church,—men remarkable for their simple manners, and their attachment to *ancient* things. “Merchants or people in trade belonging to them, often go out of Switzerland into Suabia, Bavaria, and the north of Italy, who have learnt the Bible by heart, and who are very averse to the rites of the (catholic) church, which they regard as innovations. They refuse to worship images; they pay no regard to the relics of the saints; they live chiefly on herbs, seldom eating flesh, and some of them altogether abstaining from it. THESE, THEREFORE,” says the writer, “WE CALL MANICHÆANS.”

Examine now, I beseech you, the account given of these people—what their distinguishing tenets, their principles, habits, and manner of life. Here is not the slightest allusion to the absurd and pernicious dogmas of the Manichæan school—there is not the slightest allusion to them in all the passage: but they were so conversant with their Bibles, that they could recite it from memory; their abstemiousness was conspicuous,—they lived mostly on vegetables; they, however, rejected the corrupt practices of the Romish church, and *this is assigned as the reason why they were reproached as Manichæans!* Had Mr. Hallam but attended to this fact, and given it its due weight, he might have spared himself the trouble of the far greater part of the notes with which he has loaded his pages on this particular point, and which can have no other tendency than to perplex his readers.*

* Mr. Hallam tells his readers, (p. 464, note,) “that the proof of Manichæism among the heretics of the 12th century is so strong, that he never should have thought of arguing the point, but for the confidence of some modern ecclesiastical writers.” And then he produces the following quotation from Milner’s Church History, which he thus prefaces:—“*What can we think of one who says, ‘it was not unusual to stigmatize new sects with the odious name of Manichees, though I know no evidence that there were any real remains of that ancient sect in the 12th century?’*” On this extract from Milner, Mr. Hallam says, “though this writer was by

I make this observation with sincere regret, concerning an author whose learning, talents, and genius all must admire, and to whom I readily acknowledge my obligations; but he has not given to this subject the attention which was due to it; both his text and his notes are confused in a high degree.

But the Swiss manuscript, quoted from Mr. Planta, in his History of Switzerland, is not the only authority on which we rest our confidence, that the Albigenses were reproached as *Manichees*, on the ground of their opposition to the church of Rome:

no means learned enough for the task he undertook, he could not be ignorant of facts related by Mosheim and other common historians."

Now on this I remark, that if to condemn the unauthorized rites of the Catholic church as innovations—to refuse to worship images—despise trumpery relics, &c. &c., constitutes a Manichean, according to the Swiss MS. Chronicle above quoted, why then, indeed, there is an end of the argument, and Mr. Hallam is perfectly right in saying what he does about the prevalence of Manicheism among the dissenters of the 12th century. But it is remarkable that, in all his quotations to illustrate the subject and put the question out of doubt, he has not produced a single proof of the existence of Manicheism (*as explained by himself*, in the notes, pp. 469, 470), beyond the mere assertion of a bigoted papist, or credulous protestant. What, for instance, was *Petrus Siculus*? Let Mr. Gibbon answer:—"The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus *with much prejudice and passion*."—Decline and Fall, ch. liv. note a. What was *Petrus Monachus*, or *Robertus*? for Mr. Hallam seems to give him both names, pp. 465 and 466,—a Cistercian monk, whom Mr. H. admits to have been not *very* dispassionate! What was Alanus de Insulis, on whose testimony, concerning the Manicheism of the Albigenses, he seems disposed to place such reliance? Mr. Hallam himself shall answer: "Alanus, in the book above quoted, *seems to have taken up several vulgar prejudices against the Cathari* (whom Mr. H. admits to be the same description of people with the Paulicians and Albigenses, p. 464, note). He gives an etymology of the name, à catta; quia oculantur posteriora catti; in cuius speciem, ut aiunt, appareret iis Lucifer." Now I appeal to Mr. Hallam, what reliance can be placed on the testimony of such a writer, particularly on a subject which from its very nature must call up all his prejudices and prepossessions? Dr. Allix, in his Remarks on the Ancient Church of Piedmont, takes notice of this ridiculous imputation of Alanus (p. 156), as an evidence of the sottishness or malice of this writer. "Of his *sottishness*," says he, "we may take a scantling, by the etymology of the word *Cathari*; for he maintains, that they got that name from their kissing the hinder part of a cat in their assemblies—the devil appearing to them under that form. We may judge of his *stupidity*, by the contrary and contradictory opinions which he heaps up together in the same book, as if they had all of them been defended by the same persons. Valentinians, Marcionites, Manichees, Arians, all come alike to him, as being names very proper to render his adversaries odious, whom he had a design to blacken to the utmost." Such is the man who, according to Mr. Hallam, "has left *conclusive evidence* of the Manicheism of the Albigenses!"—p. 465, note.

we have the authority of the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, for the same thing. This learned defender of the papacy, in his "History of the Variations," assigns the very same reason for it; and afterwards, in his Explication of the Book of the Revelation, he makes it an express character of Manichæism to call the pope "Antichrist." Yet most certain it is, that the *real* Manichees of the third century never did this: whether the charge be well or ill founded, it has no connection with Manichæism, in the true acceptation of that term, though it very satisfactorily accounts for that odious name being fixed upon the Albigenses, yet totally overlooked by Mr. Hallam. "The case is plain," saith Bossuet, "the Albigenses were Manichees; and they called the pope the Antichrist, and with an invincible obstinacy have maintained that this title belongs to him: *wherefore, it must follow, that this accusation of or concerning the pope must be a character of Manichæism.*"*

3. But, independent of their own positive denial of the fact, and of the additional evidence arising from the MS. Chronicle, found in the Abbey of Corvey, together with the confession of Bishop Bossuet, is there nothing in the nature and attendant circumstances of the case that can bear upon this point in the way of proof, that the Paulicians were *not* Manichæans in the strict and proper sense of that term? This is an inquiry which neither Mr. Hallam, nor Mosheim, nor any other writer that I have met with, has thought worth a moment's consideration; yet I am disposed to bestow a little pains on the subject. What, let me ask, were the distinguishing tenets of MANES and his followers, in the third century, which the Paulicians are said to have adopted, and handed down to the Catharists, the Paterines, the Albigenses and others? Mosheim shall answer that question, since he is an authority that Mr. Hallam relies upon. "They held, says he, that the God of the Jews was the prince of darkness; affirmed that the Old Testament was not the word of God, but of the prince of darkness, and rejected as spurious the four Gospels, and also *most* of the canonical Scriptures."† Mr. Hallam admits this to have been a part of the Manichæan creed, p. 465,

* Dr. Allix's Remarks on the Churches of the Albigenses, ch. xix. p. 174.

† See page 223, *ante*.

note, where he quotes Petrus Monachus, a Cistercian monk, and Alanus de Insulis, as his authority for charging the Albigenses with holding it. Now I would only entreat of my reader to lay prejudice and passion aside, while he calmly and dispassionately looks into the real state of this question, and he cannot fail to perceive, not only the improbability, but, I venture to say, the total *impossibility* that the Paulicians of the seventh century, or their successors, the Albigenses of the twelfth, could have maintained this impious and horrid system. I have in a former Lecture,* extracted from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 54, (which Mr. Hallam acknowledges, so far as relates to this matter, to be accurate as well as luminous, and far superior to any modern work on the subject) a summary of the principles of the Paulicians. Justice towards these calumniated people demands that we should compare the principles which they admitted with those which their enraged adversaries imputed to them; and if we do so, we must at once acquit them of most, if not all these foul charges. For instance—

Mosheim, and Mr. Hallam after him, charges the Paulicians with rejecting as *spurious* the four Gospels, and also *most* of the canonical Scriptures." But Mr. Gibbon assures us that Constantine, the founder of the Paulician sect, received the "New Testament" from the pious deacon whom he had entertained at his house—that these books became the measure of his studies and the *rule of his faith*; and that the catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul."† The learned historian adds, "In the gospel and the epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower (Constantine) investigated the creed of primitive Christianity." Moreover, he tells us that they "*adored the New Testament as the oracles of God*," with the exception of only the two epistles of Peter. But if this statement be correct,—then it must be false to say that "they rejected as spurious the four Gospels, and also most of the canonical Scriptures." Here is a discrepancy which no ingenuity of man can reconcile; and wherever we meet with

* See Lect. xxxvii. p. 181.

† Gibbon, ch. liv.

conflicting statements, we are naturally inspired with distrust and jealousy, that something aside from the truth is at stake. But further:—

Let it be admitted that the Paulicians, as a body, “adored the New Testament as the oracles of God”—that “these books became the measure of their studies and the rule of their faith,”—that “in these Scriptures they investigated the creed of primitive Christianity,”—is it credible, I ask, that men who had recourse to these writings for the matter or rule of their faith, could believe that “the God of the Jews was the prince of darkness, and that the Old Testament was not the word of God, but of the prince of darkness?” *Credat Judæus appella!* It is infinitely more probable that the catholic clergy, who invented a thousand other lies concerning them, to blacken their character and render them odious in the eyes of the emperors and magistrates, should have falsely accused them in this instance, than that they should have really held such opinions. For, let it be remembered, that whether they had recourse to the evangelists or the writings of the Apostle Paul, or both—it would be difficult for them to open a page of any part of the New Testament without meeting with a confutation of such absurd and impious tenets. The connection between the two Testaments, or Covenants, is everywhere recognised in the writings of the evangelists and apostles—the Old Testament is perpetually quoted in the books of the New, and quoted, too, as the word of God, which cannot be broken—the law given by Moses is referred to as a system of typical institutions adumbrating the gospel dispensation, or the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ—the book of Psalms is quoted as containing clear intimations of the promised seed, and all the prophets from Samuel to Malachi, are referred to as foretelling the Messiah’s advent—the apostolic epistles abound with allusions to and quotations from the Levitical economy and the writings of the holy prophets, of all which they demonstrate the accomplishment in the coming and kingdom of the Redeemer of men; so that to “adore the New Testament as the oracles of God,” and at the same time reproach the Old as the production of the prince of darkness, implies a degree of infatuation on the part of the Paulicians which, to say nothing of their

own denial, is utterly incredible. The man who can seriously examine the subject, take into account the holy and unblemished lives of the Paulicians, their determined opposition to the corruptions of the catholic church, and various other considerations, which I need not particularize, and, after all, believe them to have been Manichæans, in the sense contended for by Mosheim and others, must have a taste and capacity for the credulous which is little to be envied, and I will add, as little to be expected from a sound protestant historian, at this time of day.

That such absurdities should be imputed to them, such calumnies fixed upon them, by the mendacious clergy of the base apostate hierarchies of Rome and Constantinople, is easily accounted for and easily explained. Every one who has duly considered the way in which the antichristian apostacy took place in the churches, the means by which that monstrous power arose, and the plausible pretexts to which the clergy had recourse for secularizing the kingdom of Christ, and raising a kingdom for themselves upon its ruin, must know that the basis of it is a perverse imitation of the Jewish theocracy. Their argument was, that Christian kings under the New Testament, and Christian bishops too, should occupy the same place in the church of God which the kings of Judah and the Aaronical priesthood filled under the old economy. But when the various classes of dissenters protested against this fine theory, as what was not only unauthorized, but utterly subversive of the fundamental principles of the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world—the inference of the clergy was easily deduced, that they denied the divine authority of the Old Testament—a specious, but totally unfounded charge, yet one that admirably served their purpose. Again—

If the Paulicians and other sectaries, in compliance with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, contended that this world, in consequence of the fall of our first parents, was become the empire of Satan, that he is “the god of this world,” “the prince of darkness,” “the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience”—that the idolatrous rites of the papal church, with all its abominations, were prompted by his influence, and were carrying on his horrid work of blinding the minds and destroying the souls of men—what more natural than for his devotees to exclaim, that

these sectaries held the two principles of the Manichæans—"the existence of two deities—the one evil, and the creator of this world, the other good, and the author of that which is to come?"—and this, in fact, is the first of the six capital errors or heresies which Peter of Sicily enumerates as constituting the creed of the Paulicians of Armenia. False, however, and unfounded as was the inference, we cannot regard it as among the *deepest* of the infernal plots.—He who, when it suits his purpose, can "transform himself into an angel of light," (2 Cor. xi. 14.) is capable of deluding his votaries by far less specious stratagems than this. But I shall not further pursue this subject. Enough, I hope, has been said upon it, to prevent any reflecting mind from giving implicit credit to the calumnious representations of the catholic writers against the various sects that separated from the communion of the Romish or Greek church, which were twin sisters, and alike apostate.

The truth of the matter appears to me to be shortly this—that the term "Manichæan," with the clergy of the catholic church, was of precisely the same import as the term "Samaritan" with the bigoted Jews in the days of the Saviour's personal ministry. As then, "thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil," was deemed a sufficient answer to every charge of corrupting the religion of Moses, and making void the commandments of God by means of their own traditions; so, with the clergy of the catholic church and their abettors, the senseless imputation of being a "Manichæan" served for a sufficient answer to all the remonstrances of the dissenters for corrupting the simplicity of Gospel worship. Who but must lament to see such a writer as Mr. Henry Hallam cajoled by such shallow pretexts? Mr. Voltaire had more dis-

* Pope Boniface VIII., who entertained the ambitious project of subjecting all earthly princes to papal authority, published a canon, which ran thus:—"Whosoever shall resist this (papal) power, resists the ordinance of God: unless, as a Manichæan, he believes in two supreme beings."—(Canon Unam Sanctam, l. i. tom. viii. de Maj. et Obed.) The Albigenses were known uniformly to deny the major proposition of this syllogism, that the popes possessed supreme and universal power on earth; the conclusion, therefore, seemed obvious—that they were Manichæans! In the conduct of their trials, it was the study of the inquisitors, as Limborch admits, to draw and extort such confessions as might involve, or seem to involve, this conclusion; and their calling Satan "the god of this world," in Scripture language, or any thing similar, or which might be so construed, was sufficient evidence for

cernment than to be thus imposed upon; for he tells us, in his *Universal History*, vol. i. ch. 50. that "Manichæans was a general name then given to heretics." And this I believe is the true solution of all that mystification which is to be found in the writings of several eminent protestants regarding this point.

But to proceed. Towards the end of the twelfth century, it pleased God to raise up another noble champion for the cause of reformation in France, in the person of PETER WALDO, of Lyons, a man whose history, so far as it is known, is entitled to respectful notice. This man was an opulent merchant; and, like other persons in that line of life, was living regardless of the things which concerned his eternal peace, when suddenly an awful event awakened his attention, alarmed his conscience, and led him to serious consideration. One evening, after supper, as he sat conversing with a party of his friends, one of their number fell lifeless on the floor, to the consternation of the whole company. Such a lesson on the uncertainty of human life made a strong and abiding impression on the mind of Waldo, and led him to think seriously of his own mortality. Happily his attention was drawn to the holy Scriptures; and, being a person of some education, he was able to read them for himself in the Latin Vulgate, the only edition of the Bible at that time in Europe; and to do that without the intervention of a priest. From this genuine source of all true peace and comfort, Waldo obtained a knowledge of the way of salvation; and, through the study of the Scriptures, his mind attained to a settled rest as to his great concern for eternity. He now began to look around him, and to feel some concern for his fellow-creatures, who were perishing for lack of knowledge. Abandoning, therefore, his mercantile pursuits, he distributed his wealth among his poor neighbours, as their necessities called for it; and, while they flocked to him to partake of his liberality, he took every opportunity of drawing their attention to the ONE THING NEEDFUL.

inferring that they were Manichæans.—(Limborch, Hist. Inq. cap. et fol. 40, et 68, 82.—Rankin's History of France, vol. iii. p. 206.)

Upon similar principles, Dr. Rankin vindicates them from the absurd charge of denying the reality of the body of Christ, his sufferings, &c., all of which was founded on their denying that the consecrated bread, in the eucharist, was the very body in which Jesus suffered.

It now became a leading object with Waldo to put into their hands the word of life ; and he either himself translated, or procured some one else to translate, the four Gospels into French. Having accomplished this, his next object was to make the common people acquainted with their sacred contents. " Being somewhat learned," says Reinerius Saccho, a Romish inquisitor, when speaking of him, " he taught the people the text of the New Testament in their mother tongue." " His kindness to the poor," says one of the Magdeburgh Centuriators, " being diffused, his love of teaching, and their love of learning, grew stronger and stronger, so that great crowds came to him, to whom he explained the Scriptures. He was himself a man of learning ; nor was he obliged to employ others to translate for him, as his enemies affirm." But whether Waldo himself translated these Scriptures, or employed others to do it, or, which is most probable, executed it himself with the assistance of others, certain it is, that the inhabitants of Europe were indebted to him for the first translation of the Bible into a modern tongue since the time that the Latin had ceased to be a living language—a gift of inestimable value.

It does not appear that Waldo had any intention, at first, of withdrawing from the communion of the church of Rome ; but, as he grew in the knowledge of the Scriptures, he began to discover that a multiplicity of its rites and usages were quite at variance with the word of God. One of the first things that struck him was the idolatrous practices connected with the doctrine of transubstantiation, at that time become an established article of the catholic faith. He beheld his fellow-creatures falling down before the consecrated wafer, and paying divine homage to it—an abomination, the absurdity and impiety of which forcibly struck his mind, and he began to oppose it in a most courageous manner. Animated with pious zeal, he condemned all the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of human invention, which had been introduced into the national religion ; and he lifted up his voice, like a trumpet, against the arrogance of the pope, and the reigning vices of the clergy. In short, he taught the truth in its simplicity, while he exhibited in his own example an illustration of its holy influence, and laboured most

assiduously to demonstrate the difference between the Christianity of the New Testament and that of the church of Rome.

The consequence of all this may be easily anticipated. The Archbishop of Lyons heard of the proceedings of Waldo, and became indignant. Their tendency could not be mistaken. The honour of the church was implicated in them; and, in perfect consistency with the usual mode of silencing objectors among the catholic party, he forbade the new reformer to teach any more, on pain of excommunication, and of being proceeded against as a heretic. Waldo replied that, though a layman, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned his fellow-creatures. Attempts were presently made to apprehend him; but the number and kindness of his friends; the respectability and influence of his connexions, some of whom were persons of rank; the universal regard that was paid to his character for probity and religion; and the conviction that his presence was highly necessary among the people whom he had, by this time, formed into a church, and of which he had taken the oversight—all operated so powerfully in his favour, that he lived concealed at Lyons during the space of three whole years.*

Pope Alexander III. was now made acquainted with these heretical proceedings, and he instantly anathematized both Waldo and his adherents, commanding the archbishop to proceed against them with the utmost rigour. Waldo was now compelled to quit Lyons: his flock, in a great measure, followed their pastor; and hence a dispersion took place, not unlike that which arose in Jerusalem on the occasion of the death of Stephen; the effects were also similar. Waldo himself retired into Dauphiné, where he preached with great success. Persecuted from place to place, he next retired into Picardy, where also he laboured with much acceptance. Driven from thence, he proceeded into Germany, carrying along with him wherever he went the glad tidings of salvation; and, according to the testimony of the great Thuanus, he at length settled in Bohemia, where he arrived about the year 1184, according to Dubravius in his history of that country, and continued his ministry to the period of his

* Perrin, *Hist. de Vaudois*, c. i.

death. His followers were chiefly denominated "Leonists," from the city of Lyons, where he commenced his labours; but they were frequently designated "the Poor of Lyons," by which it was indicated that it was mostly among the humbler class of society that he had the fruits of his ministry. Numbers of his disciples fled for an asylum into the valleys of Piedmont, taking with them the new translation of the Bible; and there they became incorporated with the fruits of the ministry of Claude of Turin, where they will presently come before us again under the well-known title of "Waldenses," or Vaudois; and also, in the south of France, under the appellation of "Albigenses;" for it is the very same class of Christians that is designated by these different names, according to the different countries, or districts of the same country in which they appeared.*

Peter Waldo was not only a most respectable character, but evidently a person of singular endowments, and one of those extraordinary men whom God, in his providence, occasionally raises up, and qualifies for eminent usefulness in his church here below; and his expulsion from Lyons, with the persecution of his followers, is a remarkable epoch in the history of the church. Wherever they went they sowed the seeds of reformation. The countenance and blessing of heaven's great Lord accompanied them. As of old, "the word of God grew and multiplied," not only in the places where Waldo himself had been the honoured instrument of planting it, but in more distant regions. In Alsace, and along the Rhine, the doctrines of Waldo spread extensively. Persecution ensued: thirty-five citizens of Mentz were consumed to ashes in one fire, in the city of Bingen, and eighteen in Mentz itself. The Bishops of Mentz and Strasburg breathed nothing but vengeance and slaughter against them; and, at the latter city, where Waldo himself is said to have narrowly escaped apprehension, eighty persons were committed to the flames. Multitudes died praising God, and in the confident hope of a blessed resurrection. But the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia,

* Pierre Gilles' *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de Piedmont*, Gen. 1644, ch. i.; Perrin. *Histoire des Vaudois*, ch. i. and ii.

and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished throughout the thirteenth century, and which are said to have owed their rise chiefly to the labours of one Bartholomew, of Carcassonne, in the south of France, the country of the Albigenses, of whom we shall have much to say hereafter.

We cannot be surprised that the great and rapid increase of dissenters should stimulate the court of Rome to adopt the most vigorous measures for suppressing them. The inquisition had not yet been established; but councils were held in continual succession, and persecuting edicts issued for checking the growing evil, though with little or no effect.

The following is an extract from the fourth canon of the Council of Tours, held in the year 1163; and it merits regard, as exhibiting decisive evidence that the heresy, as it was called, of the Albigenses did not originate with the preaching of Peter Waldo, whose conversion took place about the year 1160, but was even then of long standing. Referring evidently to the Albigenses, the canon thus proceeds:—

“In the country about Toulouse, there sprang up *long ago* a damnable heresy, which, by little and little, like a cancer, spreading itself to the neighbouring places of Gascony, hath already infected many other provinces; which, whilst, like a serpent, it hid itself in its own windings and twinings, crept on more secretly, and threatened more danger to the simple and unwary: wherefore we do command all bishops and priests dwelling in these parts, to keep a watchful eye upon these heretics; and, under the pain of excommunication, to forbid all persons, as soon as these heretics are discovered, from presuming to afford them any abode in their country, or to lend them any assistance, or to entertain any commerce with them in buying or selling; that so at least, by the loss of the advantages of human society, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their life. And if any prince, making himself partaker of their iniquity, shall endeavour to oppose these decrees, let him be struck with the same anathema. And if they shall be seized by any catholic princes, and cast into prison, let them be punished with confiscation of all their goods. And, because they frequently come together from divers parts into one hiding-place, and because they have

no other ground for their dwelling together save only their agreement and consent in error,—therefore we will that such their conventicles be both diligently searched after, and, when they are found, that they be examined according to canonical severity.”*

The proceedings of this council abundantly shew that this so called heresy had appeared long before the year 1163—that it had infected several provinces of these dioceses—and that most severe methods were found necessary to counteract the growing evil. It is plain also from the letters which the Archbishop of Narbonne, at this time, addressed to Louis VII., king of France, in one of which he thus writes:—“ My Lord the King,—We are extremely pressed with many calamities; amongst which there is one that most of all affects us, which is, that the catholic faith is extremely shaken in this our diocese; and St. Peter’s boat is so violently tossed by the waves that it is in great danger of sinking !” Hence we may see that Languedoc was full of the disciples of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Toulouse long before Waldo or any of disciples began to preach.

A council was held at Lombez, in Gascony, under the Bishop of Toulouse, A.D. 1175, at which these reputed heretics were summarily condemned under the common appellation of “ *Bons Hommes*,” or *good men*. The crimes laid to their charge on this occasion, were, that they held the Old Testament to be of no authority—that confession was not necessary—that infants are not saved by baptism—that the eucharist might be consecrated by laymen—that marriage was unlawful, and not consistent with salvation—and that priests have not alone received the power of binding and loosing. In refutation of these charges, they drew up and published a confession of their faith, or real sentiments, in which they expressly say that they are ready to acknowledge whatever can be shewn to them from the Gospels and writings of the apostles to their conviction; but they refused to take any oath, considering it to be forbidden in both.†

In 1178 a synod was held at Toulouse, under the presidency of a legate of the holy see, when they were again proscribed, denounced as heretics, and condemned to expulsion. In the

* See Dr. Allix’s Remarks on the Churches of the Albigenses, 4to. p. 116.

† Hoveden, Annal. p. 2.

following year, 1179, the third council of Lateran was convened, by Pope Alexander III., when they were again denounced, and proceeded against; but that pope dying soon after, he was succeeded by Lucius III., who issued a decree, A. D. 1181, confirmatory of the sentence of his predecessor, and carrying the measures of severity against them much further than had hitherto been done. For instance, in this sanguinary decree, it is said—"We declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves 'the Poor of Lyons,' the Passignes, Josephists, Arnoldists, &c., to lie under a perpetual anathema!" All who presumed to preach without authority from the see of Rome,—all who held or taught opinions concerning baptism, the Lord's Supper, remission of sins, marriage, or any of the sacraments of the church, *differing from what the holy church of Rome doth teach and observe*,—are to be judged heretics, and anathematized. The refusal to take an oath is to be deemed a proof of heresy, and treated accordingly; and all the afore-mentioned were to be delivered up to the secular power for punishment, and their goods confiscated to the use of the church. The clergy are enjoined to make vigilant search after all such heretics, and to call to their aid all earls, barons, governors, and consuls of cities, and other places, to execute the ecclesiastical and imperial statutes concerning these matters; and any city that refused to yield obedience to these "decretal constitutions," was to be excluded from all commerce with other cities, and deprived of the episcopal dignity.

These intolerant proceedings, which were directed chiefly against the dissenters in the south of France, drove multitudes of them into Spain; in consequence of which, we find an edict published, in the year 1194, by Ildefonsus, king of Aragon, charging and commanding all the "Waldenses, Insabbati, who are otherwise called 'the Poor of Lyons,' and all other heretics, who cannot be numbered, being excommunicated from the holy church, adversaries to the cross of Christ, violators and corrupters of the Christian religion, to depart out of our kingdom, and all our dominions." Moreover, "whosoever, from that day forward, should presume to receive the Waldenses and Insabbati, or any other heretics, of whatsoever profession, into their houses,

or be present at their pernicious sermons, or afford them meat or any other favour, should incur the indignation of Almighty God, as well as that of his majesty,—have his goods confiscated, without the remedy of an appeal, and be punished as if he were actually guilty of high treason !” This cruel edict was to be published in all the churches, by the bishops, rectors, &c., and in all the cities, castles, and towns of the kingdom, throughout all his majesty’s dominions, in order that the same might be observed by vicars, bailiffs, justices, &c., and all people in general; that the aforesaid punishment be inflicted on all transgressors. Such was the state of matters at the end of the 12th century, and it may serve to prepare us for the appalling scenes of slaughter and carnage which took place soon afterwards.

I close this Lecture in the words of that learned and amiable critic, M. de Beausobre, in his Critical History of the Manichees and Manichæism: “Some will tax me with speaking disrespectfully of the Fathers. I grant some expressions may have escaped me which I might have softened; but relations notoriously false, or monstrously exaggerated; bad reasonings; a blind belief of every thing reported to disgrace heretics; a reigning passion to render their persons odious—all this irritates an equitable mind. But what provokes beyond all patience is to see the selfish abuse which some writers make of the names and the testimonies of the Fathers. A sort of false reasoning, which I call the sophism of authority, hath been long introduced, and now continues to be applied to the most pernicious purposes. Reason and religion are oppressed; and, in order to defend opinions evidently false, and practices grossly superstitious, a sentence is quoted from an ancient writer, and puffed off with the title of a *saint*, and a GREAT SAINT. People, on hearing this, are seduced into an imagination that they hear an oracle, and sincerely believe that justness of thought, accuracy of expression, solidity of reasoning, and demonstrative evidence, are necessarily connected with *sainthood*, and GREAT SAINTSHIP.” There is too much truth in all this.

LECTURE XL.

Preliminary Observations—Subject of the present Lecture stated—Description of the Dissenters in Germany and France during the twelfth century, by Catholic writers; Evervinus of Stainfield; the celebrated St. Bernard; the learned Historian, Thuanus—Account of the PATERINES, in Italy, from the ninth to the twelfth century—Peter de Bruys's Vindication of the Dissenters of the twelfth century, for leaving the Romish Church—Reflections.

IN the foregoing Lecture I endeavoured to give you some general notion of the progress of dissent from the corrupt church of Rome, at the beginning of the twelfth century. We took a review of the various sects and parties into which the dissenters were divided—endeavoured to trace the derivation of their names—attempted to classify them—and, finally, investigated the charge brought against them by their malevolent adversaries, of maintaining the impious and absurd principles of the Manichees. In this latter particular, I would fain persuade myself, that I have not been wholly unsuccessful. Ever since my studies have been directed to the subject of ecclesiastical history, I have regarded this matter as one which eminently called for investigation, and that, above all others, wanted clearing up. I never could bring my own mind to place implicit reliance on the truth of the accusations which the Romish church so liberally dealt out

against these people, on this particular point ; and could not but be surprised, that they were so readily admitted by many protestant writers, such as Mosheim, Limborch, Hallam, and others. Had the charge of heresy related to any particular doctrine of the Christian system, such as those which gave rise to the Arian, Socinian, or Arminian controversies, I should have felt much less difficulty in admitting the possibility of its being true ; but here the case is widely different. Even the Romish clergy themselves admit their soundness in the faith of the Gospel. We never find them imputing to the Catharists, the Paulicians, the Albigenses, or the Waldenses, doctrinal sentiments of an heterodox tendency,—opinions at variance with what was termed “ the symbol,” or apostles’ creed—the acknowledged standard of orthodoxy in the catholic church. Could they have brought home charges of this kind, we may be very sure that they did not want inclination to avail themselves of such a handle against them. But here is an anomaly, such as is rarely met with. Thousands, and tens of thousands of Christians, drawing their religion from the Bible,—evincing the utmost scrupulosity of conscience, to have both their faith and practice regulated by that unerring standard,—all agreed in condemning the church of Rome, for departing from that standard, and introducing into the religion of Christ things not instituted by either himself or his inspired apostles ; and yet themselves accused of holding principles, not merely inconsistent with, but wholly subversive of, Divine revelation ; thus, at the same time, unchristianizing themselves. For, surely, it would be needless to attempt to prove, that, to hold the sentiment, that there are two first causes, two creators of the universe—one good and the other evil—each producing immense multitudes of creatures resembling themselves,—that the God of the Jews was the prince of darkness,—that the Old Testament was not the word of God, but of the prince of darkness,—and to reject, as spurious, the four Gospels, and most of the canonical Scriptures,—all this, I say, is incompatible with every idea which the New Testament gives us of the Christian character. Yet such, according to the calumnies of their adversaries, were the dissenters of the twelfth century, and so believed to be by many protestant writers. It was surely high time that an effort should be made to disabuse

them from such a horrid charge, and I hope I have not laboured in vain.

I purpose, in the present Lecture, to lay before you the testimonies of several writers of the Romish church concerning these sectaries; by means of which you will be able to form a still more decided judgment of them, and be better qualified to determine how far the view which I have myself taken of their character is to be relied upon; and I beseech you, as we proceed, to keep your attention steadily fixed on this point—namely, to see whether you can discover any thing like *proof* of their being tinctured with Manichæism.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Evervinus, of Stainfield, in the diocese of Cologne, in Germany, wrote to the celebrated St. Bernard concerning certain heretics in his neighbourhood. The following is the substance of his letter:—"There have lately been some heretics discovered among us, near Cologne, of whom some have, with satisfaction, returned again to the church. One that was a bishop among them, and his companions, openly opposed us, in the assembly of the clergy and laity, the lord archbishop himself being present, with many of the nobility, maintaining their heresy from the words of Christ and his apostles. But, finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be fixed, upon which they might bring along with them men skilful in their faith, promising to return to the church provided their teachers were unable to answer their opponents; but that, otherwise, they would rather die than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent, and three days allowed them for that purpose, they were *seized by the people*, in their excess of zeal, *and committed to the flames!* And, what is most astonishing, they came to the stake, and endured the torment, not only with patience, but even with joy. In this case, O holy father, were I present with you, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such constancy and courage as is rarely to be found among the most religious in the faith of Christ?" He then proceeds—"Their heresy is this: they say that the church (of Christ) is only among themselves, because they alone follow the ways of Christ, and imitate the

apostles,—not seeking secular gains, possessing no property, following the example of Christ, who was himself poor, nor permitted his disciples to possess any thing. Whereas, say they to us, ‘ye join house to house, and field to field, seeking the things of this world,—yea, even your monks and regular canons possess all these things.’ They represent themselves as the poor of Christ’s flock, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, enduring persecution with the apostles and martyrs: though strict in their manner of life—abstemious, laborious, devout, and holy, and seeking only what is needful for bodily sustenance, living as men who are not of the world. But you, say they, lovers of the world, have peace with the world, because ye are of it. False apostles, who adulterate the word of God, seeking their own things, have misled you and your ancestors. Whereas, we and our fathers, having been born and brought up in the apostolic doctrine, have continued in the grace of Christ, and shall continue so to the end. ‘By their fruits ye shall know them,’ saith Christ; and our fruits are, walking in the footsteps of Christ. They affirm, that the apostolic dignity is corrupted by engaging itself in secular affairs, while it sits in St. Peter’s chair. They do not hold with the baptism of infants, alleging that passage of the Gospel—‘He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.’ They place no confidence in the intercession of saints; and all things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself, or his apostles, they pronounce to be superstitious. They do not admit of any purgatory fire after death, contending, that the souls of men, as soon as they depart out of the bodies, do enter into rest or punishment; proving it from the words of Solomon, ‘Which way soever the tree falls, whether to the south or to the north, there it lies;’ by which means they make void all the prayers and oblations of the faithful for the deceased.

“We, therefore, beseech you, holy father, to employ your care and watchfulness against these manifold mischiefs; and that you would be pleased to direct your pen against those wild beasts of the roads; not thinking it sufficient to answer us, that the tower of David, to which we may betake ourselves for refuge, is sufficiently fortified with bulwarks—that a thousand bucklers hang

on the walls of it, all shields of mighty men. For we desire, father, for the sake of us simple ones, and who are slow of understanding, that you would be pleased, by your study, to gather all these arms into one place, that they may be the more readily found, and more powerful to resist these monsters. I must inform you also, that those of them who have returned to our church, tell us that they had great numbers of their persuasion scattered almost everywhere; and that amongst them were many of our clergy and monks. And, as for those who were burnt, they, in the defence they made of themselves, told us that this heresy had been concealed from the time of the martyrs; and that it had existed in Greece and other countries.”*

On receiving this letter, St. Bernard instantly buckled on his armour. He was then publishing a series of discourses on the Canticles; and, in the sixty-fifth and sixty-sixth of them, he enters the lists most vehemently with these said heretics, of whom he had previously heard. He is exceedingly offended with them for deriding the catholics because they baptized infants, and prayed for the dead, and maintained a state of purgatory. He condemns their scruples about taking an oath, which, according to him, was one of their peculiarities; and he upbraids them on account of their secrecy in observing their religious rites, not considering the necessity which persecution imposed upon them. He finds fault with a practice among them of dwelling with women in the same house, without being married to them; by which probably is meant that they considered marriage in the light of a civil contract, as many Christians do in the present day, and, therefore, did not think it necessary to solemnize their marriages according to the rites of the church of Rome, who had, by this time, converted it into one of the seven sacraments. After all, he acknowledges that he knows but little of the manners of the sect; but, from various rumours propagated concerning them, he *suspects* them of hypocrisy! Yet his testimony in favour of their general conduct would seem to countervail all his invectives. “If,” says he, “you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christian-like; if you observe their conversa-

* This, I think, must refer to the Paulicians, of whom mention has been already made.

tion, nothing can be more blameless, and what they speak they make good by their actions. You may see a man, for the testimony of his faith, frequent the church, honour the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament. What more like a Christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man, over-reaches no man, does violence to no man. He fasts much, and eats not the bread of idleness; but works with his hands for his support. The whole body, indeed, are rustic and illiterate, and all whom I have known of this sect are very ignorant." Such was the testimony of the great St. Bernard in behalf of these dissenters, about the beginning of the twelfth century, and you see here is no allusion to the principles of the Manichees.

I now proceed to a quotation from the eminent and impartial Thuanus's History of his own Time—a catholic, it is true, but an author of such unimpeachable veracity, and of such enlarged and liberal principles, that all parties praise him except his own church. I mention this, because I shall have occasion hereafter to refer, more than once, to his great work, when we arrive at the history of the Waldenses. He has been adverting to the case of Peter Waldo, the rich citizen of Lyons, mentioned in my last Lecture. "This man," says he, "leaving his house and estate, had entirely devoted himself to the profession of the Gospel, and had procured the writings of the prophets and apostles to be translated into the language of the country, together with several testimonies from the primitive Fathers; all which having well fixed in his own mind, and trusting to his natural parts, he took up the office of preaching, and interpreted the Gospel to the common people in the streets. And when, in a short time, he had got about him a goodly number of followers, he sent them out into all parts, as disciples, to propagate the Gospel. They, as being generally unlearned, having easily fallen into various errors, were cited by the Archbishop of Lyons; and, though they were, *as some report*, convicted, yet they obstinately fortified themselves, saying that, in the affairs of religion, God was to be obeyed, and not man. *Being for this cut off from the church*, (!) and appealing to the pope, they were, in the council immediately preceding that of Lateran, condemned as altogether pertinacious and schismatical. The consequence was, that, becoming hated and execrated by all

men, [meaning, doubtless, all true papists,] they wandered about without a home, and spread themselves up and down in Languedoc, Lombardy, and especially among the Alps, where they lay concealed and secure for many years. They were charged with these tenets—viz. that the church of Rome, because it renounced the true faith of Christ, was the Whore of Babylon, and that barren tree which Christ himself cursed, and commanded to be plucked up; that, consequently, no obedience was to be paid to the pope, or to the bishops who maintain her errors; that a monastic life was the sink and dungeon of the church, the vows of which [relating to celibacy] were vain, and served only to promote the vile love of boys [or uncleanness]; that the orders of the priesthood were marks of the great beast mentioned in the Apocalypse; that the fire of purgatory, the solemn mass, the consecration days of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, were the devices of Satan. Besides these principal and authentic heads of their doctrine, others were pretended, relating to marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and meats.”*

Here, then, we have a second account of the principles maintained by these dissenters of the twelfth century; and you see it agrees, in almost every particular, with what Evervinus had said of them in his letter to St. Bernard, previously referred to; but still there is not the remotest reference to the Manichæan heresy, which, had these Christians been chargeable with it, would certainly not have been omitted in either instance. And here, permit me to add, that the testimony of Thuanus, which I have just submitted to you, is of no ordinary cast; for consider for a moment who he was. The age in which he lived did not produce a greater character. He was president of the parliament of Paris, and a confidential minister to two kings of France—namely, Henry III. and Henry IV., surnamed the Great. He was born A.D. 1553, and was a man universally esteemed for his great learning, talents, probity, and amiable character; but he is chiefly known to posterity as the author of a History of his own Times, extending from the year 1546 to 1608—an immortal

* Thuanus Historia, lib. vi. sect. 16, and lib. xxvii.

work, as it has been well pronounced, which will "testify to all posterity the author's uncommon learning, wonderful sincerity and candour, his piety, without affectation, his disinterested integrity, and, above all, the well-grounded zeal which actuated him for the grandeur and prosperity of his own country."* It is from that work that I have quoted the extract now given; and, as I have introduced him to your notice, it may not be amiss to continue that quotation. Thus he proceeds:—

"Peter Waldo," whose followers he had been speaking of, "quitting his country, proceeded to the Netherlands; and, having gained many followers in that province, which is now called Picardy, removed from thence into Germany; and, after a long abode among the Vandal cities, settled at last in Bohemia, where, even at this day, the professors of that doctrine are from thence called Picards. Waldo had a companion, named Arnold, who, by a different route, fell into Languedoc, and fixed himself at Alby, from whence came the Albigenses, who, in a little time, spread themselves among the people of Toulouse, Rouvergne, Le Quercy, and Agen. Arnold was succeeded by Esperon and Joseph; and from these Gregory IX. denominated them Arnoldists, Esperonists, Josephists, and also Gazars, as all heretics are called, at this day, throughout Germany and the northern countries. The same persons are also called Puritans, a name given in England to such as lay claim to a purer doctrine. The same people are sometimes called Leonists; they are also styled the Poor of Lyons, Albigenses, and, in different quarters, from different causes, Tramontanes, Paterines, Lollards, Turelupins, and, lastly, Chaignards. As they carried divers faces, though their tails were tied together, as Pope Gregory IX. expresses it, because they inveighed too vehemently against the wealth, pride, and vices of the popes, and alienated the people from their obedience to them, Innocent III. used, at first, the spiritual sword against them, sending to the Albigenses twelve abbots of the Cistercian order, and after them Diego, bishop of Oxford, who carried with him that Dominic who afterwards founded the Dominican order. But, meeting with little success that way, he

* Mezerai, *Hist. of France*, tom. iii. p. 282, fo. 1651.

laid aside the spiritual sword, and drew the iron one, making Leopold VI., duke of Austria, for Germany, and Simon de Montfort, for France, commanders in the holy war, to whom many others joined themselves. Though, from that time, they were persecuted from place to place, yet, at intervals, there were some who frequently revived their doctrine, as Wickliffe, in England, and Huss and Jerome, of Prague, in Bohemia. And in our age, since the general reception of Luther's doctrine, their scattered remains began to reunite, and, with the increase of Luther's name, to gather strength and authority, especially in the regions of the Alps, and the adjacent provinces."*

I have submitted this abridged narrative to you, chiefly for the purpose of shewing how this learned historian connects these various classes of dissenters, though inhabiting different countries, and living in succeeding generations, as constituting one and the same body of reformers, from Peter Waldo to Martin Luther, inclusive. Though distinguished by different names, rising up and flourishing at different periods, and occupying different districts, they possessed one family likeness, were animated by one and the same spirit—an avowed and invincible opposition to the usurpations of the papal hierarchy, and the corruptions of the Romish church. There is nothing that has tended so much to mystify the subject and bewilder the reader of ecclesiastical history, as the want of a proper attention to this fact. From reading Mosheim, Dupin, Fleury, and other writers, persons are led to think of the Catharist, the Panlicians, the Arnoldists, Leonists, Paterines, Albigenses, Waldenses, and many others, as so many conflicting sects, maintaining contradictory sentiments, and waging a controversial war with each other—than which nothing can be more contrary to truth and fact.

A fountain may send forth streams of water flowing in different directions, and meandering in a thousand distinct rills and rivulets, but they will all be found to partake of the quality of the fountain from which they emanated. And so it is in the instance before us. There is one grand principle in which these various classes of dissidents were all agreed. They one and all had recourse to the New Testament, as the *only* accredited standard

* Thuani Hist. sui Temp., l. vi.

of divine truth and scriptural Christianity; and they admitted nothing as an article of either faith or duty for which they could not produce the authority of Christ or his inspired apostles. And thus they were "all baptized into one spirit"—had one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. They allowed none but Christ to legislate for them in matters of religion, and they all opposed the traditions of men, as things absolutely unlawful, however speciously introduced or powerfully sanctioned by popes, councils, or the kings of the earth. And this view of the matter will be found to correspond with what the Lord Jesus said of his own kingdom, in the days of his public ministry. "As the lightning that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven shineth unto the other part under heaven, so shall also the Son of Man be in his day."* Wherever he has his elect, there he sends his Gospel, and raises up instruments to publish it, as we have seen him doing, during the night of papal darkness, in the instance of Constantine Sylvanus, in Armenia; Claude of Turin, in the valleys of Piedmont; Peter de Bruys, Henry of Toulouse, Arnold of Brescia, Peter Waldo, and many others, in France and elsewhere, whom I need not specify. These men and their associates were all joint-labourers in the Lord's vineyard; they sowed and planted, and HE gave the increase. It is no objection to what has now been said, that during the forty and two months, or 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist, the Temple of God could not be measured by the rule of the divine word; or, that the holy city was trodden under foot of the Gentiles, according to prophetic intimation, Rev. xi. 1, 2, or as it is expressed in Dan. xii. 7, that the wicked one had succeeded in "scattering the power of the holy people." Though the primitive church order, discipline, and worship, were not conspicuous as before Antichrist arose, yet the witnesses prophesied in sackcloth, and the Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace, and, by means of it, conveyed into the hearts of his people the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins. It is among these sectaries that we find the mystical virgins of the Apocalypse—those who "kept the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus; loving not their lives unto the death;" Rev. ch. xiv.

* Luke, xvii. 24.

I have repeatedly mentioned the name of PATERINES, as one of the distinguishing titles by which these dissenters were then known; and I have, in a preceding Lecture, shewn its derivation, from the Latin word *pati*, "to suffer." It was nearly synonymous with our modern acceptation of the word "martyrs," and indicated "an afflicted and poor people trusting in the name of the Lord," as the prophet Zephaniah has it, chap. iii. 12. The appellation is said to have been first given to the dissenting party at Milan, where, according to some, it answered to the English words "vulgar," "illiterate," "low-bred;" and these people were so called because they were mostly mechanics, artificers, manufacturers, and others who lived of their honest labour. The title was in a great measure restricted to the dissenters of Italy, where it was as common as that of Albigenses in the south of France, or Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont. The late Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, has an extended article concerning these same Paterines in his History of the Church of Italy, from which I may be allowed to make an extract, for the whole is too long for my purpose:—

"It is remarkable," says he, "that, in the examinations of these people, [meaning, by the Romish clergy,] they are not taxed with any immoralities, but were condemned for virtuous rules of action, which all in power accounted heresies. They said a Christian church ought to consist of only good people;—that a church had no power to frame any constitutions, thereby implying that its only legitimate constitution was laid down in the New Testament. It was not right to take oaths, they said; it was not lawful to kill mankind; a man ought not to be delivered up to officers of justice to be converted. They maintained that the benefits of society belonged alike to all the members of it; that faith alone could not save a man; that the church ought not to persecute any, even the wicked, nor excommunicate [after the manner of the church of Rome]; that the law of Moses was no rule to Christians; that there was no need of priests, especially wicked ones; that the sacraments, and orders, and ceremonies of the church of Rome were futile, expensive, oppressive, and wicked; with many more such positions, all inimical to the papal hierarchy.

“As the catholics of those times baptized by immersion, the Paterines made no complaint of the mode of baptizing; but, when they were examined, they objected vehemently against the baptism of infants, and condemned it as an error. Among other things, they said that the child knew nothing of the matter; that he had no desire to be baptized, and was incapable of making any confession of faith; and that the willing and professing of another could be of no service to him. Persons maintaining these sentiments were found in Italy before the year 1026, which was five hundred years before the Reformation (by Luther)—persons who believed contrary to the opinions of the church of Rome, and who highly condemned their errors.* Atto, bishop of Vercelli, had complained of such people eighty years before, and so had others before him; and there is the highest reason to believe that they had always existed in Italy.†

“From the tenth to the thirteenth century the dissenters in

* See Dr. Allix's Remarks on the churches of Piedmont, ch. xi.

† The rage of the catholics for saints and relics is well known. Some cities of Italy, being little independent governments, and other cities, with adjacent monasteries and churches in surrounding states, were fired with mutual jealousy, on this account, more than other countries. Their thefts, murders, fictions, forgeries, and ways to obtain one another's relics would fill a volume. A rotten bit of Noah's ark—a hair of the beard of Aaron—a shred of the dress of the blessed Virgin Mary—a tooth or a toe-nail of a saint—a link of St. Peter's chain—a tip of a lance made of a nail of the cross of Christ, to all which miraculous cures were annexed, became objects of so much importance, that no crimes were unpractised to procure them. Without something of this kind, a monastery might as well close its doors at once, the fathers could not subsist; while possessing it, cathedrals and palaces might be erected and endowed. This frenzy began, in the fourth century, with observing the birth-days of the saints, and gradually rose to raving madness about the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. When the Italian gentry formed their cities into free states, they availed themselves of this popular piece of superstition for the sake of enriching and embellishing their cities; and they licensed frippery, as the mayor of a corporate town does pedlars and buffoons at a fair. The city of Florence took John the Baptist for their patron; and his festival, including the four preceding days, was a mine of wealth. Ravenna set up the glory of St. Apollinaris. Both these cities tacked horse-races to the festivals; so that to go to the races, and to go to be cured of diseases, and to go to worship God and his saints, was the same thing! The city of Modena took Geminiani for their saint; and his festival was accompanied with a fair three days before the festival, and three days after. The governors of Ferrara, and those of other cities, adopted similar measures. Business, friendship, pleasure, devotion, love, idleness, avarice, all went into the common stock. It was a kind of carnival, in which things professedly sacred and horribly profane were mingled

Italy continued to increase and multiply, for which several reasons may be assigned. The excessive wickedness of the court of Rome, and of the Italian prelates, was better known in Italy than in other countries. Besides which, there was no legal power in Italy in those times to put dissenters to death. Popular preachers in the church, such as Claude of Turin, and Arnold of Brescia, increased the number of dissenters, for their disciples went further than their masters. The adjacency of France and Spain, too, contributed to their increase, for both abounded with Christians of their sort. The [Paterine] churches were divided into sixteen compartments, such as the English Baptists would call associations; each of these was subdivided into parts, which would here be called churches or congregations. In Milan, there was a street called Pararia, where it is supposed they met for divine worship. At Modena they assembled at some water-mills. They had houses at Ferrara, Brescia, Viterbo, Verona, Vicenza, and several in Rimini, Romandiola, and other places. One of the principal churches was that at Concorezzo, in the Milanese; and the members of churches in this association were more than fifteen hundred. The houses where they met seem to have been hired by the people, and tenanted by one of the brethren: there were several in each city, and each was

together; but in all which the monkish ecclesiastics found their interest.— See Robinson's *Ecclesiastic Researches*, ch. xi.

So much for Italy. The reader may take the following anecdote as a specimen of the manner in which the game was played in Spain. I give it on the authority of Mr. Southey, our Poet Laureate.

“As St. Lorenzo Mendez was walking in the plain near Chaves, a town on the borders of Spain and Portugal, and meditating a sermon, he met an angel, who gave him a box of relics, telling him it had been saved from a Christian city which had that day fallen into the power of the Turks. This box contained the rod of Moses, the mantle of the infant Christ, the kerchief of our lady, the stone from which Christ ascended into heaven, and relics of forty-one different saints, without reckoning those of the innocents and the eleven thousand virgins. *That all these were authentic was never doubted!* Some dispute, indeed, arose concerning the city from which they came; but it was concluded that it must be in Europe, because two of the saints, whose relics were found in the box, had never been in any other quarter of the globe. The result was, that a monument was erected upon the spot where the saint met the angel; and that the whole collection was venerated with implicit faith at Guimareans, where very probably it may be found at this day, and in tolerable odour still!”—Quarterly Review, No. XII.

distinguished by a mark known only by themselves. In times of persecution, they met in small companies of eight, twenty, thirty, or as it happened; but never in large assemblies, for fear of the consequences.

“The Patarines were decent in their deportment, modest in their dress and discourse, and in their morals irreproachable. In their conversation there was no levity, no scurrility, no detraction, no falsehood, no swearing. Their dress was neither fine nor mean. They were chaste and temperate, never frequenting taverns nor places of public amusement. They were not given to anger, and other violent passions. They were not eager to accumulate wealth, but were content with the necessities of life. They avoided commerce, because they thought it would expose them to the temptation of collusion, falsehood, and oaths, chusing rather to live by labour or handicraft. They were always employed, in spare hours, either in giving or receiving instruction. Their bishops and deacons were mechanics, who maintained themselves by their industry.

“About the year 1040, the Paterines had become very numerous and conspicuous at Milan, which was their principal residence; and here they flourished at least two hundred years. They had no connexion with the church [of Rome], for they rejected, not only Jerome of Syria, Augustin of Africa, and Gregory of Rome, but Ambrose of Milan, also; considering them and all other pretended fathers as corruptors of Christianity. They particularly condemned Pope Sylvester, as the Antichrist, the son of perdition, mentioned by Paul, as sitting in the temple of God as god. They called the cross, ‘the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place,’ and they said that it was the mark of the beast. Nor had they any share in the state, for they took no oaths, and bore no arms. The state did not trouble them; but the clergy preached, prayed, and published books against them with unabating zeal. About the year 1176, Galdin de Sala, archbishop of Milan, an infirm old man, as he was preaching against them with great eagerness, dropped down in a fit, and expired as soon as he had received extreme unction. About fourteen years afterwards, one Bonacursus, who pretended he had been one of these Paterines, made a public renunciation of his

opinions, and embraced the catholic faith, and filled Milan with fables, as all renegades do. He published that cities, suburbs, towns, and castles, were full of those false prophets; that this was the time to suppress them; and that the prophet Jeremiah had directed the Milanese what to do, when he said, ‘Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.’

“In 1210, the Paterines had become so numerous, and the name so odious to the church, that the old Bishop of Ferrara obtained an edict for the suppression of them; but this extended only to the city of Ferrara. Five years afterwards, Pope Innocent III. held a council at the Lateran, which denounced anathemas against heretics of all descriptions, and against the lords and their bailiffs who suffered them to reside on their estates. In this council the Milanese were censured for sheltering the Paterines; but the Italian bishops in general were not of the intolerant cast of the court of Rome, or the Bishop of Ferrara; and it was not until 1220 that the policy of that sanguinary court extended over all Italy.

“The thirteenth century exhibited in Italy two objects that forcibly struck reflecting minds. One was the simple manners of the Paterines,* which appeared to great advantage in contrast

* An amusing anecdote is related concerning two persons of the sect of the Paterines, which deserves a brief mention. One of them, a female, of the name of Wilhelmina, died at Milan, in the year 1281, and her memory was held in such high veneration that she was buried in St. Peter’s church, at Milan; and, strange to say, the ignorant catholics, having witnessed the holiness of her life, resorted to her tomb to say their prayers! The monks of a monastery in the suburbs, observing which way trade was likely to run, obtained the body the year after its interment, raised a splendid tomb, lighted up lamps and torches, instituted three annual festivals, and chanted the miracles of St. Wilhelmina. The other, Arman Punzilupe, a man of eminence among the Paterines, a member of the church at Bagnolo, and an officer in it, of singular zeal, piety, and benevolence, died in 1269, and was buried in the cathedral. The populace, having known his excellent character, crowded to worship at his tomb; and the canons, with Albert, the bishop, entered, in due form, on a process towards the canonisation of Punzilupe. Inquisitions were made, and miracles wrought at his tomb were attested on oath. Punzilupe continued to be worshipped about twenty-four years, and Wilhelmina twenty. Whether some envious monks grudged their brethren such rich acquisitions, or whatever were the cause, in 1300 the inquisitors entered on new processes, and made out, with proof positive, that the two saints had lived and died incurable heretics! Accordingly their bones were taken up and burnt!

with the lives of their neighbours; the other was the predictions that had been uttered by one Joachim, abbot of the monastery of Flora, in Calabria, foretelling a reformation of the whole church as being then just at hand. This man published a book under the title of '*The Everlasting Gospel*,' which ran like wildfire. In the year 1250, another monkish production appeared, entitled '*AN INTRODUCTION to the Everlasting Gospel*.' According to this last production, the angel of the Apocalypse, flying in the midst of heaven to preach the everlasting Gospel (Rev. xi.), was to be St. Francis and his humble barefooted followers; and the year 1260 was fixed upon for the abrogation of the then gospel dispensation, and the introduction of a new state. The Old Testament, they said, had been the age of the Father; twelve hundred and sixty years was the age of the Son; and the succeeding time was to be the age of the Holy Ghost! Out of this mighty mass of absurdity and monastical devotion sprang up a number of sects in Italy, such as, the Fratricelli, the Bizoche, the followers of Sagarelli and Dulcinus, the party called Apostles, and others in different countries. The court of Rome lost no time in adopting measures for the destruction of these fanatics, to whom they applied the odious names of heretics, Gnostics, Paterines, Manichæans, Gazari, &c.; but the Paterines considered themselves as very unjustly treated in being mixed up with these new sectaries. The latter were altogether a different set of men, acting on a wild principle, which had never entered the minds of the Paterines, as their dissent from the church proved. The Paterines well knew that their discipline could not possibly be practised in the national church; they, therefore, withdrew, and let the church alone,—constantly avowing the sufficiency of Scripture, the competency of each individual to reform himself, the right of all to teach (in their proper sphere),

The Paterines treated with the utmost contempt the saintship of the church of Rome; and had they not known that the avarice of the clergy would have ruined them for withholding burying fees, they would rather have buried their dead in the fields than the churches, for they abhorred every part of the process. When Punsilupe beheld a procession of the preaching friars in the streets, he has been heard to say, "Here come these devils, a pack of ravenous wolves."—Robinson's *Eccles. Researches*, ch. xi.

and openly disclaiming all manner of coercion ; but these preposterous reformers foretold that the Emperor Frederic III. was to destroy the pope and wicked monks, and to set up a new and holy pontiff, and so to purify the church. They were, therefore, not dissenters, but a faction in the church ; and their folly appeared in attempting to purify the world on catholic principles, and in imagining that the cause of religion was to be promoted by imperial arms.

“ One of the leaders of these new sects, whose name was Dulcinus, published an Exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev. ii. and iii.); and the book clearly proves that they were catholics, and not Paterines. For instance, he says, ‘ The angel of the church of Ephesus was blessed Benedict, and the Benedictine monks were his church. The angel of Pergamos was blessed Pope Sylvester, and the clergy were his church. The angel of Sardis was blessed Francis, and the Franciscan friars were his church. The angel of Laodicea was blessed Dominic, and the preaching friars were his church. The angel of Smyrna was brother Gerard Sagarelli, of Parma, whom the wicked inquisitors committed to the flames in the year 1300. The angel of Thyatira was Dulcinus, of Novara. And the angel of Philadelphia was to be that holy pope whom the Emperor Frederic was to set over the church after he had put to death Boniface VIII., the then reigning pontiff.’ But so far were the Paterines from holding this kind of theology, that they held all the clergy in abhorrence, and said they were the *locusts* of the Apocalypse, which came out of the bottomless pit ; and, like a plague of noisome insects, darkened and tormented the world. Panzilupe, a leading man among the Paterines, [as mentioned in the note, p. 257,] was said to have been heard, more than a hundred times, to declare ‘ that the ministers of the [catholic] church were wicked men, deceivers of mankind, ravenous wolves, who persecute good men. The clergy,’ he said, ‘ would fain make me believe, that the sacramental wine is the blood of Christ ; but it is not long since that I saw the priest of St. Julian get drunk with it at the altar.’ Seeing a venerable old man, one day, burnt for heresy, Panzilupe, who stood by, exclaimed, ‘ What shocking work is this—to burn that good old

man ! the ground is too good to bear men that do such things ;' adding, ' that there could be no good in a church where their ministers were such demons, and where such barbarity was sanctioned.' **

But I now dismiss the subject of the Italian Paterines, of whom, I hope, enough has been said to shew the grounds of their dissent from the apostate church of Rome, their soundness in the faith, the number of their churches and members, the simplicity of their manners and deportment, and the noble testimony they continually bore against the corruptions of the established church, even in the worst of times. Their whole history shews them to be the worthy coadjutors of the Albigenses and Waldenses, with whom they were leagued in the same righteous cause, though living in a different country. I shall now close the present Lecture by submitting some account of a remarkable tract or treatise, that is said to have been written during the early part of the twelfth century, i. e. about forty years before Peter Waldo came forth to public view, and generally supposed to have been the production of Peter de Bruys. It bears internal evidence of having been composed for the express purpose of vindicating the writer and his friends for separating from the church of Rome. It bears date A. D. 1120, and is often referred to by the writers of Ecclesiastical History, and many other of our learned divines, such as Mede, and Hurd, and Milner, being remarkable for the age in which it is supposed to have been drawn up. It professes to be an Answer to the Question, WHAT IS ANTICHRIST ? which it thus proceeds to answer :—

“ANTICHRIST is a falsehood or deceit varnished over with the semblance of truth, and of the righteousness of Christ and his spouse (or church), yet in opposition to the way of truth, righteousness, faith, hope, charity, as well as moral life. It does not respect any one particular person ordained to any degree, or office, or ministry ; but it is a *system of falsehood*, opposing itself to the truth, covering and adorning itself with a show of beauty and piety, yet very unsuitable to the church of Christ, as, by the names and offices, the Scriptures and the sacraments and various other things may appear. The system of iniquity thus perfected,

* Ecclesiastical Researches, ch. xi. pp. 407—423.

with its officiating ministers, great and small, supported by those who are induced to follow it with an evil heart and blindfold—this is the congregation or composition of things, which, taken together, comprises what is called *Antichrist, or Babylon, the fourth beast, the whore, the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition*, (all of which are titles given to it in the holy Scriptures.) His ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, the ministers of darkness, the spirit of error, the apocalyptic whore, the mother of fornication, clouds without water, trees without leaves, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, wandering stars, Balaamites, and Egyptians.

“He is termed Antichrist, because, being disguised under the semblance of Christ and his church, he oppugns or opposes the salvation purchased by Christ, and truly administered in his own church, which salvation the faithful are made partakers of by faith, hope, and charity. Thus he counteracts the truth by the wisdom of this world, by false religion, by feigned holiness, by ecclesiastical power, secular tyranny, riches, honours, dignities, and the pleasures and allurements of the world.

“It is notorious, therefore, that Antichrist never could have been brought forth without a concurrence of all the things now mentioned, so as to form a system of hypocrisy and falsehood; that is to say, there must be a concurrence of the wise of this world, ecclesiastical orders, pharisees, ministers, and doctors; the secular power and the people of the world all mixed up together: all these combined make up the Man of Sin, and that wicked one complete. For, though Antichrist was conceived so long since as the times of the apostles, he was then only in his infancy, wanting members both inward and outward. Consequently he was the more easily detected, destroyed, and cast out of the churches, being then unshapen and wanting utterance. As yet, he was destitute of that plausible, imposing, judicial, or determinative wisdom which he afterwards attained; he wanted those hypocritical ministers, and human appointments, and the outward show of those religious orders which were necessary to give him perfection. As he was destitute of those riches and endowments necessary to allure persons to his service, and enable him to multiply, protect, and defend his adherents, so he also needed the

secular power to compel men to forsake the truth, and embrace a system of falsehood. Wanting these requisites, his deceitful practices had not their full effect—he was young and tender, and with difficulty got a footing in the churches. But growing up in his members, that is, in his blind and dissembling ministers, and in worldly subjects, he gradually arrived at maturity when men whose hearts were set upon this world, but blind in the faith, multiplied in the churches, and, by the union of church and state, got the power of both into their own hands.”

The author of the treatise then proceeds to describe the wicked conduct of this monstrous power, in usurping the prerogatives of Deity—making void the mediation of Christ, and practising the vilest impositions on men; assuming to himself the power of regeneration, of dispensing pardons, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit; covering himself with the cloak of authority and the word of God, thereby deceiving silly people, and drawing them off from the power of godliness—causing them to commit idolatry, by the worship of saints and relics; arrogating divine honour, and, by fictitious miracles, “coming with all manner of deceiveableness on those that perish.” It then adds, “Christ never had an enemy to be compared with this; one so able to pervert the way of truth into falsehood; insomuch, that the true church, with her children, is trodden under foot by it. The worship that pertains to God alone is transferred to Antichrist—to the creature, male and female, deceased—to images, carcasses, and relics. The sacrament of the eucharist is converted into an object of adoration, and the worshipping of God alone is prohibited. The Saviour is robbed of his merits, and the sufficiency of his grace in justification, regeneration, the pardon of sins, sanctification, establishment in the faith, and spiritual nourishment—ascribing all these things to his own authority—to a mere form of words—to the intercession of saints—and to the fire of purgatory. Thus people are seduced from Christ, their minds are drawn off from seeking those blessings in him, by a lively faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and teaching his followers to expect them by the will and pleasure and works of Antichrist.

“A third work of Antichrist consists in this, that he attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the mere external rite,

baptizing infants in that faith, teaching that thereby baptism and regeneration must be had, on which principle he confers and bestows orders, and, indeed, grounds all his Christianity, which is contrary to the mind of the Holy Spirit. He places all his religion and holiness in going to mass, in which he has mingled together all kinds of ceremonies, Jewish, Heathen, and Christian; and by means thereof, the people are deprived of spiritual food, seduced from the true religion and the precepts of God, and bolstered up with vain and presumptuous hopes. All his works are done to be seen of men, that he may glut himself with insatiable avarice; and to accomplish this, every thing is set to sale. He allows of open sins without ecclesiastical censure, and even the impenitent are not excommunicated. He does not rule nor maintain his unity by the sword of the Spirit, but by means of the secular power, using *that* to effect spiritual ends. He hates and persecutes, and searches after, and plunders, and destroys the members of Christ. These are some of the principal of the works of Antichrist against the truth, but the whole are past numbering or recording. These are the most prominent features of that monstrous power.

“On the other hand, he makes use of an outward confession of the faith, and therein is verified the words of the apostle—‘they profess in words that they know God, but in works they deny him.’ He covers his iniquity by pleading the length of his duration, and the multitude of his followers; concerning which it is said in the Apocalypse, that ‘power is given him over every tribe, language, and nation; and all that dwell upon the earth should worship him.’ He covers his iniquity by pleading the spiritual authority of the apostles, though the apostle expressly says, ‘we can do nothing against the truth;’ and, ‘there is no power given us for destruction.’ He boasts of numerous miracles, even as the apostle foretold—‘whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all miracles and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness.’ He has an outward show of holiness, consisting in prayers, fastings, watchings, and alms’ deeds; of which the apostle testified, when he said, ‘Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.’

“Thus it is that Antichrist covers his lying wickedness as with

a cloak or garment, that he may not be rejected as a pagan or infidel, and under which disguise he can go on practising his villainies boldly, like a harlot. But it is plain from both the Old and New Testaments, that Christians are bound by express command to separate themselves from Antichrist. [See Is. lii. 11, 12; Jer. l. 8; Num. xvi. 21, and ver. 6; Lev. xx. 24, 27; Exod. xxxiv. 12, 15; Lev. xv. 31; Ezek. ii.; Deut. xx.]

“In the New Testament we read that the Lord is come and hath suffered death, that he might gather together in one the children of God, (John xii.); and in the book of Revelation he warns by his voice, and charges his people to go out of Babylon, saying, ‘Come out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquity;’ Rev. xviii. 4, 5. The Apostle Paul says the same—‘Have no fellowship with unbelievers—come out from among them, and be ye separate, &c.’ 2 Cor. vi. 16.

“From what has been said, we may learn wherein consists the wickedness and perverseness of Antichrist, and that God commands his people to separate from him, and join themselves to the holy city, Jerusalem. And since it hath pleased God to make known these things to us by his servants, believing it to be his holy will according to the Scriptures, and admonished thereto by the command of the Lord, we do both inwardly and outwardly depart from Antichrist. We hold communion and maintain unity one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other motive thereto but to please the Lord, and seek the salvation of our souls. Thus, as the Lord is pleased to enable us, and so far as our understandings are enlightened into the path of duty, we attach ourselves unto the truth of Christ, and his church, how mean soever she may appear in the eyes of men.

“We, therefore, have thought it good to make this declaration of our reasons for departing from Antichrist, as well as to make known what kind of fellowship we have, to the end that, if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth to others, those that receive it may love it together with us. It is our wish also, that if others are not sufficiently enlightened, they may receive assistance from this service, the Lord succeeding it

by his blessing. While, on the other hand, if any have received more abundantly from him, and in a higher measure, we desire with all humility to be taught and better instructed, that so we may rectify whatever is amiss."

Having enumerated and confuted the various abominations of the Romish church, and shewn how they all tend to subvert the faith of Christ, and destroy the souls of men, the writer thus concludes:—"Be it known to all men in general, and to every one in particular, that these are the reasons of our separation—to wit: it is for the truth's sake which we believe—for the knowledge which we have of the only true God, and the unity of the divine essence in three persons, a knowledge which flesh and blood cannot communicate—it is for the worship due to that only true God—for the love we owe him above all things—for the sanctification and honour which are due to him supremely and above every name—for the lively hopes which we have in God through Christ—for the sake of the blessing of regeneration and the renewing of our minds by faith, hope, and charity—for the worthiness of Jesus Christ and the all-sufficiency of his grace and righteousness—for the communion of saints—the remission of sins—an holy conversation—for the sake of a faithful adherence to all things whatsoever Christ hath commanded—true repentance—final perseverance—and eternal life."

I have now given you the substance of this remarkable tract on Antichrist, and, in judging of it, you must not lose sight of the time when it was written. It was not in an age of light and knowledge, but in the very darkest age of popery, when ignorance and superstition sat enthroned over the whole of Europe—when, in the emphatic language of Scripture, "all the world wondered after the beast"—and the woman, or true church, was compelled to "fly into the wilderness, there to be nourished from the face of the serpent, who cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood,"—that is, totally destroyed by persecution; Rev. xii. The writing of this treatise at such a time, and under such circumstances, is one proof among many, that the Lord never left himself without witnesses on the earth; that he was faithful to his promise of being "with his church alway, even to the end of the world"—

though, according to prophetic intimation, those witnesses prophesied clothed in sackcloth; Rev. xi. 3. We learn also from this treatise that the writer was not a solitary individual, standing alone like the prophet in Israel, contending for the truth of God, and the purity of his worship—but, that he had many others associated with him, on whose behalf he pleads—persons who had separated themselves from all religious fellowship with the apostate church of Rome, against whose corruptions and numerous abominations they protested, with their lives in their hands, and in ten thousand instances sealing their testimony with their blood. These you will trace among the Cathari, or Gazari, in Germany; the disciples of Claude of Turin, in Piedmont; the Paterines, in Italy; the Petrobrusians and Henricians, in France; the Leonists, or “Poor of Lyons,” who received the truth by the teaching of Peter Waldo, and whom you will trace in various countries—France, Germany, the Netherlands, and into the heart of Bohemia; but especially among the Albigenses and Waldenses, on whose interesting narrative we must next enter.

LECTURE XLI.

Persecution a prominent feature in the prophetic character of Antichrist, verified in the Conduct of the Romish Church towards the Albigenses and Waldenses—History of the ALBIGENSES, the subject of the present Lecture—Derivation of the Name—Description of the Country and its Inhabitants—Determination of Pope Innocent III. to exterminate the Albigensian Heretics—First Crusade against them, A.D. 1207 to 1209.

ALL who have paid attention to the prophecies which relate to the antichristian apostacy must be aware, that one of the most prominent features in the character of that monstrous power, which was to arise in the latter days, or under the Gospel dispensation, is that of PERSECUTION. Thus, for instance, it appeared in vision to the prophet Daniel, under the emblem of a little horn, springing up among ten greater ones, and differing from them all, inasmuch as “it had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows; and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;” and, it is added, “he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time;” Dan. vii. 21, 25. The writer of the Apocalypse refers to the very same subject, when he says, “I saw the woman”—Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots—“drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the

martyrs of Jesus;" Rev. xvii. 6. The Lectures already delivered have furnished many proofs of the persecuting spirit of the Romish church; but we are now arrived at that period in her history when we shall contemplate her as luxuriating in the wantonness of intoxication, and glutting herself with the blood of the followers of Christ. All that we have yet seen of her sanguinary exploits is as nothing, when compared with those scenes of slaughter and devastation on the recital of which we are now about to enter.

The ALBIGENSES, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, were a very numerous body of protestant dissenters, deriving their appellation, not from any one particular leader or teacher, but from the country which they inhabited. They were so called from the province of Albi and Toulouse, in the south of France, one of the most delightful districts under heaven, and the favourite resort of valetudinarians from our less salubrious clime. To account for the prodigious increase of dissenters from the church of Rome, at that period, and in that quarter, you have only to call to recollection what has been said of the deplorably corrupt state at which it had arrived, and the many able ministers whom it had pleased God to raise up in France and Italy during the twelfth century, to stem the torrent of that corruption, such as Peter de Bruys, Henry of Toulouse, Arnold of Brescia, Peter Waldo of Lyons, and many others, by means of whom the middle and southern parts of France had been completely evangelized, and the great mass of the inhabitants were ripe for reformation.

Our ecclesiastical historians, from Mosheim to Henry Hallam, have perplexed themselves, and not less their readers, by attempts to distinguish nicely, and point out shades of difference, between the Cathari, or Gazari, in Germany, the Paterines in Italy, the followers of Peter de Bruys, of Henry, and of Arnold of Brescia, the "Poor of Lyons," the Albigenses, and Waldenses, as though they were so many separate bodies, holding discordant doctrinal sentiments, and at variance with each other. But all this is futile, and destitute of any solid foundation, as I have shewn in former Lectures. The sect or class of Albigenses, whose history we are about to enter upon, included Christians of each of these

denominations, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, might have taken up their residence in the south of France. In proof of the justness of what has now been said respecting the confusion that pervades the pages of our best historians on this particular subject, I shall adduce a short extract from Mr. Hallam's History of the Middle Ages. Thus he writes:—

“ Though the derivation of the Albigenses from the Paulicians of Bulgaria is sufficiently proved, it is by no means to be concluded, that all who incurred the same imputation either derived their faith from the same country, or had adopted the Manichæan theory of the Paulicians.* From the very invectives of their enemies, and the acts of the inquisition, it is manifest that almost every shade of heterodoxy was found among these dissidents, till it vanished in a simple protestation against the wealth and tyranny of the clergy. Those who were absolutely free from any taint of Manichæism are properly called Waldenses—a name perpetually confounded, in later times, with that of Albigenses, but distinguishing a sect probably of separate origin, and at least of *different tenets* (!). I am not sure whether the existence of the Waldenses can be traced beyond the preaching of Peter Waldo; but it is well known that the proper seat of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, has long continued to be in certain valleys of Piedmont. These pious and innocent sectaries, of whom the very monkish historians speak well, had ministers of their own appointment, and denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishment. In other respects their opinions probably were not far removed from those usually called protestant.

“ I have already had occasion to relate the severe persecution which nearly exterminated the Albigenses of Languedoc, at the close of the twelfth century [rather the beginning of the thirteenth, A. D. 1207 to 1242.—*Auth.*], and involved the Counts of Toulouse in their ruin. The Catharists, a fraternity of the same Paulician origin, more dispersed than the Albigenses, had previously sustained a similar trial. Their belief was certainly a compound of strange errors with truth;† but it was attended by

* I hope it has been made sufficiently to appear, that the Paulicians never held that system. See Lect. xxxix.—*Author's Note.*

† No doubt, if, like Mr. H., we are to credit all that their catholic calumniators

qualities of a far superior lustre to orthodoxy, by a sincerity, a piety, and a self-devotion that almost purified the age in which they lived;" pp. 466—469.

Here now is the inconsistency of which I complain in our author. How is it that he can overlook the fact, that this "sincerity, and piety, and self-devotion," was the native effect of the orthodox doctrinal sentiments which they held—that it was the truth concerning Christ and his salvation, understood through divine teaching, believed as the testimony of God, and engaging the affections, that was the source of this moral purity, and nothing else; and that the reception of this truth or heavenly doctrine into the heart, is utterly incompatible with the maintenance of the tenets of the Manichees? "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place both sweet water and bitter?" saith an apostle. "Can the fig-tree bear olive berries? or a vine, figs? So can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh." With equal truth and certainty may it be affirmed, that the impious tenets of the Manichees, and "the truth as it is in Jesus," which these dissenters so strenuously contended for, cannot co-exist in the same mind. "Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit; wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them."

"It is always important to perceive," says Mr. Hallam, "that these high moral excellencies have no necessary connexion with speculative truths; and upon this account I have been more disposed to state explicitly the *real Manichæism* of the Albigenses, especially as protestant writers, considering all the enemies of Rome as their friends, have been apt to place the opinions of these sectaries in a very false light."—A very *false light*!

Mr. H. speaks of "*speculative truths*" which have no connexion with moral excellence or purity of conduct. I know of no revealed truth that can be justly regarded as a matter of mere speculation. Every doctrine of the Gospel has a practical tendency—it has an immediate bearing upon the heart and affections, and must influence them in proportion as it is understood and believed. This is the *scriptural* account of the matter; how

have charged them with; but, as respects this matter, I have not yet met with one assertion which would stand the test of investigation, or rigid scrutiny.—*Author.*

far it may satisfy Mr. Hallam I am not solicitous to know, and am content to leave it.

Mr. Hallam is not singular, even among our modern historians, in imputing Manichæan tenets to the Albigenses. The late William Gifford, Esq., the biographer of Mr. Pitt, published a *History of France*—London, 1791, in five quarto volumes—and, according to his account of the matter, “The Albigenses believed in two gods—one a beneficent being, author of the New Testament, who had two wives, Collant and Collibant, and was father of several children, and, among others, of Christ and the devil. The other god was a malevolent being, a liar, and a destroyer of men, author of the ancient law, who, not content with having persecuted the patriarchs during their lives, had consigned them all to damnation after their death. They also acknowledged two Christs—one wicked, who was born at Bethlehem, and crucified at Jerusalem, and who kept, as his concubine, Mary Magdalene, the woman so well known for having been caught in the act of adultery; the other Christ all virtuous and invisible, who never inhabited the world, but spiritually in the body of Paul. They represented the church of Rome as the scarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations. They regarded the sacraments as frivolous things; considered marriage as a state of prostitution; the Lord’s Supper as a chimera; the resurrection of the flesh as a ridiculous fable; and the worship of images as detestable idolatry. They were divided into two classes—the Perfects and the Believers. They all openly professed great purity of manners, and secretly practised the most infamous voluptuousness, on the principle that, from the waist downwards, man is incapable of sin.”*

Such is this author’s disgusting picture of the Albigenses; and, for its malignity and grossness, it may be fairly said to out-herod Herod! Yet we cannot say that the *whole* is false,—there are two grains of truth dexterously enough mixed up with a mass of falsehood. The Albigenses did indeed insist that “the church of Rome was the scarlet whore mentioned in the Apocalypse;” and also, “that the worship of images was detestable idolatry.” This was the head and front of their offending; all the rest is mere carica-

* *History of France*, vol. i. p. 412.

ture,—the pure invention of the monks and priests of the catholic church. But what shall we say of Mr. Gifford, who, in the present age of the world, could allow himself to be cajoled and imposed upon by such authorities, not only to give credit to such monstrous tales, but also to present them to his readers for the truth of history? It surely betrays a degree of credulousness and imbecility of judgment which, happily, has few parallels in this enlightened age. The charge of Manichæism, as preferred by the chastened pen of Mr. Hallam, when brought into comparison with Mr. Gifford's ribaldry, dwindles almost into insignificance. The latter is Manichæism double distilled, refined, and sublimated by the genius of the catholic priesthood. But I take leave of it, by reminding my reader of the words of the Saviour: "Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil against you *falsely*, for my name's sake;" Matt. v.

I cannot help, now that the subject is before me, contrasting with the foregoing representation of the Albigenes, the view that is given of their character and moral conduct by Mr. David Hume, in his valuable History of England. Sceptic as he was, and, on every occasion when the subject of religion was before him, too much addicted to indulge his propensity to laugh at the fanatics, he had, nevertheless, too much good sense and sound judgment to be the dupe of monkish ignorance or papal slander. He consequently thus describes these sectaries:—"Pope Innocent III.," says he, "published a crusade against the Albigenes, a species of enthusiasts in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics, [not because they were Manichæans, but] because, like all other enthusiasts, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy. And these sectaries, though *the most innocent and inoffensive of mankind*, were exterminated, with all the circumstances of extreme violence and barbarity."*

But Mr. Hallam considers them to have been *real* Manichæans. If so, they believed in the existence of two first causes, in flat opposition to both the Old and New Testaments, which declare that "there is only one living and true God."† Again, they regarded the God of the Old Testament as a malignant being, and consi-

* Hume's History of England, vol. ii. ch. 11.

† Deut. vi. 4; Neh. ix. 6.

dered the Mosaic law as proceeding from the devil,—that law which the Psalmist declares to be “perfect, converting the soul, rejoicing the heart, enlightening the eyes, the source of all purity, truth, and righteousness; more to be desired than gold, and sweeter to his soul than honey to his taste.”* Now, the worship of God is a moral duty, and the Albigenses regarded it as such; but admit them to have held these horrible opinions respecting the Creator of the world, and of the author of Moses’ law, with other tenets equally impious and unscriptural, and what becomes of their sincerity, piety, and devotion? It must all vanish as the mist before the rising sun! If, with Mr. Hallam, I could believe the Albigenses to have been *real* Manichæans, I should never think of troubling the world with their history; but it is because I have the fullest confidence that they were people of a very different stamp—that their character was maligned by their adversaries, and is unhappily mistaken and misrepresented by Mr. Hallam—that I am anxious to exonerate them from the foul imputation. But, having offered these preliminary observations, I now proceed with the subject.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the provinces of Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia, and all the surrounding countries, comprising the whole of the south of France, with the mountains of the Pyrenees and a part of Spain, were peopled with an industrious and intelligent race of men, addicted to commerce and the arts, but generally cultivating religious opinions exceedingly hostile to those of the church of Rome. The country of Languedoc was subject to the Counts of Toulouse, and had been unconnected beyond any other part of France with the reigning family, the kings of the house of Capet. Louis VII. having married the sister to the reigning count, began to exercise some authority, chiefly in confirming the rights of ecclesiastical bodies; but the remoteness of their situation, with a difference in language and legal usages, still kept the people of this province apart from those of the north of France. The whole of the district above-mentioned abounded with Christians who dissented from the church of Rome, and bore a uniform testimony against its cor-

* Psal. xix. and cxix. *passim*.

ruptions and the vicious lives of its clergy. Of the fertility of the country, and its immense population, the writers of that age speak in high terms; and some estimate may be formed of the number of dissenters from the following fact. The author of the great Belgian Chronicle, from Cæsarius, A.D. 1208, after enumerating what he calls the errors of the Albigensian Manichæans, thus proceeds—"The error of the Albigenses prevailed to that degree, that it had infested as much as *a thousand cities*; and if it had not been repressed by the swords of the faithful, I think that it would have corrupted the whole of Europe."

Reinier, an inquisitor belonging to the church of Rome, who lived during the thirteenth century, testifies that the progress of these dissenters was both rapid and extensive, insomuch that, in his time, there was no country free from them; and he assigns the following causes of their increase:—1. Vain-glory—they wishing to be honoured like the catholic doctors. 2. Their great zeal, since all of them, men and women, by night and by day, never cease from teaching and learning. He adds, what merits particular notice—that, amongst their first instructions, they taught their disciples to shun slanders and oaths. 3. Because they translated the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongues, and spake and taught according to them. He adds, "I have heard and seen a certain unlearned rustic, who recited the book of Job word by word, and many who perfectly knew the New Testament." 4. Because they communicated their instruction in secret places and times, nor permitted any to be present except believers. 5. The scandal arising from the bad example of certain catholics. 6. The insufficient teaching of others, who preach sometimes frivolously and sometimes falsely. "Hence, whatever a doctor of the church teaches," says he, "which he does not prove from the New Testament, they consider it as entirely fabulous, contrary to the authority of the church." 7. The want of reverence with which certain ministers perform the sacrament. 8. The hatred which they have against the church. "I have heard from the mouth of the heretics," says he, "that they wished to reduce the clergy and monks to the state of labourers, by taking away their tithes and possessions." He

afterwards adds, that "in all the cities of Lombardy, and in Provence, and in other kingdoms and nations, there were more schools of heretics than of theologians, and more auditors. They disputed publicly, and summoned the people to those solemn disputations, besides preaching in the markets, the fields, and the houses," &c. He adds, "I have been frequently present at the inquisition and examination of the heretics; and their schools are reckoned, in the diocese of Pavia alone, to amount to forty-one." Such is the way in which this inquisitor accounts for the increase of these dissenters, on which I shall not stop to comment, though some parts of the statement would seem to require it.

The Albigenses were all agreed in regarding the church of Rome as an apostate church, which had absolutely perverted Christianity, and in maintaining her to be "Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots," spoken of in the Apocalypse. They were too enlightened not to feel contempt for the vices of the clergy; and so general was this contempt, that expressions the most offensive to that race of ecclesiastics were become proverbial. "*I would sooner be a priest than have done such a thing!*" was a common saying among them, and tantamount to an imprecation. And as to the rites of the church, they rejected her sacraments of confirmation, of confession, and marriage, as vain and frivolous; the exposure of images in the churches, they branded as idolatrous; and they named the bells, which summoned the people to the adoration of these images, trumpets of demons! Their teachers were contented with a black coat, instead of the pompous vestments of the catholic clergy. They received members into their churches, after baptism, by prayer, with imposition of hands and the kiss of charity. Whilst their enemies endeavoured to blacken their reputation, by charging them, in their teaching, with permitting the most licentious manners, and with practising in secret all kinds of disorders, they were compelled to acknowledge that, in appearance, they observed an irreproachable chastity; that, in their abstinence from animal food, their rigour exceeded that of the severest monks; that such was their regard for truth, they allowed on no occasion any excuse for falsehood; that, in a word, their

charity always prepared them to devote themselves to the welfare of others.* This is the testimony borne to the character of the Albigenses by the very persons who consented to their extermination, and that by the most frightful torments, and who at the same time allow, that persons holding similar sentiments, and manifesting a corresponding character, had existed in Gaul from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity. The opinions of the Albigenses were the opinions of the Cathari, or Puritans—the opinions of the Paulicians—the opinions of the Paterines—and, as we shall hereafter find, the opinions of the Waldenses also.†

Innocent III., who ascended the pontifical throne A.D. 1192, (and of whose character and exploits I had occasion to speak oftener than once when lecturing on the affairs of the church of England,‡)—a man whose genius at once embraced and governed the universe, felt the importance of erecting a barrier against the further progress of dissent in this quarter, which had already degenerated into revolt. He judged that the church ought to keep no measures with these sectaries; and that, if it did not crush them, if it did not exterminate their race, and strike Christendom with terror, their example would soon be followed; and that the fermentation of mind which was everywhere manifest, would shortly produce a conflagration throughout the whole of Europe. As incapable of temporizing as he was of pity, the pope formed his plans without delay, and this lovely and delightful region, in a state of such growing prosperity, was delivered to the fury of countless hordes of fanatics; its cities were ruined; its population consumed by the sword; its commerce destroyed; and the lamp of heavenly light, which

* Petri Vallis, Cern. Hist. Alb. tom. v. fol. 556, &c.

† The history of the crusades against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century has lately been presented to the public by M. De Sismondi, in his *History of France*, with a degree of perspicuity, precision, and elegance hitherto unequalled. I, therefore, without hesitation, avail myself of so much of the narrative as suits the purposes of my Lectures, cheerfully avowing my obligations; and requesting the reader to keep in mind, that the authorities referred to at the foot of the page are those of the learned historian.

‡ See Lect. xxxii.

had shone so resplendently throughout the whole region, totally extinguished.

Some notice has already been taken of certain measures that were adopted against the numerous dissenters in the southern parts of France and Spain;* but as those were found wholly inefficacious, others were now resorted to. The court of Rome, in the year 1193, despatched two of its legates into that quarter, with instructions to stimulate the clergy to greater diligence, to watch the conduct of the nobles, and on the detection of any heretics, to demand the most summary proceedings against them. The pope himself, as if he had no other occupation, watched over the enterprise, enjoining his legates to transmit him, by letter, the fullest information they could procure, that thus, being sufficiently informed, he might the better know how to proceed.

The instructions given to these legates, Guy and Reinier, were of the most sanguinary complexion. Instead of making converts of the heretics, their orders were to burn the leaders, disperse the flocks, and confiscate the property of all who dared to think differently from the church of Rome. At first he required of those provinces where the efforts of the legates had been least successful, to give the example of persecution; and, in reality, many of the leading persons among the Albigenses perished in the flames, at Nevers, in 1198, and the following years.† He also addressed letters to the then King of France, Philip Augustus, reminding him that it was his duty to take up arms against the heretics, and to use all his power to suppress them; that, by thus labouring to stem the progress of heresy, he might purge himself from all suspicion of being tainted therewith in his own person. There were, however, a certain number of lords and high barons who had themselves adopted the opinions of the Albigenses, and who, instead of consenting to persecute, protected the Albigensian sectaries. Others regarded them in the light of industrious vassals, whom they could not destroy without affecting their own revenues and power. To

* See Lect. xxxix. towards the end.

† Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. p. 190.

counteract this brutal avarice, his holiness determined to arm a present interest against this calculating economy of the barons. He surrendered to them the confiscation of all the property of the heretics, and exhorted them to take possession of it, after they had banished those whom they had plundered, and threatened them with death, if they returned to their homes. He, at the same time, laid under an anathema such of the lords and barons as should refuse to seize upon the heretics, and placed their dominions under an interdict.*

The mission of the pope's commissaries or legates was not limited to scrutinizing the consciences of the heretics, confiscating their property, banishing or sending them to the stake: they traversed the country, accompanied by a number of friars, who arrived successively to their aid. The more immediate theatre of their present labours was the four provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, and Narbonne; the four archbishops and all the bishops of which were commanded to execute scrupulously the orders of brother Reinier, the pope's legate. But the latter having fallen sick, his holiness joined to him Peter of Castlenau, archdeacon of Maquellonne, whose zeal, more furious than his predecessor's, was worthy of those sentiments which the very name of the inquisition inspires.

As the legate and his monkish associates traversed the country they had one favourite text: viz., Psalm xciv. 16—"Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" And the sermon was almost as uniform as the text: for we are told it generally concluded thus—"You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and how much mischief they do in the world. You see also how tenderly, and by what pious methods the church labours to reclaim them. But with them they all prove ineffectual, and they fly to the secular power for their defence. Therefore our holy mother, the church, though with great reluctance and grief, calls together against them the Christian army. If, then, you have any zeal for the faith—if you are touched with any concern for the honour of God—if you

* Innocenti III. Epist. lib. i. epist. 81, 82, 95, 165. Raynaldi, Ann. 1196, § 36, &c.

would reap the benefit of this great indulgence, come and receive the sign of the cross, and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour."

In this way they preached against those who had wandered from the faith; and, when the lord of the soil happened to favour the dissenters, not being able to employ force, they challenged them to public disputations. They caused judges of these intellectual combats to be named beforehand; and if we will take their own word for it, they always came off victorious. Accustomed to the subtleties of the schools, the monkish inquisitors pressed their adversaries with captious questions, or unlooked-for conclusions, and sometimes led them to absurd declarations. The Bishop of Osma, and his companion Dominic, under prior of his cathedral, and afterwards founder of the inquisition, who about the year 1204 were stationed in the province of Narbonne, to preach against the heretics, had much success in this kind of disputation; and when they had vanquished them, according to all the scholastic rules, they would say to the inhabitants of the places where they had met with them, "Why do you not drive them out? Why do you not exterminate them?" "We cannot," was their reply to the Bishop of Osma: "we have been brought up with them, we have relatives among them, and we are spectators of their exemplary conduct."*

The work of persecution, however, went on but slowly at the beginning. The inquisitors, by their arrogance, offended all classes of society, and raised up against themselves a cloud of enemies. Some bishops they accused of simony, others of negligence in the fulfilment of their duties; and under such pretences they deposed the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Bishops of Toulouse and Viviers. They offended also most of the regular clergy, and at the same time tormented the Count of Toulouse, and all the lords of the country, by accusations perpetually reiterated. Thus they deprived themselves of the means of kindling so many fires as they could have desired.

Raymond VI., the reigning count of Toulouse, was in the spring of the year 1207 on the borders of the Rhone, engaged in a war against the barons of Raux, and other lords of those

* Gulielmi Pod. Laurentii, cap. viii. p. 672.

countries, when the pope's legate, Peter of Castlenau, undertook to make peace between them. He first made application to the barons, and obtained their promise, that if Raymond VI. would acquiesce in their pretensions, they would employ all their concentrated forces in the extermination of the heretics. After settling matters with them in the form of a treaty, the legate repaired to the Count of Toulouse and required him to sign it. But the latter was no way inclined to purchase, by the renunciation of his rights, the entrance into his states of a hostile army, who were to pillage or put to death all those of his vassals whom the Romish clergy should fix upon as the victims of their cruelty. He therefore refused his consent; and Peter of Castlenau, in his wrath, excommunicated him, laid his country under an interdict, and wrote to the pope to ratify what he had done.*

Few things could be more grateful to his holiness than what had now taken place. He appears to have sought for an opportunity to commence hostilities, being well aware that his agents were insufficient to destroy such a formidable phalanx of heresy by ordinary means. To confirm the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his legate, he wrote to Count Raymond with his own hand, on the 29th of May, 1207, and thus his letter commenced:—"If we could open your heart we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the swords of salvation; we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?"

... . .†
 Terrified by the fulminations of the Vatican, Count Raymond saw no alternative but to sign the peace with his enemies, which he accordingly did, engaging to exterminate the heretics from his

* *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi. ch. xxvii. p. 146. *Hist. Albig.* cap. iii. p. 559. *Innocentii Epist.* lib. x. ep. 69.

† *Innocentii III.* lib. x. ep. 69. *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, liv. xxi. ch. xxxiii. p. 150.

territories. Peter of Castlenau, however, very soon judged that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal; he therefore went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his negligence, which he termed baseness, treated him as a perjured person, as a favourer of heretics and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where the count had given a meeting to the two legates.

Raymond was excessively provoked, and threatened to make Castlenau pay for his insolence with his life. They parted without a reconciliation, and came to sleep, on the night of the 14th January, 1208, at a little inn on the bank of the Rhone, which river they intended to pass on the next day. One of Count Raymond's friends either followed them or accidentally met them there; and on the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter of Castlenau respecting heresy and its punishment. The legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of toleration, and the gentleman, irritated by his language not less than by the quarrel with his lord, drew his poignard, struck the legate in his side, and killed him.* The intelligence of this murder roused the pope to the highest pitch of fury. He instantly published a bull, addressed to all the counts, barons, and knights of the four provinces of the southern part of France, in which he declared that it was the devil who had instigated the Count of Toulouse against the holy see. He laid under an interdict all places which should afford a refuge to the murderers of Castlenau; he demanded that Raymond of Toulouse should be publicly anathematized in all churches, adding, that "as following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God, or who are separated from the communion of the faithful: we discharge, by apostolic authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this count by any oath either of allegiance or fidelity; we permit every catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy.†

* Petri Vallis, Cern. cap. viii. p. 563.

† Idem. p. 564.

This first bull was speedily followed by other letters equally fulminating, addressed to all who were capable of assisting in the destruction of the Count of Toulouse. In particular, the pope wrote to the King of France, Philip Augustus, exhorting him to carry on in person this *sacred* war of extermination against heretics. "We exhort you," said his holiness, "that you would endeavour to destroy that wicked heresy of the Albigenses, and to do this with more vigour than you would towards the Saracens themselves: persecute them with a strong hand; deprive them of their lands and possessions: banish them, and put Roman catholics in their room." The legates and monks, at the same time, received powers from Rome to publish a crusade among the people, offering to those who should engage in this holy war of plunder and extermination against the Albigenses, the utmost extent of indulgence which his predecessors had ever granted to those who laboured for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The people from all parts of Europe hastened to enrol themselves in this new army, actuated by superstition and their passion for wars and adventures. They were immediately placed under the protection of the holy see, freed from the payment of the interest of their debts, and exempted from the jurisdiction of all tribunals; whilst the war which they were to carry on, almost at their own doors, and that without danger or expense, was to expiate all the vices and crimes of a whole life.

Transported with joy, these infatuated and deluded mortals received the pardons and indulgences offered them, and so much the more readily that, far from regarding the task in which they were to be engaged as painful or dangerous, they would willingly have undertaken it for the pleasure alone of doing it. War was their passion, and pity for the vanquished had never disturbed their repose. In this holy war they could, without remorse, as well as without restraint from their officers, pillage all the property, massacre all the men, and abuse the women and children. Never before had there been so popular a crusade! Arnold Amalric, the abbot of Citeaux, distinguished himself, with his whole congregation, by his zeal in preaching up this war of extermination; and the convents of his order, which was that of the Bernardines, of which there were seven or eight hundred in France,

Italy, and Germany, appropriated the crusade against the Albigenses as their special province. In the name of the pope and of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they promised, to all who should lose their lives in this holy expedition, plenary absolution of all sins committed from the day of their birth to that of their death.

But whilst the Bernardins were recruiting soldiers for the cross, Pope Innocent III. appointed a new congregation, at the head of which he placed St. Dominic, to go on foot, two by two, through the villages, to preach the catholic faith, or tenets of the church of Rome, in the midst of the Albigensian heretics, but secretly with the view of obtaining exact information as to the number and dwellings of the heretics, in order to burn them when the opportunity should arrive. In this way began the order of the preaching brethren of St. Dominic, or the inquisitors.

The crusaders were not ready to march during the year 1208, but their immense preparations resounded throughout Europe, and filled the country of the Albigenses with terror. It was well known to be marked out as the destined object of papal vengeance and extermination, as being more particularly the focus of heresy; more especially the states of Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, and those of his nephew, Raymond Roger, who took the title of Viscount of Albi, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Limoux in Rasez. The uncle and the nephew were men of different casts of character. Raymond of Toulouse had been a soldier of some distinction, yet he was mild, timid, feeble, desirous of saving his subjects from persecution, confiscations, and punishments, but still more of saving himself from the thunders of the church. His nephew, Roger, on the contrary, was generous, lofty, and impetuous. These two princes, alarmed at the storm that was gathering over their heads, waited on Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, the leader of the crusade, being desirous, if possible, to avert the impending evil. The haughty abbot received them with extreme insolence, declared that he could do nothing for them, and that if they wished to obtain any mitigation of the measures adopted against them, they must address themselves to the pope. Raymond Roger instantly perceived that nothing was to be expected from negotiation, and that there remained no alternative but to fortify all their principal towns, and prepare valiantly for their defence.

His uncle, Raymond VI., overwhelmed with terror, declared himself ready to submit to any thing; to be himself the executor of the violence of the papal party against his own subjects; and to make war against his family rather than draw the crusaders into his states. This placed the uncle and nephew at complete issue as to the conduct to be pursued, and they separated with mutual reproaches. Raymond Roger retired into his states, and immediately put himself into a defensive condition; whilst Raymond VI. set himself, without delay, to engage the principal clergy of his dominions to offer his submission to the pope and receive his indulgence.*

Ambassadors from Raymond to the pope were received with apparent indulgence. It was required of them that their master should make common cause with the crusaders; that he should assist them in exterminating the heretics; and that he should surrender to them seven of his principal castles, as a pledge of his sincerity. On these conditions the pope not only gave Count Raymond the hope of absolution, but promised him his entire favour.† All this, however, was hollow and deceitful; Pope Innocent was far from pardoning Raymond in his heart, for, at the moment of promising this, he wrote to the ecclesiastics who were conducting the crusade, thus: "We counsel you, with the apostle Paul, to employ guile with regard to this count, for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack separately those who are separated from unity: leave for a time the Count of Toulouse, employing towards him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone."‡ Such are the sacrilegious applications which this lordly pontiff could make of the Scriptures.

In the spring of the year 1209, the crusading army began to be put in motion; the campaign was limited to forty days. Some authors have computed it at three, and others at five hundred thousand men; and this immense body precipitated themselves upon Languedoc. When Count Raymond learned that these

* Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. ch. xlii. p. 157.

† Petri. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xi. p. 567.

‡ Innocentii III. Epist. lib. xi. ep. 232.

terrible bands of fanatics were about to move, and that they were all directed towards his states, he was struck with terror, for he had placed himself in their power. He now sought to ingratiate himself with his subjects, by granting new privileges to some, and pardoning the offences of others who had incurred his resentment ; on the other hand, he consented to purchase his absolution from the hands of the pope's legate, by the most humiliating concessions. He suffered himself to be conducted into the church of St. Gilles, on the 18th of June, with a cord about his neck, and his shoulders naked, and there received the discipline around the altar ; after which he was allowed to take the cross against the heretics, and, as a matter of favour, he was permitted to join those who were about to attack his nephew, himself becoming their guide for that purpose.*

The Viscount of Beziers, too, according to the ancient chronicle of Toulouse, applied to the pope's legate in order to make his peace, and offered some humiliating concessions, but the only reply he could obtain was, to defend himself to the best of his means, for he could shew him no mercy. He consequently thought only of making a vigorous resistance ; and, calling to him all his vassals, all his friends and allies, he communicated to them all the offers which he had made, informing them also of the manner in which they had been received ; and he found them as determined as he was to defend themselves. We are not warranted to suppose that all who took up arms to stand by the Viscount of Beziers, Raymond Roger, were Albigensian heretics ; but the mass of the crusaders, who were marching to attack them, was so disorderly, so eager to shed blood in honour of the church, so impatient for action, without asking or receiving any explanation, that no one dared to take the chance of its errors, and that all the barons and knights were eager to shut themselves up in their castles, to summon their peasants, and to provision themselves there, that they might be able to resist the first attack. Some castles, as Servian and Puy-la-Roque, were abandoned at the approach of the crusaders ; others, as Causidy and St. Antonin, where there was no suspicion of heretics, were permitted to ran-

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. p. 162.

som themselves by heavy contributions. Villemur was burned. Chasseneuil, after a vigorous resistance, capitulated. The garrison was allowed to retire with what they could carry; but the inhabitants, being suspected of heresy, were abandoned to the mercy of the legate. The crusaders regarded their capture as the object and recompense of their enterprise. Men and women were all precipitated into the flames, amidst the acclamations of their ferocious conquerors; all the wealth found in the castle was afterwards given up to pillage.*

Raymond Roger had chiefly calculated on the defence of his two great cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, and he had divided between them his principal forces. After visiting Beziers, to assure himself that the place was well supplied with everything necessary for the defence of their lives, he retired to Carcassonne, a city built upon a rock, and partly surrounded by the river Aude, and whose two suburbs were themselves surrounded by walls and ditches, and there shut himself up. About the middle of July, 1209, the crusading army arrived under the walls of Beziers, in three bodies. They had been preceded by the bishop of the place, who, after having visited the legate, and delivered to him a list of those amongst his *flock* whom he suspected of heresy, and whom he wished to see consigned to the flames, returned into the city to represent to his *flock* the dangers to which they were exposed, exhorting them to surrender their heretical fellow-citizens to the avengers of the faith, rather than draw upon themselves, their wives, and their children the wrath of Heaven and the church. "Tell the legate," replied the citizens, whom he had assembled in the cathedral of St. Nicaise, "that our city is good and strong—that our Lord will not fail to succour us in our great necessities, and that rather than commit the baseness demanded of us, we would eat our own children." Nevertheless, there was no heart so bold as not to tremble, when the crusaders were encamped under their walls; "and so great was the assemblage of tents and pavilions," says one of their historians, "that it appeared as if all the world was collected there; at which those of the city began to be greatly astonished, for they thought they were

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. ch. vi. p. 168.

only fables what their bishop had come to tell them and advise them.”*

The citizens of Beziers, though astonished, were not discouraged. Whilst their enemies were still occupied in tracing their camp, they made a sally and attacked them at unawares. But the crusaders were still more terrible for their fanaticism and boldness, than for their numbers; they repulsed the citizens with great loss. After this, they entered the city, and found themselves masters of it, before they had even formed their plan of attack. The knights learning that they had triumphed without fighting, applied to the pope's legate, Arnold Amalric, to know how they should distinguish the catholics from the heretics; to which he made this celebrated reply—“*Kill them all; the Lord will know well those that are his*”†

The stated and fixed population of Beziers did not, probably, exceed fifteen thousand persons; but all the inhabitants of the country, of the open villages, and of the castles which had not been judged capable of defence, had taken refuge in this city, which was regarded as exceedingly strong; and even those who had remained to guard the strong castles, had, for the most part, sent their wives and children to Beziers. This whole multitude, at the moment when the crusaders became masters of the gates, took refuge in the churches: the great cathedral of St. Nicaise contained the greater number. The canons, clothed in their choral habits, surrounded the altar, and sounded the bells, as if to express their prayers to the furious assailants; but these supplications of brass were as little regarded as those of the human voice. The bells ceased not to sound till, of that immense multitude which had taken refuge in the church, the last had been massacred. Neither were those spared who had sought an asylum in the other churches. Seven thousand dead bodies were counted in that of the Magdalene alone. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city, in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funereal pile.

* Petri Vallensis, Cern. Hist. Albig., cap xv. p. 570.

† Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. ch. lvii. p. 169.

Not a house remained standing, not one human being was left alive. Historians differ as to the number of victims. The pope's legate, feeling some shame for the butchery which he had ordered, in his letter to Innocent III., reduces it to fifteen thousand; others make it amount to sixty.*

The terror inspired by the massacre at Beziers caused all the country places to be deserted. None appeared strong enough to resist an army which, in a single day, had taken and destroyed the capital. The inhabitants preferred taking refuge in the woods and mountains, to waiting for such enemies within the enclosure of walls which might serve them for a prison. As there was not a knight in all France whose dwelling was not fortified, the number of castles, in the two dioceses of Beziers and Carcassonne, was immense; but the crusaders found more than a hundred of them deserted. They still advanced, however, unsatiated with blood; and on the 1st of August arrived before Carcassonne. On the following day, an attack was made upon one of the suburbs, and, after a combat of two hours, it was taken. The assailants then proceeded to the attack of the second suburb, but were repulsed with loss. For eight days the besieged continued to defend it with success; they at last evacuated it, and, having set it on fire, abandoned it to their enemies, and retired into the city.

A parley now took place at the instance of Peter II., king of Aragon, who proffered his services as mediator. He entered the city to confer with Raymond Roger, who had acknowledged him as his lord. The young viscount, after thanking him for his intervention, declared his readiness to accept and ratify any honourable terms; for "I see clearly," said he, "that we cannot maintain ourselves in this city on account of the multitudes of countrymen, women, and children who have taken refuge here. We cannot reckon them, and they die every day in great numbers. But were there only myself and my people here, I swear to you that I would rather die of famine than surrender to the legate." The King of Aragon returned to the legate and related this discourse, on which the latter dictated the following conditions, as

* Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. chap. lvii. p. 169.

those alone on which he could consent to suspend the massacres :— the Viscount of Beziers might quit the city, with twelve others, and that the remainder of the citizens and soldiers should remain at his mercy. “ Rather than do what the legate demands,” replied Raymond Roger, “ I would suffer myself to be flayed alive. He shall not have the least of my company at his mercy, for it is on my account they are in danger.” Peter II. approved the generosity of his nephew, who uttered these words, and turning towards the knights and citizens of Carcassonne, to whom these conditions had also been announced, he said to them, “ You now know what you have to expect ; mind and defend yourselves well ; for he who defends himself, always finds good mercy at last.”

Scarcely had this nobleman departed before the crusaders made an assault upon the walls. They endeavoured to fill the ditches with faggots, which they brought for that purpose, encouraging each other with loud shoutings. But as soon as they approached the walls, the besieged poured upon them streams of boiling water and oil, crushed them with stones and projectiles of every kind, and forced them to retire. The attack was prolonged, and many times renewed, but the assailants were at last obliged to retreat, with great loss. The time was now approaching when the greater part of the crusaders would have finished their forty days’ service. They had reckoned on a miracle in their favour, and already had been repulsed in two assaults. The legate observed some symptoms of discouragement in his army ; and fearing it might extend, he employed a gentleman related to the Viscount, to enter into the city and renew the negotiations. The latter, on his side, greatly desired an honourable capitulation ; for he began to perceive the failure of water in the cisterns of the city, which the extreme heat of the season had dried up. He was therefore too easily prevailed upon to quit the city, attended by 300 knights, and present himself at the tent of the legate, where all the principal lords of the army were assembled, hoping by an appeal to their commiseration to obtain a mitigation of the sufferings of his subjects ; and he had obtained, both from the legate and the lords of the army, the most complete guarantee for his safety and liberty, which was confirmed by oaths.

The legate, however, was profoundly penetrated with the maxim of Pope Innocent III., that "to keep faith with those who have it not, is an offence against the faith." Accordingly he ordered the young viscount to be arrested, with all the knights who had followed him, confiding them to the care of Simon de Montfort. By this piece of treachery he hoped to strike terror into the minds of the inhabitants of Carcassonne; but the effect of it was to withdraw from his grasp the victims whom he had destined to the flames. The citizens were acquainted with a secret passage by which they could escape from the town. It was a cavern, three leagues in length, extending from Carcassonne as far as the towers of Cabardes. During the night they escaped by this cavern, abandoning all their property to their merciless enemies. On the following morning, the besiegers were astonished at not seeing any person on the walls of the city; but it required a considerable time to convince them that it was entirely deserted. They at length entered, and the legate took possession of the spoil in the name of the church, excommunicating those of the crusaders who should have appropriated the smallest part. Nevertheless he thought himself obliged to dissemble the villainy to which he had recourse, and which had so badly succeeded. He announced that, on the 15th of August, the day of the occupation of the city, he had signed a capitulation, by which he permitted all the inhabitants to quit it with their lives only. He moreover thought it proper, for the honour of the holy church, to guard against it being supposed that all the heretics had escaped him. His scouts had collected in the fields a certain number of prisoners; and amongst the fugitives from Carcassonne, some had been overtaken and brought to the camp. Besides which, he had in his hands the 300 knights who had accompanied the viscount. Out of all these, he selected for execution 450 men and women who might be suspected of heresy. Four hundred he caused to be burnt alive, and the remaining fifty to be hanged.*

The main object of the crusade was now accomplished. The Count of Toulouse, who had been accused of favouring the heretics, had submitted to the most degrading humiliations to

* *Epistolæ Innocentii III.*, ap. Petrum Val. Ed. 1615, p. 322. *Præclara Fran. facinora*, p. 765; *Gulielmi de Podio Laurentii*, cap. xiv. p. 674.

make his peace. The Viscount of Narbonne, to escape the visit of the crusaders, had published against the heretics laws more rigorous than even the church demanded. The Viscount of Beziers was a prisoner; his two strongest cities were destroyed, and the greater number of his castles contained not a single inhabitant. The noblemen who, to gain the pardons of the church, had marched to the crusade, began to feel some shame for all the blood which had been shed, and for their word and oath which had been falsified. The officers and soldiers having fulfilled the term of their service, demanded their dismissal—the pope's legate alone felt that he had not done enough. The Albigensian sectaries were frozen with terror—they had skulked into holes and corners to conceal themselves—they were silent, and they would continue to be so, long after the departure of the crusaders. But the legate was aware that they were not wholly destroyed; their opinions would still continue to circulate; and the outrages lately committed upon them, could have no tendency to reconcile them to the church. He was perfectly aware that he had gone too far to recede with honour or safety; nothing remained for him but to destroy the nation; and to this horrible object did Innocent III., and his legate, Arnold Amalric, make up their minds.

A consultation was now held, how best to dispose of the conquests they had made, and it was advisable that should be done in favour of a prince who would complete the extirpation of heresy. The tender was made to the Duke of Burgundy, who at once refused to accept; saying, "he had plenty of domains and lordships, without taking what would disinherit the Viscount of Beziers, to whom he thought they had done evil enough without despoiling him of his inheritance." This noble refusal touched the honour of the other great lords. The offer was then made to the Count of Nevers, and, after him, to the Count of St. Paul, but they refused, for the very same reason. These sovereignties were then offered to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, one of our own countrymen,—I speak it with unfeigned regret,—who had occupied a prominent station in the command of the crusading army, and by him it was accepted, after seeing the bishops throw themselves at his feet, imploring him to accept what his own ambition most of all coveted!

He already had in his custody the legitimate sovereign of the states, of which he now took possession. He could perceive, even amongst his companions in arms, that pity towards this prince had already succeeded to fury. His neighbours loved him; his subjects regretted him; his relative, the King of Aragon, might be disposed to resume his protection. It was necessary therefore to dispose of him; and to do this effectually, Simon de Montfort gave the necessary orders that Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, should die *of a dysentery* on the 10th of November, in a tower of the viscountal palace of Carcassonne, where he was carefully guarded. The event having taken place agreeable to appointment, the new viscount took care to display his body to his subjects, and to bestow upon him an honourable funeral. Yet, by the public voice he was accused of having poisoned him, and even Pope Innocent III. acknowledged that he perished by a violent death.*

* *Historia de los Faiets de Tolosa*, p. 20. *Gulielmus de Podio Laurentii*, cap. xiv. p. 675. *Innocentii III. Epist. lib. xv. ep. 212*. *Hist de Languedoc*, liv. xxi. ch. lxxv. p. 183.

LECTURE XLII.

Second Crusade against the Albigenses, A.D. 1210-1213—Preliminary Observations—Zeal of the Monks of Cîteaux in preaching up a new Crusade—Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, excommunicated by the Papal Legate—Simon de Montfort experiences a Reverse—Negotiations between Raymond and the Pope, Innocent III.—Assembling of the Council of St. Gilles—Sanguinary Career of Simon de Montfort—Burnings of the Albigenses—Siege of the Castle of Lavaur—Montfort's Treatment of the Inhabitants—Siege of Toulouse, and conduct of the Bishop—Execration of the Crusaders throughout the southern Provinces of France—Count Raymond supported by the King of Aragon—The latter intercedes for him with the Pope—Vacillating conduct of Innocent III.—Battle of Muret, and disastrous termination of the campaign.

THE first crusade against the Albigenses, which was the subject of the last Lecture, and which issued in the total destruction of the two fine cities of Beziers and Carcassonne, completed the campaign of 1209, and consequently liberated the soldiers who had enlisted in the enterprise for only forty days; they considered their achievements as having terminated the war, and returned to their own homes. These pilgrims of the cross, as they chose to designate themselves, had carried desolation into the bosom of the country. Two large cities had been reduced to ashes; thousands of victims had perished by the sword; whilst thousands of others, driven from their burning houses, were wandering in the woods and mountains, sinking daily under the pressure of want. The ruin of so fair a country, the contrast between its former

opulence and its present desolation, the recollection of the fires lighted up for executions, of deserted villages, and of burning houses, would soon have caused the fury of war to have been succeeded by sympathy and commiseration for its unhappy victims, if any other cause than that of religious fanaticism had armed the hands of the crusaders. But, woe to the men who are under the influence of that miserable delusion; who think that in the destruction of their fellow-creatures they are doing God service. Every dictate of truth and virtue is completely perverted; their zeal is changed into ferocity; their very charity becomes sanguinary; they eagerly sacrifice those from whom they dread contagion, and demand a baptism of blood to secure the safety and honours of a corrupt church. The very circumstance of employing carnal weapons to support the cause of religion is a clear indication of an unrighteous cause; for, as the learned Dr. Middleton has somewhere observed, "Truth was never known to be on the persecuting side of any question."

It would, perhaps, be doing injustice to the misguided men who had enrolled themselves in this detestable crusade against the Albigenses, to suppose them void of all the principles of humanity or even less humane than their neighbours, where religion was out of the question. In ordinary cases the crusaders were prompt to afford each other proofs of generosity, of support, and of compassion; but they had been trained up and taught to view the dissenters from the Romish church as heretics, and heretics were, in their eyes, mere outcasts from the human race—"the filth of the world, the scum of society, the offscouring of all things." Accustomed to confide their consciences to their religious guides, to hear the orders of Rome, as though it were a voice from heaven, never daring to submit that which concerned their religion to the exercise of reason or the test of revelation, they congratulated themselves on the horror they felt for the heretics. The more zealous they were for the glory of God, and the more ardently they laboured for the destruction of the heretics, the better Christians they considered themselves. And if, at any time, conscience disturbed their peace, or they felt a movement of pity or terror, while engaged in the horrid work of extermination, they regarded it in the light of a weakness of the flesh,

which they confessed at the tribunal of penitence, nor could they get rid of their remorse till the priest had given them absolution. The persecution of the Albigenes was not the work of the French people alone ; Pope Innocent III., who was an Italian, first gave the signal, and he also bestowed the recompense. He continually sharpened the sword of the murderers, by his legates and missionaries. The Bishops of Osmâ and St. Dominic, two Spaniards, the founders of the inquisition, first taught the art of seeking out, in the villages, those whom the priests were afterwards to fasten to the stakes. The people of Germany, invited by their monks, hastened to take a part in this religious butchery ; and our monkish historian, Matthew Paris, bears his testimony to the zeal of his countrymen in the same cause, and to their triumphant joy at the miracle, as he is pleased to denominate the massacre of Beziers, which had avenged the cause of the Lord.*

On the fanatical monks, however, who directed this infernal crusade, and on the ambitious who profited by it, the execration of posterity must principally devolve. Amongst the first, the vengeance of public opinion ought not to rest only upon those who accompanied the crusaders in their expeditions, who dragged the reformers to the flames, and who mingled their songs of triumph with the groans of their miserable victims ; these, no doubt, were blinded by the same spirit of infatuation with which they inspired the instruments of their mad and intolerant zeal. There was something more personal, more deliberate, more coldly ferocious in those clouds of monks who, issuing from their convents at this fearful crisis, spread themselves through the states of Europe, occupied all the pulpits, appealed to all the passions in order to convert them into one, and pointed out the way in which every vice might be expiated by the destruction of their fellow-creatures, whose only crime was, that they presumed to think differently from the pope and his clergy—who taught how remorse might be expelled by the flames of their piles ; how the soul, polluted with every shameful passion, might become pure and spotless by bathing in the blood of the heretics ! After the conquest of the

* Matth. Paris, *Hist. Angliæ*, Lond., p. 203.

country, which was the seat of the Albigensian Christians, had been accomplished—after peace had been granted to the princes, and a safe-guard to the submissive people, the monks of the order of Citeaux continued, in every church, to preach up a war of extermination, because they had done it with success the preceding year, and because they were unwilling to relinquish the honour and profits of their mission. By continuing to preach the crusade, when there were none to combat, they impelled, each successive year, waves of new fanatics upon these miserable provinces; and they compelled their chiefs to recommence the war, in order to profit by the fervour of those who still demanded human victims, and required the blood of the heretics to effect their own salvation.

A. D. 1209. When the crusaders had taken their departure towards the end of the year 1209, Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, considered that he had now made his peace with the Court of Rome, to which he had surrendered his castles, and to whose service he had devoted himself during the preceding campaign. The Count of Foix, also, had successfully negotiated with Simon de Montfort, and the latter was endeavouring to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions of the Viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, when the arrival of new crusaders inspired him with a renewed thirst of glory in the acquisition of fresh conquests. On the one hand, he thought it high time to throw away the mask with Raymond VI., count of Toulouse. He caused him to be excommunicated by the two legates, and laid all his territories under an interdict; which having done, he commenced hostilities against him in good earnest. On the other hand, he caused the Abbot of Eaulnes (Aulnay), who had negotiated the peace between him and the Count of Foix, to be assassinated; after which, he accused the latter of having perpetrated the crime, and declared all negotiation between them to be at an end. Simon de Montfort was, however, too eager in attacking new enemies before he had entirely subjugated the old ones. The Count de Foix was supported by the King of Aragon; and the latter, after amusing Montfort with long negotiations, peremptorily refused to acknowledge any other Viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne than the son of the last viscount, a child of two years old, who

was then under the care of the Count of Foix. And he, at the same time, solicited the knights who held from these two viscounties to take arms in behalf of the son of their late lord, promising them powerful succours. Before the end of the year they all revolted, nearly at the same time; the consequence was, that, at the end of the year, the sovereignty of Simon de Montfort in Languedoc was reduced from more than two hundred to eight cities or castles.

Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, who had had nothing to do in the way of exciting these revolts, went to Rome at the commencement of the year 1210, and there addressed himself to the pope to obtain absolution. He was prepared to make great concessions, that he might avoid the fate of his nephew, the Viscount of Beziers. He thought no longer of defending his heretical subjects. It was sufficient for him to shelter himself from the ambition of Simon de Montfort, from the hatred of the legate, Arnold Amalric, and from the sanguinary fury of Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, who would have gladly seen the half of the inhabitants of the country perish on the scaffold. The pope released him, provisionally, from the excommunication pronounced against him, but referred him for final absolution to a council which should assemble in the province of Toulouse, three months after the count's return. The purpose of this council was only to judge whether Raymond was, or was not guilty of heresy, and whether he had or had not prompted the murderer of Peter de Castelnau. These were the two accusations which exposed the count to the severest penalties; but, on the other hand, they were those respecting which he felt himself the most innocent, and of which he was the most eager to purge himself.*

The council to which Pope Innocent III. had referred the cause of Count Raymond was summoned by the legate Arnold to meet at St. Gilles; but, before its assembling, new successes of Simon de Montfort against the lords of the castles, and new judicial massacres, had inspired him with more confidence in the cause which he wished to see triumphant. The legate had an implacable hatred towards Count Raymond, and the pope had now sent one Master Theodise, a canon of Genoa, to assist him

* Innocent III., *Epist. lib. xii. 152, 160.*

with his advice. "He was," says Peter de Vaux Cernay, "a circumspect man, prudent and very zealous for the affairs of God, and he desired, above all things, to find some pretext of right to refuse the count that opportunity of justifying himself which Innocent had granted him."* A secret conference was held at Toulouse, at which it was agreed that they should seek some cause of dispute with the count, respecting the accomplishment of some subordinate conditions which the pope had enjoined upon him, founding it upon the words of the bull of Pope Innocent III.: "We desire that he execute our orders."

The council of St. Gilles at length assembled, and Raymond presented himself before it to justify himself, offering to establish, by indubitable proofs, that he had never participated in heresy, and was a stranger to the murder of Peter de Castelnau. But Master Theodise stopped him, by declaring that he had not yet destroyed all the heretics of the county of Toulouse—that he had not yet suppressed all the tolls whose abolition was demanded by the pope—that he had not yet abolished or restored all the collections which his officers had made upon different convents; and since he had disobeyed the orders of the church in smaller matters, they might conclude that he would the more certainly have disobeyed in the two crimes of which he was accused. The council, therefore, to prevent perjury, either in himself or his witnesses, refused him the permission to clear himself of these two capital accusations.

When Count Raymond, who had looked forward to this day with a confident expectation that it would establish his innocence, found himself thus miserably disappointed, he burst into tears. But Master Theodise remembered a text of holy Scripture, by which to free himself from feelings of humanity:—"How great soever be the overflow of waters," said he, turning the count's tears into derision, "they will not reach unto God;" and he fulminated, in the name of the church, an excommunication against the Count of Toulouse.† It was not until the month of September that the council of St. Gilles assembled; in the mean time, the monks of Citeaux had recommenced the preaching of the crusade in the northern parts of France. They assured their

* Hist. Albigen. cap. xxxix. p. 585.

† Idem. p. 586.

hearers that there was no crime so dark, no vice so deeply rooted in the heart, the very trace of which a campaign of forty days in the south of France would not obliterate. Paradise, with all its glories, was opened for them, without the necessity of purchasing it by any reformation in their conduct.

Alice of Montmorency, Simon de Montfort's wife, undertook the direction of the first army of crusaders now raised by the monks. At the beginning of Lent, 1210, her husband came to meet her at Pezenas; and no sooner did he find himself at the head of an imposing force than he gave full scope to his cruelty. He attacked, in the first place, the Castle of Lauraquais and Minervois; and the terror which now seized the peaceable inhabitants soon occasioned a general panic. Such citadels as were considered incapable of sustaining a siege were abandoned. Simon de Montfort generally caused all their inhabitants whom he could lay hands upon to be hanged upon gibbets. Some castles, calculating too favourably on their strength, endeavoured to resist him. That of Brom was taken by assault the third day of the siege, and Simon de Montfort chose out more than a hundred of the wretched inhabitants, and, having plucked out their eyes and cut off their noses, sent them in that state, under the guidance of a one-eyed man, to the castle of Cabaret, to announce to the garrison of that fortress the fate which awaited them. The castle of Alairac was not taken till the eleventh day, and even then a great part of the inhabitants were enabled to escape the ferocity of the crusaders; Montfort massacred the remainder. Proceeding onwards he found castles abandoned and absolutely empty; and not being able to glut his vengeance on the men, he sent out his soldiers to destroy the surrounding vines and olive trees.*

Montfort now conducted his army to the castle of Minerva, to which they laid siege. It was situated at a small distance from Narbonne, on a steep rock, surrounded by precipices, and regarded as the strongest place in all France. The army of the crusaders appeared before it at the beginning of June; the legate Arnold, and the canon Theodise, joined it soon after. The inhabitants consisted chiefly of Albigensian dissenters, and they defended

* Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. xxxiv. xxv. pp. 561, 562.

themselves with great valour for seven weeks; but when the hot weather occasioned the cisterns to fail, they demanded a capitulation. The governor of the castle repaired to the camp of the crusaders to effect this; and it happening on a day when the pope's legate was absent, he arranged the conditions with Simon de Montfort. As they were proceeding to execute them, the legate returned to the camp, and Montfort immediately declared that nothing which they had agreed upon could be considered as binding till the legate had given his assent. "At these words," says the historian, "the Abbot Arnold was greatly afflicted. In fact, he desired that all the enemies of Jesus Christ should be put to death; but he could not take upon himself to condemn them, on account of his quality of monk and priest." He thought, however, it was possible to stir up some quarrel between the negotiators, by means of which he might break the capitulation, and cause all the inhabitants to be put to the sword. For this purpose he requested each one to put down in writing, without communicating with the other, the conditions on which they had agreed. As the legate flattered himself, he found some trifling variation in the statements, and Montfort immediately availed himself of it, to declare, in the name of the legate, that the negotiation was broken off. The lord or governor of the castle, however, instantly replied, that though he thought he had a perfect recollection of what had been agreed upon, yet he would not insist upon it, but accept the capitulation as Simon de Montfort had drawn it up. One of the articles of this capitulation provided, that the heretics themselves, if they were converted, might quit the castle and have their lives spared. When the capitulation was read in the council of war, "Robert of Mauvoisin," says the historian, "a nobleman, and entirely devoted to the catholic faith, exclaimed, that the crusading army would never consent to that;—that it was not to shew mercy to heretics, but to put them to death, that they had taken the cross, or enlisted." But the pope's legate replied, "Fear not; for I believe there will be very few of them converted." In this savage and brutal hope the legate was no way disappointed.

On the 22nd July, 1210, the crusaders took possession of the castle of Minerva. They entered singing the *Te Deum*, pre-

ceded by the cross and the standards of Montfort. The Albigensian Christians were in the mean time assembled, the men in one house and the women in another; and there, on their knees and resigned to their fate, they spent their time in prayer, awaiting the hour of their release. A learned abbot of the Romish church, to fulfil the capitulation, now came and began to preach the catholic faith; but he was interrupted by an unanimous cry, "We will have none of your faith—we have renounced the church of Rome; your labour is in vain; for neither death nor life will make us renounce the opinions that we have embraced." The abbot then proceeded to the assembled females, but he found them as resolute and more enthusiastic still in their declarations. Simon de Montfort then, in his turn, visited both. He had already piled up an enormous mass of dry wood, and thus he addressed the assembled Albigenses: "Be converted to the catholic faith, or ascend this pile:" but none were shaken. They then set fire to the pile, which covered the whole square with a tremendous conflagration; and the heretics were then conducted to the place. They needed no violence, however, to compel them to encounter the flames; they voluntarily precipitated themselves into them, to the number of more than 140, after having commended their souls to that God in whose cause they suffered martyrdom. Three women only, and those forcibly detained by the noble dame of Marly, were saved from the flames; and terror and consternation succeeding to their enthusiastic fervor, they consented to be converted.*

The castle of Termes, situated on the frontiers of Roussillon, was now laid siege to: it was a fortress of considerable strength, and commanded by a governor of acknowledged valour, Raymond of Termes. The resistance was long and obstinate, and the patience of the crusaders was put sorely to the test: they would willingly have granted an advantageous capitulation. In fact, the army of Montfort began sensibly to diminish. The soldiers, after a service of forty days, which was sufficient to entitle them to the promised indulgences, began to return homewards, and Montfort found himself, on many occasions, left with so small a

* Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albigens. cap. xxxvii. p. 563, &c. Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. p. 193, &c.

force, that he was on the point of raising the siege. The utmost exertions were now made, throughout all the provinces, to muster fresh contingents to the sacred war, and they poured in, headed by the bishops and noblemen, in rapid succession. This enabled him to prolong the siege, until, after four months' strenuous exertions, the strength of the besieged sunk under so many repeated attacks; numerous dysenteries prevailed among them, and, during the night between the 22nd and 23rd of November, they attempted to escape by abandoning the place. They had passed the first entrenchments, intending to disperse themselves in the mountains, with the hope of reaching Catalonia, the first province in Spain; but the moment their flight was known, a general cry was raised in the army, not to let those escape punishment who had cost them so much sweat and blood. The whole army was now in pursuit of the fugitives, the greater part of whom were overtaken and instantly put to death; others were taken alive to Simon de Montfort. Of these, he spared Raymond, lord of Termes, and, instead of burning him, confined him at the bottom of a tower in Carcassonne, where he was suffered to languish many years.

The capture of two such strong places as Minerva and Termes made all the garrisons of the neighbouring castles lose their courage: they no longer dared to trust to their walls; and the army advancing into the heart of the Albigensian territories, found all the places deserted. But the miserable inhabitants were not able to save themselves by flight; they were followed into the woods and mountains, where the greater part perished by the sword, and those that were brought prisoners to the camp were burned for the edification of the army.*

The case of Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, was not yet finally disposed of. The legate had excommunicated him, but it still wanted the pope's ratification, and the latter seemed somewhat loth to lose so powerful a feudatory, who had the support of the two kings, viz. of France and Aragon. The latter had, indeed, married his sister, and another of his sisters had been promised to his son and successor, Raymond VII. Simon de Montfort was aware of all these things, and his fanaticism never

* Hist. Albigena. cap. xlii. p. 592.

prevented him from managing his interests like a wily politician. He consequently laid his plans for depriving the Count of Toulouse of the support which he found in Spain; and, for this purpose, determined to seek the friendship of the King of Aragon. The latter caught the bait, and admitted of a family alliance, by marrying his son, James, to a daughter of Montfort. But neither the manœuvres of Montfort, with regard to the Count of Toulouse, nor his alliance with the King of Aragon, was of long duration. Finding that the clergy employed in preaching up the crusade, instead of waxing cold, were rather inflamed by his last success, and that the crusaders who would rally to his standard during the campaign of 1211, would be more numerous than those of the two preceding years, he prepared to second the hatred of the Bishop of Toulouse and the Abbot of Cîteaux against Count Raymond, in the hope of joining the fine sovereignty of that prince to his former possessions. He wished, however, to profit to the last by the weakness of Raymond; and therefore waited the result of a provincial council, at which he was summoned to appear, at Arles, about the middle of February, 1211.

Count Raymond and the King of Aragon attended there together, and had no sooner entered the city than they received orders not to quit it without the permission of the council. A note, containing thirteen articles, was afterwards communicated, on the execution of which the holy fathers in council assembled were pleased to announce that they would restore to the Count of Toulouse all his territories and lordships, *when it should please Montfort and the legate* so to do! Never was a more insulting treaty proposed to a sovereign prince, who was still in full possession of his states. Raymond was required to dismiss all the soldiers armed for his defence; to raze all his fortifications; to exclude from the strong cities of his dominions all the knights who might serve for their defence; to renounce all the customs, which formed the greater part of his revenue; to reduce all the inhabitants of his states, both nobles and plebeians, to wear the dress of penitence, and to submit to an abstinence almost monastical; to deliver to Simon de Montfort and the pope's legate, at the first demand, all those of his subjects whom they should require, that they might burn them at their pleasure: in fine,

Raymond was to proceed to the Holy Land, to serve among the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, until he was recalled by the pope's legate.

The surprise and indignation of Count Raymond and the King of Aragon, at reading these demands, was proportionable to their insolence. They had been prohibited from quitting the city of Arles, in which the council was held; but no precautions had been taken for retaining them. They therefore instantly set out, without taking leave of the bishops, who now threw off all disguise towards Count Raymond, excommunicated him afresh, declared him an enemy to the church and an apostate from the faith, and, finally, abandoned his country to him who should first take possession of it.*

In all this the hand of the Bishop of Toulouse was very conspicuous. He had been preaching the crusade in France with great success, and he had instructed these arrogant and pitiless ecclesiastics what augmentation of forces they might expect. It was at Toulouse, especially, that he wished to kindle the flames; it was in what he considered to be the flock which God had confided to him, that he wished, he said, to separate the sheep from the goats. Many of his own congregation appeared to him either too lukewarm in their zeal, or suspicious in their faith, and he wished to purify them by fire. He contrived to prevail upon a number of the clergy, barons, and knights, to take the cross against the Albigenses; and about the 10th of March, Simon de Montfort found himself at the head of a very large army, with which he commenced the campaign of 1211.

The castle of Caberet was the first object of attack. Hitherto it had braved all the threats of the crusaders; but long reverses had broken the spirit of the Albigenses. The lord of the castle submitted voluntarily to Montfort, and opened to him the gates of his fortress. His example was followed by the governors of many other castles in the mountains which separate the diocese of Carcassonne from that of Toulouse. The crusaders then advanced to Lavaur, five leagues from Toulouse. It was then only a strong castle, but afterwards raised to the rank of an episcopal

* Hist. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. ch. xxviii. p. 204. ..

city. The owner of it was a widow, of the name of Guiraude, who, as well as her brother, Aimery of Montreal, professed the protestant faith of the Albigenses. In fact, they had opened an asylum within their walls to such of the Albigenses as had been persecuted in the other parts of the province ; so that their fortress, which was well stored with provisions, surrounded with strong walls, and girded with deep ditches, was considered as one of the principal seats of heresy.

The Bishop of Toulouse, having returned from the council of Arles, now set himself to communicate a portion of his fanaticism to the catholic part of the inhabitants of that city. He told them that their mixture with the heretics rendered them an object of horror to all Christians ; and, in order that they might not any longer be confounded with them, they should be the first to arm themselves against those of their fellow-citizens who had abandoned the catholic faith. He said he had enrolled them into a society, named "The White Company," whose object would be to destroy the heretics by fire and sword. Having thus inflamed their zeal, he sent five thousand of these fanatics to assist at the siege of Lavaur.

By this time the eyes of Count Raymond began to be fully open to his actual situation ; he now saw that a more vigorous conduct was his only resource ; and on this he ought doubtless to have long since determined, if so much resolution belonged to his character. He now formed a close alliance with all the neighbouring counts and lords who were known to favour the dissenters from the Romish church, and who were accused of tolerating heresy, whose interests consequently were identified with his own. These confederated noblemen, having ascertained that a German body of crusaders were advancing to the siege of Lavaur, six thousand strong, detached a chosen body of troops to lie in ambush for the Germans, in which they succeeded, and cut them in pieces before Simon de Montfort could come to their assistance. On the other hand, Count Raymond strictly prohibited all his subjects from carrying provisions to the camp of the crusaders, who were thereby reduced to great extremities. But Simon de Montfort was an experienced and accomplished general in the art of war, and as much surpassed his competitors in military

tactics as he out-did the rest of the fanatics by his cold-blooded ferocity. He had served in the Holy Land, combating against the Turks and the Greeks, and acquired the knowledge of the attack and defence of fortified places. He consequently could employ ingenious machines to overthrow the walls of castles—an improvement in the art of war till then unknown in France or the neighbouring countries.

To aid in the capture of Lavaur, he gave orders to have constructed what was called "the Cat." It was a moveable wooden tower, of great strength, and built out of the reach of the besieged. Being covered all over with sheep skins, with the fur outwards, to guard it from fire, and provided with soldiers at its openings, and on the platform at its summit, it was moved on rollers to the foot of the wall. Its side then opened, and an immense beam, armed with iron hooks, which projected like the paw of a cat, shook the wall by reiterated strokes, after the manner of the battering-ram, tearing out and pulling away the stones which it had loosened. The wide ditches of Lavaur, however, were an obstacle to bringing it as near as could be wished to the walls. To remedy this, the crusaders, under the orders of Montfort, laboured unceasingly to fill up the ditch, whilst the inhabitants of Lavaur, who could descend into it by subterranean passages, contrived every night to clear away all that had been thrown in during the day. At last, Montfort succeeded in filling the mines with flame and smoke, and thereby prevented the inhabitants from entering them. The ditches were then speedily filled, the cat was pushed to the foot of the wall, and its terrible paw began to open and enlarge the breach.

On the 3rd of May, 1211, Montfort judged the breach to be practicable, and the crusaders prepared for the assault. The bishops, the Abbot of Cordieu, and all the priests, clothed in their pontifical habits, giving themselves up to the joy of seeing the carnage begin, sang the hymn *Veni Creator*. The knights mounted the breach; resistance was impossible; and the only care of Simon de Montfort was to prevent the crusaders from instantly falling upon the inhabitants, and to beseech them rather to make prisoners, that the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys. "Very soon," says their

own monkish historian, "they dragged out of the castle Aimery, lord of Montreal, and other knights, to the number of eighty. The noble count [Montfort] immediately ordered them to be hanged upon the gallows; but as soon as Aimery, the stoutest among them, was hanged, the gallows fell, for, in their great haste, they had not well fixed it in the earth. The count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them all upon the spot. The lady of the castle, who was sister of Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the count's order, thrown into a pit, which was then filled up with stones. Afterwards our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics which the castle contained, *and burned them alive with the utmost joy.*"*

Immediately on the taking of Lavaur, open hostilities commenced between Simon de Montfort and the Count of Toulouse. The first place belonging to this count, before which the crusaders presented themselves, was the castle of Montjoyre, which, being abandoned, was set fire to, and then rased from top to bottom by the soldiers of the church. The castle of Cassoro afforded them more satisfaction, as it furnished human victims for their sacrifices. It was surrendered on capitulation; and "the pilgrims, seizing near sixty heretics, burned them with infinite joy." This is the language invariably employed by the monkish historian, who was the witness and panegyrist of the crusade. A great number of castles were afterwards either surrendered or abandoned to the crusaders, who, finding themselves, about the middle of June, reinforced by a new army from Germany, undertook the siege of Toulouse.

The number of the Albigenes inhabiting this episcopal city was not equal to that of the catholics. But their consuls refused either to renounce their fidelity to Count Raymond, though he had been excommunicated, or to deliver up to punishment those

* "Cum ingenti gaudio," are the historian's words. Petri Vall. Cern. Albigen. esp. li. p. 508. Bernardi Guidonis Vita Innocentii III. p. 482. This last informs us that 400 heretics were burned at Lavaur.

of their citizens who were suspected of heresy. The bishop had succeeded in forming in the city an association, which he called "The White Company," and of which I have already spoken, as being pledged to pursue the heretics to death. This company, by its own authority, erected a tribunal, before which it carried those whose faith it suspected, and it afterwards executed its own judgments by open force—by the destruction and pillage of their houses. The friends of toleration very soon formed a counter association, which they named "The Black Company." The parties frequently came to arms in the streets, with ensigns displayed; and many towers, belonging to one side or the other, were alternately besieged.

This was an unnatural and monstrous state of society. On one side, the bishop was labouring to kindle the flames of war among his flock; while, on the other, Count Raymond was exerting himself to restore peace among his subjects. When the 5000 men, who had been at the siege of Lavaur, returned to Toulouse, he represented to them that their dissensions, if persisted in, would inevitably bring ruin on their country; that an attack of the crusaders would involve them all in one common destruction; and that, whatever might be the differences of opinion, they ought to repair their walls, and prepare for their defence, if they would not expose themselves to the hazard of being put to the sword. He succeeded in producing a reconciliation between the two companies; and the legate became so enraged at it, that he subjected all the inhabitants of Toulouse to a sentence of excommunication. The bishop, on his part, recalled his clergy, that he might save his priests from that punishment to which he now destined the remainder of his flock. All the priests of Toulouse, with the provost of the cathedral at their head, now quitted the city barefoot, carrying the holy sacrament in the procession, and singing litanies. The inhabitants, however, did not at that time suffer the fate to which the pious bishop had destined them. Raymond VI., seconded by the Counts of Foix and Cominges, so incommoded the besiegers, by frequent sallies, killed so many of them, and made them so soon endure privations and famine, that Simon de Montfort was compelled to raise the

siege on the 29th of June, and soon afterwards saw himself abandoned by the greater part of the crusaders, whose time of service had expired.*

The tide of success began from this time to turn against Simon de Montfort, who, to efface the remembrance of this check, now extended his ravages into the county of Foix, which he desolated with fire and slaughter. He then passed into Quercy, the lordship of which he compelled the inhabitants to make over to him. The utmost exertions were also made by his lieutenants, his vassals, and his wife, to procure reinforcements to his reduced army, and to hasten their march to his assistance. But the hatred which he had excited through the country now broke out in every quarter, and those upon whom he reckoned the most declared against him; so that his affairs continued to decline to the end of the year 1212. The Count of Toulouse reconquered all the strong places of Albigeois; and in more than fifty castles, the inhabitants either expelled or massacred their French garrisons, to surrender themselves to their ancient lord.†

The demon of discord also began to manifest his influence among the leaders of this infernal crusade; and in a little time Pope Innocent III., his legate, Arnold Amalric, Simon de Montfort, and others, were all together by the ears; but the causes which led to this require a little explanation. The hatred against the crusaders, which seemed to be rooted in the hearts of all the inhabitants of the country, gave occasion to the legates, the vice-legates, the monks of the abbey of Citeaux, and to all that ecclesiastical council which hitherto had directed the crusade, to announce that it was time to complete the regeneration of the country, by changing the secular clergy. They had long accused the bishops of lukewarmness or indifference to what they called "the triumphs of the church," and had solicited their removal. This they at length obtained, in the year 1212, either from the pope, or from the timidity of the persecuted prelates themselves. Numbers of them gave in their resignation,

* Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albigen. cap. liv., lv. p. 600, &c.

† Idem. ch. lvi., lvii., lviii. p. 604, &c.

among whom was the Archbishop of Narbonne, whose see was instantly taken possession of by the papal legate, Arnold Amalric. He did not content himself, however, with the spiritual dignity which he thus acquired, as the fruit of his labours for the extirpation of heresy. To the archiepiscopal throne of Narbonne, and to the rich revenues of that metropolitan see, he resolved also to join the ducal crown. The Count of Toulouse bore the title of Duke of Narbonne, and the viscount of that same city was his vassal, and owed him homage. When Arnold excommunicated Raymond VI. he abandoned his states to the first occupant, and he now took care to be the first to occupy the duchy of Narbonne. He had taken possession of the archbishopric on the 12th of March, 1212; and, on the 13th, he demanded homage of the Viscount of Narbonne, and an oath of fidelity.*

This outrageous conduct, in seizing the spoils of a persecuted nobleman, was sufficient to brand with infamy the legate's character. His fanaticism and cruelty could be more easily pardoned in that age, than such an instance of griping cupidity on the part of a monk. It inflicted an odium upon the whole order; and the monks of Citeaux began to sink in the estimation of the people, when it appeared that they had shed so much blood only for the opportunity of gaining possession of those episcopal sees which they coveted. Even Simon de Montfort took umbrage at the conduct of Arnold, and that intimate union that had hitherto subsisted between these two ferocious men was now dissolved.

During the winter of 1212 the monks of Citeaux had recommenced their preaching, throughout all Christendom, with more ardour than ever; and the expedition against the Albigenses, to which, according to their assurances, such high celestial favours were attached, was nevertheless so short and so easy, that the army of the crusaders was renewed four times in the course of the year, by pilgrims who, after forty days' service, returned home. Several distinguished persons of both clergy and laity came to range themselves under the banners of Montfort, whose hope of contributing to the slaughter and punish-

* Hist. de Lang. livre xxiii. ch. xvi. p. 223.

ment of the Albigenses was not wholly disappointed. On the arrival of these fanatical bands, almost all the castles of the Toulousians were abandoned by their inhabitants, who sought a refuge in the cities of Toulouse and Montauban, almost the only places which they considered to be proof against a siege. But the crusade had been preached only for the destruction of heretics—the indulgences of the church were only promised at this price. All the prelates who arrived in the country of the Albigenses, surrounded by poor, bigoted, and infatuated mortals, to whom they had promised the forgiveness of their sins, would have thought their vow unfulfilled, if they had returned from the war without destroying some of their fellow-creatures, for the glory of God and the good of the church! The harvest, however, had been scanty—they were forced to content themselves with such fugitive peasants as they could surprise in the fields, or some prisoners taken in the castles which had dared to resist them: those of St. Marcel and of St. Antonin furnished them with a considerable number of human victims. But when Simon de Montfort saw that the greater part of the population of the countries where heresy had prevailed was exterminated, and that the remainder had placed themselves out of the reach of his attacks, he resolved to take advantage of the zeal of the crusaders, by conducting them into Agenois, whose entire population was catholic, and to make them gain their indulgences at the siege of La Penne, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the 25th of July. The siege of Boissac, which followed, was remarkable only for the perfidy which Montfort compelled its inhabitants to practise. He refused to grant them their lives till they had consented to sacrifice, with their own hands, 300 of the garrison who had till that time valiantly defended them. On this condition the gates of the city were opened to him, on the 8th of September; and the crusaders, contenting themselves with this carnage, accepted from the citizens a sum of money, to save their houses from the flames. Montfort, after this, conducted his army into the counties of Foix and of Cominges, which he ravaged afresh; whilst Count Raymond, of Toulouse, despoiled of almost all his estates, went

into Spain, to implore the intercession of his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon, with the court of Rome.*

It certainly was not in vain that the Count of Toulouse took refuge with the King of Aragon, and implored his protection at the court of Rome. This king was held in high consideration by Pope Innocent III., and had rendered great services to the church. He could not see without regret his two sisters, one married to the Count of Toulouse, the other to that count's son, stripped of their inheritance by Simon de Montfort, or that all the princes of those provinces, the allies and vassals of the crown of Aragon, should be ruined. He therefore despatched ambassadors to the court of Rome, who did their utmost to convince the pope that Simon de Montfort was no better than an ambitious usurper,—that, whilst he invoked the name of religion, he regarded nothing but his own aggrandisement,—that he attacked indifferently catholics and heretics,—and that he had converted a crusade against heresy into a war of extermination against that favoured country of which the King of Aragon prided himself in being the chief.†

This appeal, coming from such a quarter, seemed for a time to have staggered his holiness. Whether it was that he had been constantly deceived by his legates, and that the ambassadors of the King of Aragon had shewed him the truth for the first time; or whether he felt some pity for the princes and people to whom he had already been the occasion of such a series of complicated sufferings; or whether he at last began to suspect those whom he had rendered too powerful, and thought it more conformable to the policy of the church to raise from the ground the Count of Toulouse, the rival of Simon de Montfort, and oppose him to his conqueror rather than to complete his ruin,—certain it is that Innocent III. now entirely changed his language, in the letters which, at the beginning of the year 1213, he addressed to his legates and to Montfort.

* Hist. Albigena. Petri Vall. Cern. cap. lxiii. lxiv. pp. 621, 622.

† Petri Val. Cern. Hist. de Albigena. cap. lxx. p. 635; Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxii. ch. xxvi. p. 234.

The first of these letters, dated the 18th of January, 1213, is addressed to the legate, Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, to the Bishop of Riez, and to Master Theodise, of Genoa. In this letter his holiness reproaches them with the murder of Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers—with the usurpation of provinces, even where there was no heresy,—and with the cupidity they had displayed throughout the whole war. He informs them that Raymond had surrendered himself, with his son, and all his states, into the hands of the King of Aragon, declaring that he submitted entirely to the sentence of the church: that this king, in possession of such pledges, announced, on his part, that he was ready to execute the judgment of the church, which he awaited; with much more to the same effect. Having incorporated into his letter nearly the whole contents of that of the King of Aragon, Innocent III. proceeded to reprove his legates in language which they were not wont to hear from him. He reproached them with their cupidity and ambition; he accused them of having shed the blood of the innocent, and of having invaded lands which heresy had never penetrated: he commanded them to restore to the vassals of the King of Aragon all that they had taken from them, that the king might not be diverted from the war which he was maintaining against the infidels. Two other letters, written by the pope to Simon de Montfort, are not less emphatic, and are sufficient to shew that the atrocities of the war against the Albigenses were at last known at Rome.* To inquire into the evils that had been committed, and put matters upon a proper footing, a provincial council was called at Lavaur, either to hear the justification of Count Raymond, or to accept the submission promised by the King of Aragon, and to establish peace in the province.†

Simon de Montfort, however, on this occasion, proved an overmatch to the hero of infallibility. He had such zealous patrons in the bishops of the province of Narbonne; he had connected his cause so intimately with theirs; he had taken so much care to provide the monks of Citeaux, the principal

* Innocentii III. Epist. lib. xv. ep. 212, 213, 214.

† Hist. Albig. p. 624.

instigators of the crusade, with all the pontifical sees that had become vacant, that he was sure of gaining his cause before such prejudiced judges as those to whom the pope had referred it. In fact, the authority of the holy see was never more completely set at nought by its agents than in this instance. Innocent III. had repeatedly given positive orders to the bishops of the province to hear, and to judge of, the justifications of Count Raymond; while the bishops assembled at the Council of Lavaur, in the month of January 1213, again explicitly refused to hear him, or to admit any of his justifications. They refused to extend the benefits of the pacification to the Counts of Foix and of Cominges, and to the Viscount of Bearn, whom they declared to be supporters of heretics. Above all, they insisted upon the necessity of destroying the city of Toulouse, and of exterminating its inhabitants, that they might complete the pacification of the province. And, as they had this object more at heart than all others, the fathers of the council first addressed a joint letter to the pope, recommending it to him; after which each prelate wrote to him separately, earnestly pressing upon him the entire annihilation of that city, which they compared to Sodom and Gomorrah, and the destruction of all the villains who had taken refuge in it.*

The concurrence of all these bishops with Simon de Montfort and his numerous friends, the authority of the crusade, &c., made a strong impression on the mind of Pope Innocent III. It was himself who had, at first, excited the sanguinary spirits which then lorded it over Europe; but he was himself afterwards the dupe of their concert. It was but too true, that the whole catholic church then demanded the renewal of those scenes of carnage; that it prided itself on the slaughter of the heretics; and that it was in the name of public opinion that the prelates assembled at the council of Lavaur required new massacres. Those who had contributed to create such a public opinion were, however, on that account, only the more guilty. Innocent III., deceived by the echo of his own voice, thought that he had shewn too much indulgence. He wrote again to the King of Aragon, the 21st of

* Innocentii III. lib. xvi. ep. 40—45. Hist. de Languedoc, p. 241.

May, 1213, to revoke all the concessions he had made, accusing him at the same time of having taken advantage of the see of Rome by a false statement, and confirming the excommunication of the Counts of Toulouse, of Cominges, of Foix, and of the Viscount of Bearn.*

While these negotiations with the court of Rome were in progress, the preparations for war were hastening on; but the number of French crusaders had considerably diminished in consequence of the report which the King of Aragon had caused to be circulated, that a pacification was agreed upon, and indeed through the declaration of the papal legate himself. But the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre thought it, on this account, much more their duty to proceed to the aid of their great champion, Simon de Montfort, whom they accordingly joined at Carcassonne with a numerous band of knights from their province. On the other hand, the King of Aragon, conceiving that if his brother-in-law could obtain a victory over Montfort, he would, by that means, put an end to the vacillations of the court of Rome, passed the Pyrenees with a thousand knights, with which he joined the Counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Cominges.

Thus united, they proceeded to lay siege to the little town of Muret, three leagues distant from Toulouse, before which place they arrived on the 10th of September. Simon de Montfort, who had assembled his forces at Saverdun, in the countship of Foix, had with him about a thousand knights—the flower of the French knighthood: they were men enveloped in iron; and their bodies seemed as much iron as their armour. Amongst them all, not a heart could be found susceptible of terror, or accessible to pity. Equally inspired by fanaticism and the love of war, they believed that the sure way to salvation lay through the field of carnage and slaughter. Seven bishops, who followed the army, had blessed their standards and their arms, and would be engaged in prayer for them whilst they were attacking the heretics. In this way they advanced, reckless whether to victory or death, being confident that either would issue in the reward

* Innocentii III. Epist. lib. xvi. ep. 48. Pet. Vall. Cern. Albig. cap. lxiv.

which they were taught to believe the hand of God himself had destined for them. Simon de Montfort, passing the river Garonne at their head, entered the town of Muret without any obstacle, and prepared for battle on the following day, the 12th of September.

It is quite foreign to the design of these Lectures to enter into any elaborate descriptions of battles and sieges. The catholic writers make a wonderful parade of this affair, and resolve it all into miracle from the beginning to the end. Thus they tell the story:—"In the year 1213, the Christian army, of eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, near Toulouse, being divided into three corps, in honour of the Holy Trinity—the one under the command of Simon, Count of Montfort; the second commanded by the Lord Bishop of Toulouse; and the third by the Lord Bishop of Cominges,—attacked the army of the Arian heretics, consisting of an hundred thousand fighting men, and defeated them. The catholics lost about a hundred men; but of the Arian Albigenses, two-and-thirty thousand were either killed or drowned in the river Garonne."* Such a representation of the matter was not an unfit subject for the ridicule of Mr. Voltaire, who asks—"Is it likely that only eighteen hundred men would attack an army of a hundred thousand in the open field, and divide themselves into three bodies? They tell us it is a miracle; but military people, upon reading such a story, will tell them it is nonsense and absurdity."† All we can say upon it is, that the King of Aragon, imprudently exposing his person, was thrown lifeless from his horse, which occasioned the rout of his army, and eventually led to its destruction either by the sword or the waters of the Garonne.

* Favyn. liv. xi. La Bataille de Muret.

† Gen. History, vol. i. p. 1.

LECTURE XLIII.

*History of the Albigenses continued from the Battle of Muret—
The work of Reformation totally extinguished in the province of
Languedoc—Review of the conduct of the Papal Party, from
A.D. 1208 to 1215—The leaders of the Crusade quarrel among them-
selves—Renewal of the War in a Fourth Crusade, A.D. 1216—
Revolt of the People of Toulouse—Character and conduct of Fou-
quet, their Bishop—Miserable condition of the Toulousians—
Return of Count Raymond to his palace—Simon de Montfort
again besieges Toulouse; is killed by a stone thrown from the wall
of the city, 25th June, 1218—Siege of the city raised—Reflec-
tions on the death of Simon de Montfort.*

THE battle of Muret, with an account of which the last Lecture closed, was a kind of death-blow to the Albigensian party, for the moment, in the province of Languedoc; and though Simon de Montfort gained no very signal advantages by it, he could not but regard it as a source of triumph and gratification to his vindictive feelings. He was a skilful military officer, and his activity always seconded his immeasurable ambition. He estimated power and wealth no otherwise than as they might contribute to the acquisition of still greater riches and power. He had never known any other relaxation from his victories than the preparation for new conquests. Miserable man! he had never understood any other way of rendering himself useful to his fellow-creatures and acceptable to his Maker, than by shedding the blood of such as he considered to be infidels and heretics, nor felt any other religious emotion than the delight of being the

spectator of their torments. But the end of his sanguinary career was now rapidly hastening on, as will be seen in the course of the present Lecture.

About the beginning of the year 1214, Pope Innocent III. despatched a new legate into the province of Languedoc—namely, the Cardinal Peter, of Benevento. This prelate fixed his residence at Narbonne, and all the lords who had been so ill-treated during the last war, now flocked to obtain, by his intercession, their reconciliation with the court of Rome. More accommodating, at least apparently so, than his predecessor, he re-opened to them all the door of the sanctuary. During the month of April, the Counts of Foix and Cominges succeeded in making their peace. The same grace was afterwards extended to Raymond VI., and at last to all the inhabitants of Narbonne and Toulouse.

But at the moment the lords of the Albigenes were thus submitting themselves to the direction of the church, a new army of crusaders, conducted by the Bishop of Carcassonne and the Cardinal Robert de Courçon, arrived at Montpellier, in quest of fresh subjects of plunder and objects of prey. The exclamation of the monkish historian, Peter de Vaux-Cernay, who was contemporary with these events, and who has handed them down to us, is too remarkable to be omitted:—"How great," says he, "was the mercy of God; for every one must see that the pilgrims could have done nothing great without the legate, nor the legate without the pilgrims. In reality the pilgrims would have had but small success against such numerous enemies, if the legate had not treated with them beforehand. It was, then, by a dispensation of the Divine mercy, that whilst the legate, by a pious fraud, cajoled, and enclosed in his nets, the enemies of the faith, who were assembled at Narbonne, Count Montfort and the pilgrims who had arrived from France could pass in to Agenois, there to crush their enemies, or rather those of Christ. O pious fraud of the legate! O piety full of deceit!"* So that we are to understand the conduct of the legate, in consenting to make up matters with these noblemen, was all a piece of dissimulation and treachery, in order to disarm them of the weapons of self-defence, and tre-

* Petri Vall. Cern. Albigen., cap. lxxviii. p. 648.

pan them defenceless into the toils of Count Montfort—the easy victims of his cruelty; and all this scene of perfidy, this “pious fraud,” this “piety full of deceit,” is resolved into the great mercy of God! What strange notions this monk must have had of that Being who “requireth truth in the inward parts,” and “hateth all the workers of iniquity!” How truly has he said of such characters, “Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself!”

The campaign, however, commenced; several castles were besieged and taken, some of which made a pretty long resistance and occasioned the loss of many lives. In the greater part they found no heretics, which reduced these ecclesiastical soldiers to the necessity of gratifying their thirst for blood by putting the inhabitants to the sword, as in an ordinary war. But at Maurillac they were more happy. “I must not pass it over,” says the monkish writer, “that we found there seven heretics, of the sect called Waldenses, who being conducted to the legate, and having confessed their incredulity, were seized by our pilgrims and burned with unspeakable joy.”*

A provincial council was summoned at Montpellier for the month of December, 1214, but did not commence its sittings till the 8th of January, 1215, the object of which was to determine the fate of the provinces formerly occupied by the Counts of Toulouse, of Bearn, and of Cominges, whom the new cardinal had reconciled to the church, without explaining the conditions that he should impose upon them.”†

When all the bishops of the province were assembled at this council, Montfort, who wished to direct that assembly, and expected from it a ratification of those titles which he held by perfidy and robbery alone, had formed the project also of profiting by the conferences which took place, to obtain possession of the city of Montpellier. The citizens, however, who suspected his designs, and had therefore placed themselves under the safeguard of the King of France, viz., Philip Augustus, would not permit Montfort to enter into their city, but assigned for their conferences the house of the Templars, situated without their walls.

* Petri Vall. Cern. Albigens. p. 649.

† Idem. p. 654.

But the cardinal legate, Peter of Benevento, abusing the respect with which his high dignity inspired the guards of the gates, took Montfort by the arm, and, mingling among a great number of knights who were in his suite, in this way entered the city. However, when the citizens beheld these knights parading their streets on horseback, they instantly took the alarm, an universal cry was raised to take arms and defend their liberties, and they soon assembled in crowds. They barricaded the streets, and surrounded the church of Notre Dame, where the council was sitting, and Simon de Montfort thought himself happy to escape from the city through a by-way. Yet this little check did not prevent him from ultimately succeeding in the principal object of his ambition.*

The council of Montpellier was composed of five archbishops, with twenty-three bishops, making a total of twenty-eight. These reverend fathers decreed, with one consent, that Simon de Montfort should occupy Toulouse, and all the other conquests which the Christian crusaders had made, and should govern them in quality of prince and monarch of the country. Count Raymond VI., who, above all things, and at any price, wished to be reconciled to the church, offered no resistance to this decree, but left to the monarch, his sovereign, the care of protesting against so strange an invasion of the secular power. He delivered up the castle of Narbonne, which had hitherto been the palace of the sovereigns, to Fouquet, the bishop of Toulouse, who came with armed men to take possession of it, and went with his son and the two countesses to lodge at the house of a private individual. The bishop, at the same time, demanded hostages from the city, and caused twelve out of the twenty-four consuls to be delivered up to him, whom he conveyed to Arles.†

These monstrous aggressions appeared to complete the conquest of the province. The greater part of the Albigenses, with thousands of catholics, had perished by the hands of the executioners. The grand work of reformation which had been set on foot by the pure preaching of the primitive apostolic gospel, in

* Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albigen., cap. lxxxi. p. 654.

† Idem. p. 655.

the ministry of Peter Bruys, Henry of Toulouse, Arnold of Brescia, and Peter Waldo, of Lyons, was extinguished in blood. But the movement impressed on the minds of the people, by the preachers of the crusade, did not cease with the suppression of what they called heresy. True, there were no longer any Albigenses to sacrifice, but thousands of monkish missionaries still continued to roam abroad throughout the towns and villages, stirring up the people by promising them the joys of paradise, in recompense for the blood they should shed. This new method of gaining indulgences was so much more easy than the crusade to Jerusalem; the expedition might be accomplished with so much less fatigue, expense, or danger, that there was scarcely a knight who did not covet to wash away his sins with the blood of the heretics; and thus each spring produced a new swarm of crusaders.

At the commencement of the year 1215, Prince Louis, son of the King of France, wished, in his turn, to perform a pilgrimage, as it was called, and to serve forty days against the Albigenses. He arrived at the city of Lyons on the 19th of April, accompanied by a considerable force. This was a very popular enterprise: the Bishop of Beauvais, the Counts of St. Paul, of Ponthieu, of Séz, and of Alençon, the Viscount of Melun, the Lords of Beaujeu and of Montmorency, were anxious to participate, together with a great number of knights of less illustrious names, in this work of supposed sanctification; and immense was the number of citizens, peasants, and adventurers, who had followed his standard, to live for six weeks at discretion in Languedoc, to pillage houses and castles, and to sing in chorus the hymn, *Veni Creator*, around the stake at which the disciples of the Saviour were burning!

No sooner were Simon de Montfort and the cardinal-legate informed of the approach of this army which was marching against them, at a time when the war was terminated, and when there was no country to ravage but that which was now become their property, than they became greatly alarmed. They feared that if Louis once got into the country, he would either take up the cause of the Count of Toulouse, who was his near relation, and defend the rights of that much injured nobleman, or the

rights of the crown, usurped by the council of Montpellier. To avert this evil, Simon de Montfort hastened to give him the meeting at Vienne, and from that moment never quitted him. The legate, on his side, took care to inform the prince-royal, that, coming as a crusader and a pilgrim into a country already conquered by crusaders, he neither could nor ought to oppose himself, in anything, to the arrangements which had been made by the bishops convened at the council of Montpellier.* The suspicions of the two ambitious adventurers, however, were without foundation. Neither Prince Louis nor his knights had any political object, but came into the south for the sole purpose of fulfilling their vows.

It was now two years since Pope Innocent III. had summoned, for the year 1215, an œcumenical or general council, in which the whole church should be called to decide the great interests which were then simultaneously in discussion. This, which was the twelfth of the general councils, and the fourth of those of Lateran, was composed of 71 metropolitans, of 412 bishops, and of nearly 800 abbots. Two of the patriarchs were present, and the other two were represented by their deputies. The two orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, those terrible soldiers of the pope, then received the sanction of the universal or catholic church. This council, among other things, put an end to the preaching of the crusade against the Albigenses, and disposed of the countries conquered by the crusaders.†

The two Count Raymonds, and the Counts of Foix and Cominges had all proceeded to Rome, to plead their cause before the assembled church at this fourth Lateran council, whilst Simon had sent his brother, Guy de Montfort, to look after his interests. The counts presented to the pope a recommendation to his favour from the King of England, the imbecile and infatuated John. They threw themselves at his knees, and they exposed the crying injustice which Montfort had committed against them, in contempt of the pontifical authority itself. Many Fathers in the council strenuously defended the much injured noblemen; they spoke with execration of the horrors committed in the province,

* Petri Vall. Cern. Hist. Albig. esp. lxxxii. p. 656.

† Labbe Concilia Gen. t. xi. pp. 117, 240. Raynaldi Ann. Ecc. 1215, p. 241.

and repeatedly reproached the Bishop of Toulouse (Fouquet) with having destroyed more than ten thousand persons of his own episcopal charge. Even the pope seemed affected at the recital. He expressed much goodwill towards both Raymond VI. and his son; but the far greater part of the ecclesiastics were heated by the fanaticism of the crusade, and thought that all discountenance shewn to Montfort, who had done so much for the church, would only tend to abate the zeal of the catholic party in the suppression of heresy; and they at last agreed with the pope to publish a decree which gave to Montfort the cities of Toulouse and of Montauban, the countship of Toulouse, and all the countries conquered by the crusaders, reserving to Raymond VII. the countship of Venaissin, and the marquisate of Provence.

I have thus traced the total extermination of the Albigenses, and with it the extinction of the cause of reformation so happily introduced during the twelfth century. The slaughter had been so prodigious—the massacres so universal—the terror so profound and of so long duration, that the church of Rome appeared to have completely attained her object. The churches of the Albigenses were everywhere broken up and scattered—the public worship of the Albigenses had everywhere ceased. All teaching was become impossible. Almost every pastor or elder had perished in a frightful manner; and the very small number of those who had succeeded in escaping the edge of the sword now sought an asylum in distant countries, and were enabled to avoid new persecutions only by preserving the most studied silence respecting their opinions. The private members, who had not perished by either the fire or the sword, or who had not withdrawn by flight from the scrutiny of the inquisition, knew that they could only preserve their lives by burying their creed in their own bosoms. For them there were no more sermons—no more public prayers—no more ordinances of the Lord's house—even their children were not to be made acquainted, for a time at least, with their secret sentiments. So complete was the triumph, that the persecutors, in the confidence of victory, became divided, made war reciprocally on each other, and were thereby ruined. Ad this is an event in which the finger of God so manifestly

appeared, that I conceive we should not be justified in passing it over silently in this place.

The two principal leaders of this war of extermination—this infernal crusade against the Albigenses,—those who had signalized themselves by the greatest crimes and atrocities, namely, Simon de Montfort and Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, the pope's legate, quarrelled about the division of their conquests. Arnold, as already mentioned, had seized upon the rich and powerful archbishopric of Narbonne, to which he insisted that sovereign rights were attached. Count Montfort, in taking possession of the spoils of Raymond VI., had assumed the title of Duke of Narbonne as well as that of Count of Toulouse. In this conflict of jurisdictions, the inhabitants of Narbonne inclined towards the archbishop, which was a sufficient reason for Montfort to accuse them of being suspected of heresy, and to demand the demolition of their walls. The archbishop opposed it—Simon entered the city by force, in spite of the opposition of Arnold, and displayed his ducal standard in the viscount's palace. The archbishop had instant recourse to the artillery of the church, and, on his part, fulminated an excommunication against his ancient colleague—against that Simon de Montfort who had gloried on all occasions in being the executioner of the excommunicated. During the time that Montfort remained at Narbonne, the archbishop placed all the churches of the city under an interdict—a sentence to which Montfort payed no regard. At this critical moment the pope, Innocent III., whose support the archbishop had implored, was removed by death, and the succession of Honorius III. to the chair of St. Peter retarded the decision of this cause, and we know not how it ended. All we know is, that Simon de Montfort continued to bear the title of the Duke of Narbonne, and that he threw down many parts of the wall of that city, in order that he might have the power of entering it at all times.*

In the month of April, 1216, Count Montfort set out to visit the King of France, Philip Augustus, that he might receive from that monarch the investiture of the fiefs, manors, or territorial

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxii. p. 281.

possessions which the crusaders had conquered. Throughout his whole journey he was received and honoured as the champion of the church; bands of fanatics formed processions to meet him, and thought themselves happy if they could only touch his garments. The French monarch gave him the most favourable reception, invested him with the dukedom of Narbonne, the countship of Toulouse, and the viscountships of Beziers and Carcassonne, and also acknowledged him as his vassal and liegeman.* But Raymond VI., to whom all this of right belonged, and from whom it had been scandalously purloined, had now received the absolution of the church, and was reconciled to it. He was cousin-german to the King of France, brother-in-law to the Emperor Frederic and the King of England, father-in-law to Sancho, king of Navarre, and uncle to the Kings of Castile and Aragon; nevertheless, he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by them all; or, if the King of England continued to shew him some attachment, he could render him no assistance. There was, however, a small part of Provence, which the family of Raymond VI. possessed under the title of marquisate, which had been reserved by the council of Lateran to Raymond and his son. Those two princes, returning from that assembly by way of Marseilles, began by causing the Provençals to acknowledge their authority. They had the gratification of finding their ancient subjects well affected towards their interests, and the more especially so, since they had experienced the exactions and arrogance of their new lords, Count Montfort and his Frenchmen. The council of Lateran had put an end to the crusade against the Albigenses; no more indulgences were to be preached up; the pious were no longer to be invited to repair to the south of France in order to massacre heretics already extirpated. Simon de Montfort was reduced to his own forces, or to the mercenaries whom he could enroll. Marseilles, Tarascon, and Avignon had declared for the two Raymonds; and the younger, on taking leave of Pope Innocent III., had received from him a kind of permission to recover his heritage by force of arms, should it ever be in his power. Thus encouraged, the younger Raymond, by

* Petri Val. Cern. Hist. Albig. cap. lxxxiii. p. 659.

the aid of the Provençals, raised an army, with which he commenced his operations against Montfort: this he did by the taking of Beaucaire, whose inhabitants opened their gates to him, whilst his father passed into Aragon, to seek for new succours.*

Though master of the city, Raymond VII. had not possession of the castle of Beaucaire, where a French garrison still defended itself. He consequently undertook the siege, without suffering himself to be discouraged by the approach of Montfort at the head of a formidable force. He was then only nineteen years of age, yet he defended the city against that great warrior, and, even before the eyes of the latter, took the castle which Montfort came to relieve. In the mean time his father, Raymond VI., had collected a body of troops in Aragon and Catalonia, and was approaching Toulouse, which had already openly declared in his favour. Simon de Montfort finding himself thus attacked on two opposite frontiers, hastily concluded a truce with young Raymond, and hastened to the defence of his capital. Raymond VI. unhappily had not sufficient force to make head against him, and retired towards the mountains. This placed the inhabitants of Toulouse in an awkward predicament. Terrified at the attachment they had shewn towards their ancient sovereign, they sought pardon of Montfort. All the lords of the army supported their solicitations: they advised him to exact the fifth, or the fourth of their moveable goods, and to content himself with this pecuniary punishment, which would fill his treasury, and enable him to renew the siege of Beaucaire. Simon de Montfort, however, would listen to no counsels but those of the ferocious Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, a prelate who seemed to have no pleasure equal to that which arose from shedding the blood of his flock. "And then," says the old historian of these transactions, "spoke the Bishop of Toulouse, and thus he said, and made him to understand, that he should do and finish what he had already determined against the Toulousians, assuring him that they would not love him ever so little except by force, and exhorting him to leave them nothing if once he was within their city, but to take both goods and people as much as he could have

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, lib. xxiii. ch. i. ii. pp. 287, 288.

and hold : for know, my lord," added he, " that if you do thus it will be late before you repent of it."*

This prelate, so worthy of the church to which he belonged, did not restrict his labours to the preaching of ferocity; he took upon himself in addition to that, to facilitate by perfidy the execution of his counsels. He entered the city of Toulouse, ostensibly as a messenger of peace: "in order that I may," said he to the count, "make all the people come out to meet you, that you may seize and take them, which you could not do in the city." He next solicited his flock to apply, by successive deputations of men, women, and children, to the Count de Montfort, assuring them that this was the only means of appeasing him and disarming his anger. The most considerable persons in the city thought they could not refuse to credit their pastor, especially when he swore by the name of that God whom he was commissioned to preach to them, that his ardent charity alone dictated the advice which he had given for their welfare. Nevertheless, as the citizens of Toulouse arrived successively before Montfort, he put them in irons! When more than eighty of them had been thus trepanned, a citizen whom they were preparing to treat in the same way, made his escape out of their hands, and called his fellow-citizens to arms. The crowds who were proceeding from the gates to humble themselves before the count, fled back to the city; and now rage succeeded to terror. They armed themselves, barricadoed all the streets, and awaited the attack of Montfort.

Already had his soldiers entered the less populous parts of the city. "Directed by the bishop," says our historian, "they had already pillaged and plundered the greater part of the said city, and violated women and girls in such numbers, that it was sad to see all the ill which the said bishop had done in so short a time to Toulouse." But indignation redoubling the force of the citizens, the pillagers were driven out with great loss. Three times the count with his cavalry charged upon the people, in different quarters of the city, and three times he was repulsed with great slaughter. At last he threatened to put to death the eighty per-

* *Historia de los Faicts de Tolosa*, p. 78.

sons whom he had arrested. The bishop, accompanied by the abbot St. Sernin, again entered the city as mediator. The two prelates demanded of the Toulousians to surrender their arms and fortresses, engaging, by oath, that on these conditions the count should release their prisoners, and neither touch their persons nor their goods, but protesting that they had no mercy to expect if they persisted in their rebellion.

The bishop and Count Simon appear by this time to have been so well known, that their word inspired no confidence; but the perilous condition of the hostages, the critical situation of the city, and, more than all, the constant repugnance of the people to believe that the lords and the priests would perjure themselves, determined the Toulousians to submission. Mutual oaths were exchanged, the arms were given up, the fortresses surrendered to the soldiers of Montfort, and, when the citizens had thus deprived themselves of all the means of resistance, Montfort selected the most considerable persons among them, whom he put in irons, and sent them, along with the prisoners whom he had before seized, into the principal castles of the province, where they all perished, either by want or by a violent death. He then commanded the rest of the citizens to pay him, before the first day of November following, the enormous sum of thirty thousand marks of silver, in order to ransom their city from the flames, and their persons from a universal carnage. The inhabitants, finding they had no resource, were compelled to submit to these hard conditions.*

Accustomed to regard all that his neighbours retained as so much taken from himself, Simon de Montfort renewed the war in the following year (1217), both with Raymond Roger, count of Foix, and also with Raymond VII., then reduced to the possession of Provence. He captured the castle of Bernis, and hanged all the inhabitants. Beaucaire and St. Gilles, however, resisted all his attacks. He was more fortunate in Valentinois, whither he afterwards carried the war. He had there obtained several advantages, when he learned that the inhabitants of Toulouse, indignant at the cruelty and perfidy with which they had

* *Historia de los Faicts de Tolosa*, pp. 78—84. Pet. Val. Cern. p. 661.

been treated the preceding year, had secretly recalled from Aragon their count, Raymond VI., who, on the 13th of September, had entered his capital.*

Count Raymond's return gave occasion for a striking manifestation of the national sentiments which were cherished by the inhabitants of the south of France. This descendant of an ancient house possessed no qualities which could, properly speaking, be regarded as grand or heroic; he had shewn neither distinguished talents nor force of character. He had, at an early period of life, been induced to consent to what he disapproved, and to inscribe his name among those of the crusaders who came to ravage his country, and who secretly nourished the project of conquering his heritage. His submission to all the ecclesiastical censures, to all the outrages, to all the injustice which the legates, the provincial councils, the pope, and the council of Lateran had accumulated on his head, sufficiently indicated either his weakness or his superstitious fears; and his retreat from the castle of Narbonne, and then from Toulouse, was probably the effect of his timidity. But the people of all the province of Albigeois could not forget that he had incurred the hatred of his oppressors solely by his indulgence towards them; that he had abhorred bloodshed and cruelty; and that, in spite of his promises—in spite even of the persuasion with which they had succeeded in inspiring him, that his religious duty as well as his interest demanded these persecutions, he had always checked the zeal of the executioners. His administration had been mild and gentle; public liberty in the cities, commerce, manufactures, science and literature, had made rapid advances by his assistance and encouragement. His young son, Raymond VII., already rendered illustrious by military exploits before his twentieth year, appeared with a more experienced constancy, and a loftier character, to promise a happier reign. But the two Raymonds became still more endeared to the Toulousians when contrasted with Simon de Montfort and the crusaders.

It was not the zeal of the Albigenian dissenters, properly speaking, that was now awakened for the house of Toulouse:

* Hist. Albigen. cap. lxxxiv. lxxxv. p. 662. Hist. de Languedoc, p. 299.

their church was drowned in blood; their race, for the present, had disappeared; their opinions had ceased to influence society; but, in their name, the other portion of the population had been exposed to the most sanguinary and brutal treatment. Hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants massacred with a blind fury, and without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic. We know not what credit ought to be given to the numbers assigned for the crusading army, nor whether we should believe that, in the course of a single year, five hundred thousand men were poured into Languedoc. But this we know, that armies much superior in number, much inferior in discipline, to those which were employed in other wars, had arrived for seven or eight successive years, almost without interruption, upon this desolated country; that they entered it without pay and without magazines; that they provided for all their necessities with the sword; that they considered it as their right to live at the expense of the country; and that all the harvests of the peasants, all the provisions and merchandize of the citizens, were, on every occasion, seized with a rapacious hand, and divided at discretion among the crusaders. No calculation can ascertain with any precision the dissipation of wealth, or the destruction of human life, which were the consequences of the crusade against the Albigenses. There was scarcely a peasant who did not reckon in his family some one who had fallen a victim to their cruelty—some one whose life had been cut off by the sword of Montfort's soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravages of his property by them. More than three-fourths of the knights and landed proprietors had been spoiled of their castles and manors to gratify the cupidity of some of Simon de Montfort's creatures. These victims of their outrage and cruelty they named *Faidsits*; and, after plundering them of their possessions, granted them the favour of remaining in the country, provided they were neither heretics, nor excommunicated, nor suspected of having given an asylum to those who were so; but they were never to be permitted to enter a walled city, nor to enjoy the honour of mounting a war-horse. Every species of injustice, all kinds of affronts, persecutions of every name, had been heaped on the heads of the people

of Languedoc, whom, since the termination of the crusade, it had been the custom to comprehend under the general name of Albigenses. Simon de Montfort was to them the representative of the evil spirit—the prototype of all the persecutions they had endured. While, on the contrary, the name of Raymond VI. was associated with those happier times when they enjoyed their possessions in peace, and when they could witness the daily increase of knowledge, industry, and liberty.

The terror which Simon de Montfort everywhere inspired was too profound to allow of the reception of Raymond VI. at Toulouse without hesitation. He approached that city at the head of an army raised in Spain, and which had been increased by the junction of the Counts of Foix and Cominges. At Salvetat, four leagues distant from Toulouse, he defeated a body of troops which, under the standard of Montfort, had just pillaged the castle of Mazeres. He continued his march, and, on the 13th of September, found the gates of Toulouse open. But, however desirable his residence among them, the most timid had shut themselves up in the Narbonnese castle, and in different convents, with the wife and daughters-in-law of Simon de Montfort, that they might not be accused of having favoured their ancient master. A new victory, obtained by Raymond VI. over the brother of Simon de Montfort, on the plains of Montolieu, emboldened the most fearful, and united all the citizens of Toulouse around their count; and, in a little time, all the most valiant knights of the surrounding country, who professed an ancient attachment to the family of Raymond, were seen entering the city with standards displayed and trumpets sounding. Each of them was followed by all the sergeants-at-arms, on horseback, whom he could collect; and the entry of this brilliant cavalcade into the city was welcomed with transports of joy; and even those who had concealed themselves were now inspired with resolution.*

The instant Simon de Montfort was informed of what was going on at Toulouse, he hastened thither by forced marches.

* *Historia de los Faicts de Tolosa*, p. 88. Petri Vall. Cern. *Hist. Albigen.* p. 663. *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, livre xxiii. p. 299.

But a part of his army consisted of levies raised in that country, and no Languedocian served him except through fear. As he advanced, and the news from Toulouse was spread among his soldiers, he found himself deserted by all those whose hearts had remained faithful to their country and their ancient lord. Near to Basiège, he met his brother, Count Guy de Montfort, who was coming to join him. They agreed to hasten an attack upon Toulouse before the inhabitants should have time to rebuild the walls of their city, and whilst the citizens were hesitating between affection and fear. They advanced, therefore, with ladders as far as the edge of the ditch; but at that moment a discharge of cross-bows put them in disorder, and Guy de Montfort, with another Guy, his nephew, both fell dangerously wounded. Simon was then compelled to renounce the project of taking the city by surprise, and he resolved, towards the end of September, to commence a regular siege. In consequence of this resolution, he divided his troops between himself and his son Amaury, in order to attack the city, at the same time, on each side of the river. Nevertheless, he suffered himself to be surprised by the Count of Foix, was pursued as far as Muret, where he was very near being drowned at the passage of the Garonne—in the very place which, four years before, had been signalized by his most splendid victory—and was obliged to bring back his troops in front of the Narbonnese castle, where he joined his son.*

This was a sad reverse to this skilful and successful general, and it infused courage and hope into his opponents. All the other cities of Albigeois now appeared ready to follow the example of Toulouse. At Montauban a revolt took place; but it was quelled by the Seneschal of Agenois and the Bishop of Lectoure, who commanded for Montfort. The city was pillaged and burned; but this act of severity only served to redouble the hatred of the Languedocians against the French. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, was dispatched into France, with others, to preach a new crusade, whilst the Countess of Montfort repaired

* *Historia des los Faicts de Tolosa*, p. 92.

to the court of the King of France to solicit his aid. Simon himself had recourse to the pope, Honorius III., and the latter wrote to the King of Aragon to dissuade him from an alliance with the Count of Toulouse; but time was requisite before these different measures could form a new army for the heroes of the crusade.

In the meantime the siege proceeded slowly; it was prolonged through the winter, and lasted nearly nine months. The cardinal-legate, who shared with Simon the conduct of the army, never ceased reproaching him with his tardiness, and attributed his want of success to a failure of zeal or courage. The besieged had the advantage in point of number, and of boldness, too, over the assailants. Every day they darted from their walls upon the enemy, and caused them great loss. On the 25th of June, 1218, the Toulousians, in a sortie, made a bold and daring effort to possess themselves of a warlike machine (the cat) which Count Simon had just constructed. Montfort himself happened to be at the church attending the public worship, when intelligence was brought him that the besieged were in possession of his machine, and about to set fire to it. He wished, however, to finish the hearing of the mass before he proceeded to battle. But, at the moment of the elevation of the host, he exclaimed, in the words of Simeon, "Let thy servant henceforth depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation." He then called for his arms, put himself at the head of his old warriors, and once more repulsed the Toulousians. He was standing with his battalion before the wooden tower which he had just reconquered, when an enormous stone, thrown by a machine from the wall of the city, struck him on the head, and extended him lifeless on the ground. The moment his death was known by the Toulousians, a shout of joy resounded throughout the whole city. All ran to arms, and rushed upon the besiegers with redoubled fury. They drove them beyond their tents and equipages, took possession of a part of their effects, and destroyed the rest.

Amaury de Montfort collected together the scattered soldiers of his father, received the homage of his knights, and their oath of fidelity as successor to Simon in the countship of Toulouse, and for a whole month obstinately persisted in the siege of that

city, endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to set it on fire. But his army was discouraged, and daily diminished in number, whilst the forces and the ardour of the besieged were proportionably augmented. He was at last obliged, on the 25th of July, to determine on raising the siege, and to retire to Carcassonne, where he buried the body of his father.*

The death of Simon de Montfort forms a memorable epoch in the history of the Albigenses; for, though it did not terminate the race of that people, or exhaust the implacable animosity of their adversaries towards them, it suspended the military operations of the crusaders in that quarter, and served to divert their attention to the expedition against the Holy Land, which, at this time, formed the grand subject of interest to Christendom. But to prosecute the narrative of that extraordinary piece of fanaticism does not come within the province of this course of Lectures. The warlike devotion of the French now resumed its first direction towards the east, and the efforts of Bishop Fouquet to excite new fanatics to the massacre of the Albigenses remained for a time almost without effect. I shall, therefore, avail myself of this pause in the narration to give you some account of the origin and history of the Inquisition,—an appalling topic, which will occupy the whole of the next Lecture, and become a prominent feature in the proceedings of the court of Rome against both the Albigenses and Waldenses.

* Petri Val. Cern. *Hist. Albigens.* esp. lxxvi. p. 664. *Historia de los Faiets de Tolosa*, p. 93. *Hist. de Languedoc*, liv. xxiii. ch. xxviii. p. 303, and ch. xxix. p. 105. *Chron. Roberti Alliasiodor*, p. 285.

LECTURE XLIV.

Some Account of the Inquisition, or Holy Office—of St. Dominic, its Founder—Specimen of the Miracles attributed to him by the Romanists—The Holy Office ; how vindicated by Luis à Paramo ; its ostensible object and design ; how aided by the Emperor Frederick II.—Canons of Regulation issued by the Council of Toulouse, A.D. 1229—Further Instructions issued for the use of Inquisitors—Death of Dominic, and of the Emperor Frederick—Vigorous measures of Pope Innocent IV.—Difficulties attending the establishment of the Inquisition in France—Its terrifying aspect in Spain and Portugal—Estimate of its character by several writers—Description of an Auto-da-Fè—Remarks.

IN a former Lecture, after presenting you with a picture of popery, catholicism, or the antichristian kingdom, as it existed when matured and perfected by the consummate skill of Pope Innocent III., I took occasion to mention the Inquisition, or "Holy Office," as the adherents of the papacy are pleased to call it, and promised to resume the subject at a proper time, and furnish a more particular account of it.* As this fearful engine of destruction was called into existence mainly for the purpose of destroying the Albigenses in the south of France, whose history has occupied some of our latest Lectures, we are now arrived at the proper place for introducing that topic. The sub-

* See vol. i. p. 556—Lect. xxix.

ject is one that, unhappily, will often force itself upon us hereafter; and I have thought it best to reserve it for a distinct Lecture, in order that it may not interrupt the narrative of the Albigensian persecutions. To do it anything like justice would require a folio volume rather than the few pages which my limits allow me to allot to it; but some brief account of it is necessary, and, in doing this, I shall avail myself of the most credible and authentic accounts that are within my reach.

I shall begin with laying before you a few extracts from an article which appeared in a respectable journal, viz., the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. xii., for December, 1811, from the pen of Mr. Southey, the present poet laureate, whose intimate acquaintance with the subject, and unquestionable talents for handling it, seem to give him a claim of preference to be first heard. It is true that he is more particularly discussing the operation of the inquisition in Spain and Portugal, in the article from which I am about to make my extracts; but that is a circumstance of no moment in the present instance, and cannot in the smallest degree affect his credibility in what he says of the nature, quality, and merits of the institution itself. The learned writer draws his facts, not from the enemies, but the friends of the inquisition—not from prejudiced protestants, but from the Dominican historians themselves. Taking a review of papal Chistianity, he says—

“The wonderful and monstrous establishment which, in the dark ages, was substituted for the religion of Christ, is the greatest monument of human genius, human wickedness, and human weakness, that was ever reared. From the earliest ages of papacy down to the miracles of the pictures at Rome, in 1796, being the last which were publicly enacted, a regular system of deceit has been practised and encouraged by the Romish church. This was at its height in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among those who made the noblest stand against these corruptions, the Albigenses were the most conspicuous. Their history is equally disgraceful to four countries—our own among the number; for when we remember Simon de Montfort, we must not reproach the Spaniards with St. Dominic:” [a sketch of whose history then follows.]

"Domingo de Gusman, better known, as he stands in the Romish Calendar, by the name of SAINT DOMINIC, being employed against the Albigenses, invented the inquisition to accelerate the effect of his sermons. This is not unlike the plan of the author of a treatise upon the Harrowgate waters, who recommends a pint of the water as an aperient, with a good dose of Glauber's salts to assist the operation! His invention was readily approved at Rome, and he himself nominated inquisitor-general. The painful detail of his crimes may well be spared; suffice it to say, that in one day four-score persons were beheaded, and four hundred burnt alive, by this man's order and in his sight. St. Dominic is the only saint in whom no solitary speck of goodness can be discovered. To impose privations and pain was the pleasure of his unnatural heart, and cruelty was in him an appetite and a passion. No other human being has ever been the occasion of so much misery. The few traits of character which can be gleaned from the lying volumes of his biographers are all of the darkest colours. He never looked a woman in the face, or spoke to one. On his preaching expeditions he usually slept in the churches, or upon a grave. He wore an iron chain round his body, and his fastings and flagellations were excessive. But if his disciples have preserved few personal facts concerning their master, they have made ample amends in the catalogue of his miracles. Let the reader have patience to peruse a few of these tales, not copied from protestant, and therefore suspected authors, but from the Dominican historians themselves, and every one of them authorized by the inquisition.

"The dream of his mother, during her pregnancy, is well known,—that she whelped a dog, holding a burning torch in his mouth, wherewith he fired the world. Earthquakes and meteors announced his nativity to the earth and the air, and two or three suns and moons extraordinary were hung out for an illumination in heaven. The Virgin Mary received him in her arms as he sprung to birth. When a sucking babe he regularly observed fast days, and would get out of bed and lie upon the ground as a penance. His manhood was as portentous as his infancy. He fed multitudes miraculously, and performed the miracle of Cana with great success. Once, when he fell in with a troop of pil-

grims, of different countries, the curse which had been inflicted at Babel was suspended for him, and all were enabled to speak one language. Travelling with a single companion, he entered a monastery in a lonely place, to pass the night; he awoke at matins, and hearing yells and lamentations instead of prayers, went out and discovered that he was among a brotherhood of devils. Dominic punished them upon the spot with a cruel sermon, and then returned to rest. At morning the convent had disappeared, and he and his comrade found themselves in a wilderness. He had one day an obstinate battle with the flesh: the quarrel took place in a wood; and, finding it necessary to call in help, he stripped himself, and commanded the ants and the wasps to come to his assistance: even against these auxiliaries the contest was continued for three hours before the soul could win the victory. He used to be red-hot with divine love; sometimes blazing like a sun; sometimes glowing like a furnace; at times it blanched his garments, and imbued them with a glory resembling that of Christ in the Transfiguration. Once it sprouted out six wings, like a seraph; and once the fervour of his piety made him sweat blood."

The foregoing are a sample of the *miscellaneous* miracles which the catholics attribute to St. Dominic. There remain two distinct and important classes which must be noticed:—those which relate to the rosary, and are the original stock in trade of the order of Dominicans; and those which refer to the Virgin Mary, having been invented to play off against the Franciscans.

"The Romish church had established an opinion that prayer was a thing of actual, not of relative value; that it was received as currency in the treasury of heaven, where due account was kept; and that credit was given to every soul for all which he had himself placed there, or which had been paid over for his use, for the stock was transferable by gift or purchase. The rosary, or bead-string, was an admirable device, upon this principle, if it had been merely for abridging the arithmetic; but it had also its peculiar earthly advantages. The full rosary consists of a hundred-and-sixty-five beads, that is, of fifteen decades, with a larger bead at the end of each, which is for the Pater

Noster—the smaller ones being for the Ave Marias. It is obvious, that if the Ave Marias were repeated a hundred-and-fifty times continuously, the words would necessarily become unconnected with thought or feeling, and soon pass into confused and scarcely articulate sounds; but, by this invention, when ten beads have been dropped, the larger one comes opportunely in to jog the memory: sufficient attention is thus awakened to satisfy the conscience of the devotee, and yet no effort, no feeling, no fervour are required; the heart may be asleep, the understanding may wander; the lips and the fingers are all that are needed for this act of most acceptable and efficient devotion. ‘It is a means,’ says an English Roman catholic writer, ‘to kindle and nourish devotion, and with great facility to pray, and obtain by the most effectual intercession of so great an advocate [as the Virgin] all manner of good and perfect gifts; from which so fruitful means should be excluded neither the husbandman in the fields, nor the traveller in his journey, nor the labourer with his toiling, nor the simple by his unskilfulness, nor the woman by her sex, nor the married by their estate, nor the young by their ignorance, nor the aged by their impotency, nor the poor for want of ability, nor the blind for want of sight: a devotion which is repugnant to no estate or condition,—not requiring more knowledge than to say the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, nor more charge than the price of a pair of beads, nor a choice of place or situation of body, but as it shall like [i. e. please] the party, either to stand, sit, lie, walk, or kneel—especially having no burden of conscience, or charge, if it be omitted: who seeth not how easy it is?’ Such manifold advantages could not fail to bring the rosary into vogue; nor could the beauty of this religious implement be without its effects. Nothing can be conceived more interesting than the bead-string, with its appendant cross or crucifix, hanging round the neck of the young, or in the trembling hands of the aged.

“It was naturally to be expected that the Virgin, the great patroness of catholicism, would take especial delight in a form of devotion so peculiarly addressed to herself. Accordingly, she [is said to have] often appeared, garlanded with roses, in the

proportion of one red to ten white ones. And [according to the catholic legends] there is no end to the miracles by which she has proved the efficacy of this religious prescription. For instance : a knight to whom Dominic presented a rosary, arrived at such a perfection of piety, that his eyes were opened, and he saw an angel take every bead as he dropped it, and carry it to the Queen of Heaven, who immediately magnified it, and built with the whole string a palace upon a mountain in Paradise ! This was a saint-miracle ; a much greater one was vouchsafed to a sinner :—

“A damsel, by name Alexandra, induced by Dominic’s preaching, used the rosary ; but her heart followed too much after the things of this world. Two young men, who were rivals for her, fought, and both fell in the combat ; and their relations, in revenge, cut off her head, and threw it into a well. The devil immediately seized her soul, to which it seems he had a clear title—but, for the sake of the rosary, the Virgin interfered, rescued the soul out of his hands, and gave it permission to remain in the head at the bottom of the well, till it should have an opportunity of confessing and being absolved. After some days this was revealed to Dominic, who went to the well, and told Alexandra, in God’s name, to come up : the bloody head obeyed, perched on the well-side, confessed its sins, received absolution, took the wafer, and continued to edify the people for two days, when the soul departed to pass a fortnight in purgatory on its way to heaven ! These, however, are trifling miracles.

“When Dominic entered Toulouse, after one of his interviews with the Virgin, all the bells of the city rang to welcome him, untouched by human hands ! But the heretics [Albigenses] neither heeded this, nor regarded his earnest exhortations to them, to abjure their errors, and make use of the rosary. To punish their obstinacy a dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning set the whole firmament in a blaze ; the earth shook, and the howling of affrighted animals was mingled with the shrieks and groans of the terrified multitude. They crowded to the church, where Dominic was preaching, as to an asylum. ‘Citizens of Toulouse,’ said he, ‘I see before me a hundred-

and-fifty angels, sent by Christ and his mother to punish you ! This tempest is the voice of the right hand of God.' There was an image of the Virgin in the church, who raised her arm in a threatening attitude as he spoke. 'Hear me !' he continued, 'that arm shall not be withdrawn till you appease her by reciting the rosary.' New outcries now arose : the devils yelled because of the torment this inflicted on them. The terrified Toulousians prayed and scourged themselves, and told their beads with such good effect, that the storm at length ceased. Dominic, satisfied with their repentance, gave the word, and down fell the arm of the image !

" In one of his visits to heaven, Dominic was carried before the throne of Christ, where he beheld many religionists of both sexes, but none of his own order. This so afflicted him, that he began to lament aloud, and inquired why they did not appear in bliss. Christ, upon this, laying his hand upon the Virgin's shoulder, said, 'I have committed your order [the Dominicans] to my Mother's care ;' and she, lifting up her robe, discovered an innumerable multitude of Dominicans, friars and nuns, nestled under it. Let not the reader suppose that this is a protestant invention. It stands as here represented in the prayer-book of the order :—*Breviarium S. Ordinis Predicatorum*. Paris, 1647. *Officium S. Dominici*—p. 68.

The two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans arose at the same time, having the same object in view—the extirpation of heretics,—but were animated towards each other with the most deadly animosity, each claiming the precedence, and vying with each other for the superiority. The miracle now related is one of the Anti-Franciscan, a class, of which the abominations are almost too impious, says Mr. Southey, to be repeated. The Dominicans—the inquisitors—tell us that "the Virgin appeared to Dominic in a cave near Toulouse ; that she called him her son and her husband ; that she took him in her arms, and bared her breasts to him, that he might drink their nectar ! She told him that, were she a mortal, she could not live without him, so excessive was her love ; even now, immortal as she was, she should die for him, did not the Almighty sup-

port her, as he had done at the Crucifixion ! At another visit, she espoused him ; and the saints, and the Redeemer himself, came down to witness the marriage ceremony ! It is impossible to transcribe these atrocious blasphemies without shuddering at the guilt of those who invented them ; and when it is remembered that these are the men who have persecuted and martyred so many thousands for conscience' sake, it seems as if human wickedness could not be carried farther. Blessed be the day of Martin Luther's birth !—it should be a festival only second to that of the Nativity.

“ But though the Dominicans pride themselves upon the establishment of the inquisition by their sainted founder, they do not consider him as the inventor of that tribunal. There is nothing in which the Romanists have manifested more extravagance, subtlety, and exquisite ingenuity, than in discovering types in the Old Testament for the mythology which they have added to the New. The present subject affords the most impudent proofs. At the close of the sixteenth century, Luis de Paramo, who was a canon of Leon and an inquisitor in the kingdom of Sicily, published a work “ *Concerning the Origin and Progress of the Holy Office of the Inquisition ; also of its dignity and usefulness.*” According to this writer, God was the first inquisitor, and the first auto-da-fe was held in the garden of Eden. God cited Adam, because the process would otherwise have been null ; and upon the culprit's appearance he *inquired*, that is, *made inquisition* into the crime. The man accused his wife, after which the judge questioned her also ; the Serpent he did not examine because of his obstinacy. Both parties were examined separately, and in secret, to prevent collusion ; and no witnesses were called, because confession and conscience are as good as a thousand witnesses, and then the judge had nothing to do but to pass sentence. There is, indeed, another reason why no witnesses were called, which is, that there were none to call ; this, however, the inquisitor does not condescend to notice, it being so obvious that the whole proceedings in this great process were purposely intended as a precedent for the holy office ! Even the garment which penitent offenders are compelled to wear, is after the pattern of the clothes

which God made for Adam and Eve; and because Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise—for that reason, all the property of a heretic is to be confiscated.

“Abraham,” they tell us, “was an inquisitor, and so was Sarah, which they thus prove, from the words of Scripture:—‘she turned Ishmael out of doors for idolatry!’ In this manner Paramo goes through the Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua and Judges. David, he tells us, was a most severe inquisitor; Solomon, though the wisest of men, the most perverse dogmatist of all idolaters and heretics. Zimri, who slew his master, was of the holy office; so was Elijah; so was Elisha; so was Jehu; and what is far more extraordinary, so was Nebuchadnezzar. Of all the strange things that have been written of Nebuchadnezzar, ‘in prose or rhyme,’ this is surely the strangest. Under the Gospel dispensation, Christ was the first inquisitor. The very form of punishment in force by the holy office is pointed at in the Gospel; for did not James and John think that the Samaritans should be destroyed by fire? Behold in this the punishment due to heretics—it is fire! For were not the Samaritans of that day heretics? All the apostles duly follow in the ranks of the holy office, and then come the popes.”

So far Mr. Southey, on the rise of the inquisition, the character of its founder, the monstrous mass of lying miracles attributed to him by the Dominican writers, and implicitly believed in the catholic church. I now proceed to some further details of this horrible tribunal.

The inquisition was not, at the outset, on the same footing on which it has been subsequently settled, and on which it still continues. Both the orders of Dominicans and Franciscans were vested with a double capacity, not very happily united in the same persons: one was that of preachers, to convince the heretics by argument; the other that of prosecutors, to instigate magistrates to employ every possible method of extirpating the contumacious, that is, all such as were so unreasonable as not to be convinced by the profound logic of those merciless fanatics and miserable sophisters. We may add a third, viz., that of being spies of the court of Rome, on the bishops, on the secular powers, and on the people, whether catholic or heretical. They had it in

charge to make strict inquiry, and report to his holiness the number and quality of the heretics, the zeal discovered in those called catholics, the diligence of the bishops, and the forwardness or backwardness which they found in the secular powers to comply with the views and wishes of the pope. It was from this part of their charge, more particularly, that they were denominated inquisitors. They had, however, no tribunals; they confined themselves to stirring up judges to banish or otherwise chastise such of the heretics as were brought before them. Sometimes they excited potentates to arm their subjects against them; at other times they addressed themselves to the mob, and inflamed the rabble to arm themselves and join in extirpating them. Such as they could prevail upon to enlist in this service obtained the title of crusaders, and were distinguished by a cross of cloth affixed to their garments. This badge operated like a charm upon the deluded populace, who, if they were before inflamed, now became infuriate, and, as one happily expresses it, "were raised to a super-celestial sort of virtue which defies all the restraints of reason and humanity."

Dominic and his disciples or assistants were sent into France, to exert all their energies and influence against the Albigenses; while Franciscus with his fraternity received their appointment to Italy, where the Paterines were becoming troublesome to the catholic church. They were furnished with the most ample authority and power; and the court of Rome naturally concluded that a spirit of emulation would stimulate the zeal of these orders to rival and surpass one another in their exertions and success.

Such was the origin of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, though, strictly speaking, they were not formally instituted or fully organized until several years afterwards; but such, in fact, was their origin and their primary acts, which procured their institution. It was only by a slow progress, during all the reign of St. Louis, A.D. 1226 to 1270, that the inquisition was brought to that complete and fearful state of organization which may be termed its perfection. It first presents itself to our view about the year 1210, when the Dominicans, having obtained the house or castle of a nobleman near Narbonne, there fixed their

tribunal, and began their pious, or rather *impious*, labours of searching out for condign punishment all such persons as refused to yield implicit obedience to the court of Rome. The measures hitherto pursued against the heretics seemed to the pope only as the sprinkling of water, which served but to aggravate the flame of heresy; and he now denounced more open and violent war. He invited the catholic princes and nobles to take up arms; and he gave commission everywhere to preach the same indulgences and terms of every kind, as when levies were made for crusading to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens. On the one hand, Dominic and his associates offered to such as would enrol themselves the remission of all their sins, full indulgences, and various other privileges;—the obstinate they branded, imprisoned, and tortured.*

While the inquisition was yet in its infancy, it was powerfully advanced by the Emperor Frederick II., who, in the year 1224, promulgated, from Padua, four edicts against heretics, of the most ferocious and sanguinary description, addressed to his beloved princes, the venerable archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church; to the dukes, marquises, earls, barons, governors, judges, ministers, officials, and all other his faithful subjects throughout the empire. In these edicts he takes the inquisitors under his protection, imposes on obstinate heretics the punishment of being burnt to death, and of perpetual imprisonment on the penitent, committing the cognizance of the crime to the ecclesiastical, and the condemnation of the criminals, as well as the infliction of the punishment, to the secular judges. As the object of all these bloody edicts was chiefly to destroy the Waldenses or Albigenses, it may not be foreign to our purpose to give a specimen of the spirit that breathes throughout the whole of them.

“The care of the imperial government,” says his Majesty, “committed to us from heaven, and over which we preside, demands the material sword, which is given to us separately from the priesthood, against the enemies of the faith, and for the extirpation of heretical pravity, that we should pursue with judgment

* Limborch's History of the Inquisition, ch. x.

and justice those vipers and perfidious children who insult the Lord and his church as though they would tear out the very bowels of their mother. We shall not suffer these wretches to live, who infect the world by their seducing doctrines, and who, being themselves corrupted, more grievously taint the flock of the faithful." He then proceeds to denounce the most dreadful sentences against all persons convicted of heresy, against all who may be employed as advocates for them, and against all who may be detected in receiving and abetting them, condemning their persons, disinheriting their children, and confiscating their property.

The second edict, though not less sanguinary, was more definite in its object, since it professes to have directly in view the destruction of the sect of the Paterines, of whom, it will be recollected, a particular account has been given in a former Lecture. The reader shall have a specimen. "The heretics are endeavouring to rend the seamless coat of our God, and, raging with deceitful words, strive to divide the unity of the invisible faith itself, and to separate the sheep from the care of St. Peter, to whom they were committed by the good Shepherd to be fed. These are the ravenous wolves within, who put on the meekness of the sheep, that they may the better enter into the Lord's sheepfold. These are the worst angels—the sons of naughtiness, of the father of wickedness—appointed to deceive simple souls. These are adders who deceive the doves—serpents which crawl in private, and, under the sweetness of honey, vomit poison; so that, whilst they pretend to administer the food of life, they sting with their tail, and mingle the most bitter poison into the cup of death. They call themselves PATERINES, after the example of the martyrs. These miserable Paterines, who do not believe the eternal Trinity, by their complicated wickedness offend against three—viz. God, their neighbour, and themselves. Against God, because they do not acknowledge the Son and the true faith;—they deceive their neighbours whilst, under the pretence of spiritual food, they minister the delights of heretical pravity;—but their cruelty to themselves is yet more savage, since, besides the loss of their immortal souls, they expose their bodies to a cruel death, being prodigal of their lives and fearless of destruc-

tion, which, by acknowledging the true faith, they might escape, and, which is horrible to express, *their survivors are not terrified by their example*. Against such enemies to God and man we cannot contain our indignation, nor refuse to punish them with the sword of just vengeance; but shall pursue them with so much the greater vigour, as they appear to spread wider the crimes of their superstition, to the most evident injury of the Christian faith, and of the church of Rome, which is adjudged to be the head of all other churches." The edict then proceeds to denounce every one convicted of belonging to the sect of the Paterines, as guilty of the crime of high treason—to be punished with the loss of life and of goods, and their memory rendered infamous. It enjoins that strict inquiry be made by the officials after all such as commit those crimes; and, wherever the smallest *suspicion* exists, that such be examined by the ecclesiastics and prelates, and, if found to err in one point from the catholic faith, they are, in case of obstinacy, by that edict condemned to suffer death—to be committed to the punishment of the flames, and to be burned alive in the public view—forbidding any, on pain of incurring the imperial indignation, to intercede for such persons.

The third law is as follows:—"We condemn the receivers, accomplices, and abettors of the Paterines, to forfeiture of their goods and perpetual banishment, who, by their care to save others, have no fear or regard for themselves. Let not their children be in any wise admitted to honours, but always accounted infamous, nor let them be allowed as witnesses in any causes in which infamous persons are refused. But if the children of those who favour the Paterines shall discover any one of them, so that he shall be convicted, let them, as the reward of their acknowledgment of the faith, be entirely restored by our imperial favour to their forfeited honour and estate."

In the fourth edict his Imperial Majesty is pleased thus to proceed:—"We condemn to perpetual infamy, withdraw our protection from, and put under our ban, the Puritans, Paterines, Leonists, Arnoldists, Passagines, Josephines, Albigenes, Waldenses, &c., and all other heretics of both sexes, and of whatsoever name; and ordain that their goods may be so confiscated as that their children may never inherit them, since it

is much more heinous to offend the Eternal than the temporal Majesty." It then proceeds to condemn *all suspected persons* as heretics, if they do not purge themselves within a year; commands the officials to exterminate heretics from all places subject to them; orders that the lands of the barons shall be seized by the catholics, if they do not purge them from heretics within a year after proper admonition; and ordains various punishments against all the favourers of heretics; thus closing the dreadful catalogue:—"Furthermore, we put under our ban those who believe, receive, defend, and favour heretics; ordaining that, if any person shall refuse to give satisfaction within a year after his excommunication, he shall be, *ipso jure*, infamous, and not admitted to any kind of public offices—let him be *intestable*, and let him not have the power of making a will, nor of receiving anything by succession or inheritance. Moreover, let no one answer for him in any affair; but let him be obliged to answer others. If he should be a judge, let his sentence be of no effect, nor any causes be heard before him. If an advocate, let him never be admitted to plead in any one's defence. If a notary, let no instruments made by him be valid. We add, that an heretic may be convicted by an heretic; and that the houses of the Paterines, their abettors and favourers, either where they have taught, or where they have laid hands on others, shall be destroyed, never to be rebuilt."*—*Dated, at Padua, Feb. 22, 1224.*

Anything more infamous than these edicts, in the way of spiritual tyranny, it would be difficult to imagine; and although, by reason of the circumstances of the times and the differences which soon arose between the pope and the emperor, they had not all that effect which might have been expected, it is, nevertheless, certain that the inquisition was greatly promoted by them. They were approved and confirmed by the pope, and inserted in his bulls; and, in process of time, the persecuting spirit which pervades them came gradually to be incorporated into the laws of almost every country in Europe.

* The reader will find these edicts entire in the first vol. of Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, ch. xii.

It is amusing at this time of day, nor is it wholly void of instruction, to trace the history of the progress of this horrible court of inquisition from its infancy to maturity, and particularly the rules and directions that were given to the Dominicans in prosecution of their labours. In the year 1229 a council was held at Toulouse, composed mostly of prelates, who sought to render this tribunal subordinate to the episcopal power. The bishops were to depute into each province a priest, and two or three seculars, or laymen, who, having engaged themselves to the work by oath, were to seek after all the heretics and their abettors. A book of instructions was prepared for their use; and, according to the first canon, "they were carefully to visit each house in their parish, and the subterranean chambers which any suspicion shall have caused to be remarked: let them examine," says this code of instruction, "all the out-houses, the retreats under the roofs, and all the secret places, which we order them, besides, everywhere to destroy. If they find there any heretics, or any of their abettors or concealers, let them, in the first place, provide that they may not escape; then let them, with all haste, denounce them to the archbishop, the bishop, the lord of the place, or his bailiffs, that they may be punished according to their deserts."*

An instruction as to the manner of proceeding against heretics was composed before the end of the same century, for the use of the inquisitors. Some extracts from this curious book, published by the fathers Martene and Durand, of the congregation of St. Maur, will give a better understanding respecting an institution which henceforward exercised so great an influence over the church and people of France. "In this manner," it is said at the beginning, "the inquisitors proceed in the provinces of Carcassonne and Toulouse. First, the accused or suspected of heresy is cited; when he appears, he is sworn upon the holy Gospels, that he will fully say all that he knows for a truth, respecting the crime of heresy or Vaudoisie, as well concerning himself as others—as well concerning the living as the dead. If he conceals or denies any thing, he is put in prison, and kept there

* Concilium Tolosanum, cap. i. p. 428.

until he shall have confessed; but if he says the truth (that is, if he accuses either others or himself), his confession is diligently written down by a notary public. When a sufficient number have confessed to make a sermon" (thus they then called what we at this day name, from a Portuguese word, *auto da fe*), "the inquisitors convoke, in a suitable place, some juris-consults, minor-brothers, and preachers, and the ordinaries (the bishops), without whose counsel, or that of their vicars, no person ought to be condemned. When the council is assembled, the inquisitors shall submit to it a short extract from the confession of each person, but suppressing his name. They shall say, for example, *a certain person*, of such a diocese, has done what follows; after which the counsellors reply, *Let the inquisitors impose upon him an arbitrary penance, or let this person be immured*; or, in fine, *let him be delivered to the secular arm*. After which they are all cited for the following Sunday. On this day the inquisitors, in the presence of the prelates, the abbots, the bailiffs, and all the people, cause those to be first called who have confessed and persisted in their confession; for, if they retract, they are sent back to prison, and their faults only are recited.

"They begin with those who are to have arbitrary penances: to them they give crosses, they impose pilgrimages, greater or smaller, according to their faults; to those who have perjured themselves they give double crosses. All these having gone out with their crosses, they recite the faults of those who are to be immured, making them rise, one after the other, and each remain standing whilst his confession is read. When it is finished, the inquisitor seats himself, and gives his sentence sitting, first in Latin, then in French.

"Finally they recite the faults of the relapsed, and the sentence being pronounced, they are delivered. . . . Nevertheless, those who are delivered as relapsed are not to be burned the same day they are delivered; but, on the contrary, they ought to be engaged to confess themselves, and receive the eucharist if they require it, and if they give signs of true repentance; for thus wills the lord pope."*

* Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hæreticos. Thes. Anecd. tom. v. p. 1795.

But this was only the external form of procedure. An inquisitor, of the same period, has given a more detailed instruction to his brethren respecting the manner of directing the interrogatories. This instruction, also, has been printed by the same two Benedictine fathers, in a collection of religious writings; it is worthy of being placed entire under the eyes of the reader, and it is not without regret that we confine ourselves to giving short extracts from it.

“ Even he who is the most profoundly plunged in heresy,” says the anonymous author, “ may sometimes be brought back, by the fear of death, or the hope that he shall be permitted to live, if he confess sincerely the errors which he has learned, and if he denounce any others whom he may know to belong to this sect. If he refuses to do it let him be shut up in prison, and given to understand that there are witnesses against him, and that if he be once convicted by witnesses there will be no mercy for him, but he will be delivered to death. At the same time let his food be lessened, for such fear and suffering will contribute to humble him. Let none of his accomplices be permitted to approach him, lest they encourage him, or teach him to answer with artifice, and not to betray any one. Let no other approach him, unless it be, from time to time, two adroit believers (*i. e. catholics*), who may advise him cautiously, and as if they had compassion upon him, to deliver himself from death, to confess where he has erred and upon what points, and who may promise him that if he do this he shall escape being burned. For the fear of death and the love of life sometimes soften a heart which cannot be affected in any other manner. Let them speak to him also in an encouraging manner, saying, ‘ Be not afraid to confess, if you have given credit to these men when they said such and such things, because you believed them virtuous. If you heard them willingly, if you assisted them with your property, if you confessed yourself to them, it was because you loved all whom you believed to be good people, and because you knew nothing ill respecting them. The same might happen to men much wiser than you, who might also be deceived by them.’ If he begins then to soften, and to grant that he has, in some place, heard these teachers speak concerning the gospels or the epistles, you

must then ask him, cautiously, if these teachers believed such and such things; for example, if they denied the existence of purgatory, or the efficacy of prayers for the dead, or if they pretended that a wicked priest, bound by sin, cannot absolve others, or what they say about the sacraments of the church? Afterwards you must ask them, cautiously, whether they regard this doctrine as good and true, for he who grants this has thereby confessed his heresy. . . . Whereas, if you had asked him bluntly whether he believed the same things, he would not have answered, because he would have suspected that you wished to take advantage of him and accuse him as a heretic. . . . These are very subtle foxes, and you can only take them by a crafty subtilty.*

We may here add a last instruction given by the inquisitor, the author of this work, to his brother, drawn from his personal experience. "Note," says he, "that the inquisitor ought always to suppose a fact, without any proof, and only inquire after the circumstances of the fact. For example, he should say, how many times hast thou confessed thyself to the heretics? or, in what chamber have the heretics slept in thy house? or similar things."

"In like manner the inquisitor may, from time to time, consult a book, as if he had the life of the heretic written there, and all the questions that he was to put to him."

"Likewise, when a heretic confesses himself to him, he ought to impose upon him the duty of accusing his accomplices, otherwise he would not give a sign of true penitence."

"Likewise, when a heretic either does not fully confess his errors, or does not accuse his accomplices, you must say to him, in order to terrify him, Very well, we see how it is. Think of thy soul, and fully renounce heresy, for thou art about to die, and nothing remains but to receive with true penitence all that shall happen to thee. And if he then says, since I must die, I had rather die in my own faith than in that of the church; then it is certain that his repentance was feigned, and he may be delivered up to justice."*

* *Tractatus de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno. Thea. Anecd. tom. v. p. 1787.*

† *Tractatus de Hæresi Thea. Anecd. tom. v. p. 1783.*

We have thought it our duty to dwell the longer on this new method of procedure against the heretics, and on the instructions given to the judges for the examination of consciences, because the form which was prescribed to them for their interrogatories, was soon after introduced into the criminal procedure, where it produced a revolution in the state of France. It was by artifices similar to these, by such moral tortures, that it was endeavoured to extort confessions from the accused, as soon as the suppression of the judicial combats rendered the office of the judge more complicated. The priests, as more skilful, as more accustomed by the confessional to penetrate into the secrets of conscience, gave the example, and in some measure established the theory of interrogatories. Nevertheless, it appears that at this period they had not added torture, properly so called, to their other means of investigation. There is no mention made of it in either of the instructions for the inquisitors which we have under our eyes. Half a century later its use became as frequent as it was atrocious, both in the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. The interrogatory of the suspected was not the only part of the procedure in which the practice of the inquisition influenced the courts of justice; the inquest by witnesses received from it also a new character. Every thing had been public in the ancient French jurisprudence, both under the Merovingians, where the citizens judged each other in their *malli*, and under the first of the Capets, in the baronial courts, where the peers of the accused sate in judgment upon him. But the monks, on the contrary, surrounded themselves with thick darkness; all was secret in their inquests; they suppressed the confrontation of witnesses, and even concealed from the accused the names of those who had deposed against them.*

The heretics supported their doctrines by the authority of the holy Scriptures; the first indication of heresy was, therefore, considered to be the citation either of the epistles or the gospels; secondly, any exhortation against lying; and finally, any signs of compassion shewn to the prisoners of the inquisition.† The council of Toulouse for the first time decided, that the reading of

* Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xl. p. 692.

† Tractatus de Hæres. Anecd. Thes. tom. v. p. 1784—1786.

the holy books should not be permitted to the people. "We prohibit, says the fourteenth canon, p. 430, the laics from having the books of the Old and New Testament, unless it be at most that any one wishes to have, from devotion, a psalter, a breviary for the divine offices, or the hours of the blessed Mary; but we forbid them, in the most express manner, to have the above books translated into the vulgar tongue."* The following article merits also attention. "We command that whoever shall be accused of heresy or noted with suspicion, shall be deprived of the assistance of a physician. Likewise when a sick person shall have received the holy communion of his priest, it is our will that he be watched with the greatest care to the day of his death or convalescence, that no heretic or one suspected of heresy may have access to him."

The establishment of the inquisition in Languedoc was not, however, followed by a number of executions proportioned to the expectations of the orthodox. Many of the converted were obliged to wear upon their breasts two crosses of a different colour from their clothes, to quit places suspected of heresy, and to establish themselves in cities zealous for the catholic faith, where the eyes of all were drawn upon them by the costume to which they had been condemned. Others, who were regarded as more culpable, or more suspected, were, in spite of their conversion, imprisoned for the remainder of their lives, or, in the language of the inquisition, were *immured*. But as for those who were called perfect heretics, or the relapsed, it became very difficult to find any in the province. It was in vain that the Bishop Fouquet, having converted one of the most celebrated of the sect, William de Soliers, caused him to be re-established, that he might testify his zeal in denouncing his ancient fellow-religionists. It was in vain that he ordered, by a most particular favour, that the testimony of this new convert should be considered equal to that of one of the faithful who had never erred.† The reformed church had already been destroyed by the preceding massacres; some few individuals who were timid, and unstable

* Labbei Consil. Tolosan. t. xi. p. 427 et seq. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre lxx. ix. n. 58.

† Guill. de Podio Laurentii, ch. xl. p. 692.

in their faith, had alone been able to escape by frequently denying their belief. It was upon them that the inquisition exercised, henceforward, all its severity. Terror became extreme, suspicion universal, all teaching of the proscribed doctrine had ceased, the very sight of a book made the people tremble, and ignorance was for the greater number a salutary guarantee.

Dominic, the founder of the inquisition, died at Boulogne on the 6th of August, A.D. 1221. He protested on his death-bed, in the presence of his brethren, that he had preserved his virginity to that hour. Such chastity in a monk was reckoned a thing hitherto unheard of, and almost miraculous; and the indefatigable zeal with which he had consecrated his life to the extermination of the heretics was greatly admired. On the 13th of July, A.D. 1233, Pope Gregory IX. commissioned three priests to inquire into the miracles which had been wrought by the invocation of *Saint Dominic*, or around his tomb; and, upon the 3rd of July, 1234, his canonization was definitively pronounced.*

The death of the Emperor Frederick took place about the middle of the thirteenth century; and that event left Pope Innocent IV. sole arbiter of the affairs of Lombardy, and other parts of Italy. His holiness consequently set himself diligently to extirpate heresy, which of late had exceedingly increased; and, considering the labour which had been employed in his service by the Franciscan and Dominican friars, whose zeal, unrestrained by either respect of persons or the fear of danger—by any regard to justice or the feelings of humanity, had recommended them highly to the pontiff, he cheerfully availed himself of their ardour to second his efforts. Preaching was found of little avail, and even the enlisting of crusaders and inflicting military execution was suspended for the sake of erecting, in different countries, standing tribunals, armed with tremendous authority, but charged solely with the purgation of heretical pravity, that is, *the wickedness of thinking differently from the pope and his clergy!*

* Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1233, § xxxix. p. 446; and 1234, § xxiv. p. 458.

To the establishment of these novel tribunals, there were, however, two objections started. The first, that it was an encroachment on the authority of the ordinary bishop of the place; and the second, that it was unprecedented to exclude the civil magistrate from the trial and punishment of heretics, on whom it had hitherto devolved. To remove the first of these difficulties, an expedient was soon devised—the pope enacted that the tribunal should consist of the inquisitor, with the bishop of the place also; but so managing the affair, at the same time, that the inquisitor was not only to be the principal, but, in reality, everything, and leaving the bishop little more than the name of a judge. To remedy the second inconvenience, and to give at least the appearance of authority to the secular powers, they were allowed to appoint the subordinate officers to the inquisition, yet still subject to the approbation of the inquisitors; they were also allowed to send with the inquisitor, when he should go into the country, one of their assessors, whom the inquisitors should chuse. Of all the property belonging to heretics which they should be enabled to confiscate, a third part was to go to the community, in return for which, the community was to defray the whole expense of keeping the prisons, and supporting the prisoners. The infliction of the legal punishment was also vested in the magistrate, after trial and condemnation by the inquisitors; but that was a matter so much of course, and which he well knew he could not avoid executing, without incurring the vengeance of the church—that, in fact, it only converted him into a spiritual judge's executioner; and thus, to use the language of Dr. Jortin, 'the priest was the judge, and the king was the hangman.'*

Such was the footing on which 'the holy office' was placed in the year 1251, in the ecclesiastical states of Italy, which were under the pope's immediate inspection. It was afterwards extended to more distant provinces, and everywhere entrusted to the management of Dominican friars. Thirty-one rules or articles, defining their jurisdiction and powers, and regulating the procedure of this spiritual court of judicature, were de-

* Remarks, vol. iii. p. 303.

vised ; and all rulers and magistrates were commanded by a papal bull, issued for the purpose, to give, under pain of excommunication, the most punctual obedience, and every possible assistance to this holy court.

It should, however, be remarked, that the attempts which were made to introduce the inquisition did not prove equally successful in all Roman catholic states, nor even in the greater part of them. It was never in the power of the pope to obtain the establishment of this tribunal in many of the most populous countries that were subject to the see of Rome. In France it was early introduced, but soon afterwards expelled in such a manner as effectually to preclude a renewal of the attempt. The difficulties arose partly from the conduct of the inquisitors, their inordinate severity, their unbounded extortion and avarice, and the propensity they shewed, on every occasion, to extend, beyond measure, their own authority ; insomuch that they were making rapid strides to engross, under one pretext or another, all the criminal jurisdiction of the magistrate ; for, under the head of heresy, they insisted, were included infidelity, blasphemy, perjury, sorcery, poisoning, bigamy, usury ! Another reason was, that the tribunal was found to be so expensive, that the community refused to sustain the burden of it. Nor has it been alike severe in every place into which it has been introduced. In Spain and Portugal this scourge and disgrace to humanity has for centuries glared, monster-like, with its most frightful aspect—in Rome it has been much more tolerable. Papal avarice has served to counterbalance papal tyranny. The wealth of modern Rome has arisen very much from the constant resort of strangers from all countries and of all denominations, and chiefly those of the higher ranks. Nothing could have more effectually checked that resort, and of course the influx of riches into that capital, than such a horrid tribunal as that which existed at Lisbon and Madrid, and which diffused a terror that was felt to the utmost confines of those unhappy kingdoms.

Exclusive of the cruel punishments inflicted by the holy office, says a late writer, it may be truly affirmed, that the inquisition is a school of vice. There the artful judge, grown old

in habits of subtlety, along with the sly secretary, practises his cunning in interrogating a prisoner to fix a charge of heresy. Now he fawns, and then he frowns; now soothes, and then looks dark and angry; sometimes affects to pity and to pray—at other times insults and bullies, and talks of racks and dungeons, flames, and the damnation of hell. One while he lays his hand upon his heart, and sheds tears, and promises, and protests he desires not the death of a sinner, but would rather that he would turn and live; and all that he can do he will do for the discharge, aye, for the preferment of his imprisoned brother. Another while he discovers himself deaf as a rock, false as the wind, and cruel as the poison of asps.*

In no country has the operation of this dreadful court of spiritual despotism been more strikingly exemplified than in Spain. The subject has been placed in the most instructive point of view by two accurate and elegant modern historians,† and their reflections upon it are so just and natural, that, as it cannot be unacceptable to the reader, I shall give the substance of what they have said.

The court of inquisition, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurse and guardian of ignorance and superstition in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was principally intended to prevent the relapse of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or who pretended to be converted, to the faith of the church of Rome. Its jurisdiction, however, was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all those who in their practice or opinions differed from the established church. In the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, there were *eighteen different inquisitorial courts*, having each of them its counsellors, termed apostolical inquisitors; its secretaries, serjeants, and other officers; and besides these there were *twenty thousand familiars* dispersed throughout the kingdom, who acted as spies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 277.

† Watson's History of Philip II. king of Spain, and Robertson's History of Charles V.

suspected persons, and commit them for trial to the prisons which belonged to the inquisition. By these familiars persons were seized on bare suspicion, and in contradiction to the established rules of equity, they were put to the torture, tried, and condemned by the inquisitors, without being confronted, either with their accusers, or with the witnesses on whose evidence they were condemned. The punishments inflicted were more or less dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either strangled or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains, and shut up in dungeons during life—their effects confiscated, and their families stigmatized with infamy.

This institution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession, but it had a tendency also to destroy the sweets of social life; to banish all freedom of thought and speech; to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks in life to a state of abject dependence upon priests; whose integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false profession of religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrolled authority which they were allowed to exercise. By this tribunal a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people, and reserve, distrust, and jealousy became the distinguishing characteristics of a Spaniard. It confirmed and perpetuated the reign of ignorance and superstition; inflamed the rage of religious bigotry, and by the cruel spectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, it nourished in them that ferocious spirit which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifested by deeds that have fixed an indelible reproach upon the Spanish name.

Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the least exaggeration, that millions of persons have been ruined by this horrible court. Moors were banished a million at a time. Six or eight hundred thousand Jews were driven away at once, and their immense riches seized by their accusers, and distributed among their persecutors, while thousands dissembled, and professed themselves Christians only to be harassed in future,

Heretics of all ranks and of various denominations were imprisoned and burnt, or fled into other countries. The gloom of despotism overshadowed all Spain. The people at first reasoned, and rebelled, and murdered the inquisitors—the aged murmured and died—the next generation fluttered and complained, but their successors were completely tamed by education; and the Spaniards are now trained up by the priests to shudder at the thought of thinking for themselves. That honour to his country and of human nature, the late Mr. Howard, says, when he saw the inquisition at Valladolid, ‘I could not but observe, that even the sight of it struck terror into the common people as they passed. It is styled,’ he adds, ‘by a monstrous abuse of words—the holy apostolical court of inquisition.’

A simple narrative of the proceedings of the inquisition has shocked the world, and the cruelty of it has become proverbial. Nothing ever displayed so fully to the eyes of mankind the spirit and temper of the papal religion. ‘Christians,’ says Tertullian, ‘were often called, not Christiani, but Chrestiani, from the gentleness of their manners, and the sweetness of their tempers.’ Jesus himself was the essence of mildness. His apostles were gentle, even as a nurse that cherisheth her children. But what an awful contrast is exhibited in this horrid court of papal inquisition. Let us hear the description which Voltaire, a very competent witness, gives of it. ‘Their form of proceeding,’ says he, ‘is an infallible way to destroy whomsoever the inquisitors wish. The prisoners are not confronted with the accuser or informer. Nor is there any informer or witness who is not listened to. A public convict, a notorious malefactor, an infamous person, a common prostitute, a child, are in the holy office, though no where else, credible accusers and witnesses. Even the son may depose against his father, the wife against her husband.’ The wretched prisoner is no more made acquainted with his crime than with his accuser. His being told the one might possibly lead him to guess the other. To avoid this, he is compelled, by tedious confinement in a noisome dungeon, where he never sees a face but the gaoler’s, and is not permitted the use of either books or pen and ink—

or should confinement alone not be sufficient, he is compelled, by the most excruciating tortures, to inform against himself, to discover and to confess the crime laid to his charge, of which he is often ignorant. 'This procedure,' says our historian, 'unheard of till the institution of this court makes the whole kingdom tremble. Suspicion reigns in every breast. Friendship and quietness are at an end. The brother dreads his brother, the father his son. Hence taciturnity is become the characteristic of a nation endued with all the vivacity natural to the inhabitants of a warm and fruitful climate. To this tribunal we must likewise impute that profound ignorance of sound philosophy in which Spain lies buried, whilst Germany, England, France, and even Italy, have discovered so many truths, and enlarged the sphere of our knowledge. Never is human nature so debased as where ignorance is armed with power.'*

But these melancholy effects of the inquisition are a trifle when compared with those public sacrifices called *auto da fe*, or acts of faith, and to the shocking barbarities that precede them. A priest in a white surplice, or a monk who has vowed meekness and humility, causes his fellow-creatures to be put to the torture in a dismal dungeon. A stage is erected in the public market-place, where the condemned prisoners are conducted to the stake, attended with a train of monks and religious confraternities. They sing psalms, say mass, and butcher mankind. Were a native of Asia to come to Madrid upon a day of an execution of this sort, it would be impossible for him to tell whether it were a rejoicing, a religious feast, a sacrifice, or a massacre; and yet it is all this together! The kings, whose presence alone in other cases is the harbinger of mercy, assist at this spectacle uncovered, seated lower than the inquisitors, and are spectators of their subjects expiring in the flames. The Spaniards reproached Montezuma with immolating his captives to his gods—what would he have said, had he beheld an '*auto da fe*'?

It is but doing justice, however, to many Roman catholic states, and to thousands of individuals belonging to that church,

* Voltaire's Universal History, vol. ii. ch. cxviii.

to say, that they abhor this infernal tribunal almost as much as protestants themselves do. This is sufficiently evinced by the tumults which were excited in several parts of Italy, Milan, and Naples in particular, and afterwards in France, as well as in other catholic countries, by the attempts that were made to introduce it at first, and by its actual expulsion from some places where, to all appearance, it was firmly established. It is, indeed, matter of regret that any among the members of that church should have their minds so enslaved by prejudice as to imagine, for a moment, that a despotism which required for its support such diabolical engines, could possibly be of heavenly origin. There is something in the very constitution of this tribunal so monstrously unjust, so exorbitantly cruel, that it must ever excite one's astonishment that the people of any country should have permitted its existence among them. How they could have the inconsistency to acknowledge a power to be from God which has found it necessary to recur to expedients so manifestly from hell, so subversive of every principle of sound morality and religion, can be regarded only as one of those contradictions for which human characters, both in individuals and nations, are often so remarkable. The wisdom that is from above is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. But the policy of Rome, as displayed in the inquisition, is so strikingly characterized by that wisdom which is earthly, sensual, and devilish, that the person who needs to be convinced of it seems to be altogether beyond the power of argument. Never were two systems more diametrically opposed in their spirit, their maxims, and effects, than primitive Christianity and the religion of modern Rome; nor do heaven and hell, Christ and Belial, exhibit to our view a more glaring contrast.*

* See Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, and Dr. G. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. See also the extracts from Mr. Blanco White, in Vol. i. Lect. xxix. of this work.

LECTURE XLV.

History of the Persecution of the Albigenses continued from the death of Simon de Montfort, A.D. 1218, to the death of Louis VIII., A.D. 1226—Siege of Marmande—Massacre of five thousand of the Inhabitants—Amaury de Montfort treads in his father's steps—The Pope's Legate institutes a new Ecclesiastical Order—His Holiness presses the King of France to join in a Crusade—The Albigensian Churches trim their lamp—Council of Sens convoked on the affairs of the Albigenses—Union of the Sectaries—Death of Philip Augustus, king of France ; his Bequests to the Church ; is succeeded by his son, Louis VIII., who becomes the Champion of the Church ; his dispute with Pope Honorious III.—Raymond, count of Toulouse, the victim of their malice—Curious Papal Bull—Anxiety of Count Raymond to be reconciled to the Church—The French Monarch raises an immense Army of Crusaders—lays siege to Avignon—Miseries of the Besiegers—Capitulation—Louis marches into Languedoc, but finds no Heretics—is seized with an infectious malady, and ends his career.

THE death of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had hitherto conducted the crusading armies against the Albigenses, produced a momentary truce, and afforded a breathing time to that harassed and persecuted people. Whether it arose from despair of ultimate success, or some other cause, cannot now be decided ; but it is certain that, at this crisis, the warlike devotion

of the French now resumed its first direction towards the Holy Land, and the efforts of Bishop Fouquet to excite new fanatics to massacre the Albigenses remained for a season almost without effect.

The young count, Raymond VII., who had joined his father, began to establish himself in the government of the provinces of which he had regained possession. He visited the principal towns, and was received with the most lively expressions of joy. At the same time Count Amaury de Montfort, who had succeeded his father, Simon, exerted himself to the utmost to retain the possessions to which he had become heir. In the month of November, A.D. 1218, he visited the city of Nismes. He also caused himself to be acknowledged, amongst other places, by Albi, the very city which gave name to the Albigenses, as well as to those religious wars which were carried on against them. The court of Rome could not contemplate without deep regret the destruction of that work which Pope Innocent III. had so much set his heart upon, and had accomplished at so vast an expence. The chair of St. Peter was now filled by Honorius III., who took Count Amaury under his special protection, and to establish him in his conquests, appropriated to the purpose of a new crusade an impost on the French clergy.

Prince Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, then reigning monarch of France, did not yield in fanaticism or in detestation of the heretics to any of the monks who were his father's subjects. In the year 1219 he gladly took upon himself that new expedition against the Albigenses to which the impost had been destined. A number of the French nobility, with twenty bishops and six hundred knights, took the cross to follow him, accompanied by ten thousand archers. With these forces the young prince joined Amaury de Montfort, before the castle of Marmande, which the latter was besieging.

The old count, Raymond VI., had devolved all the concerns of government, and more especially the hardships of war, upon his son, Raymond VII. Exhausted with grief, and enfeebled by superstition, he dreaded lest, by resisting the court of Rome, he should subject himself to anathemas still more terrible than those under which he had so long suffered. An unsuccessful attempt

was made to prevail upon the French monarch and his son to abandon Montfort, and accept them as feudatories, who were also their near relations and faithful vassals. It was probably to leave the door open to these negotiations that Raymond VII. did not, in the first instance, march to the assistance of the castle of Marmande; he preferred extricating Raymond Roger, count of Foix, from his difficulties, being then besieged in Basiège by two of Amaury's lieutenants. Raymond VII. having joined the Count of Foix, attacked his enemies in concert with him, and obtained a victory, which was attributed to his personal valour. In this victory of Basiège the principal officers of Amaury remained his prisoners.*

But whilst Raymond was vanquishing the crusaders at Basiège, Louis and Amaury were pressing the siege of Marmande. They made an assault on the place, whereby they got possession of the exterior works, which induced the besieged to offer to surrender, if their lives and baggage should be spared. "I will receive you to mercy," said Louis, "and allow you to depart, taking nothing with you except your persons." The besieged accepted these conditions, and presented themselves without delay at the tent of the king's son, to salute him, and surrender themselves to him. But when the Bishop of Saintes saw the Count d'Astarac and his knights enter the tent of Louis, he said to the latter, "Sire, my advice is, that you immediately kill and burn all these people, as heretics and apostates, and that none of them be left alive; and then, that you do neither more nor less to those of the city." The Count of St. Paul and the Duke of Brittany, however, protested against this sanguinary proposal from the mouth of a bishop, and very properly exclaimed against this attempt of the cold-blooded ecclesiastic, in his unholy zeal to induce the son of the King of France to violate his word. The Archbishop of Auct added, that these prisoners, and the inhabitants of Marmande, were by no means heretics, any more than Count Raymond, and that the church treated him very hardly in not receiving him to mercy, when he submitted to its will. Moreover, he

* *Historia de los Faictes de Tolosa*, p. 96. *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, livre xxiii. ch. xli. p. 310.

reminded them that a great number of high barons and knights were prisoners at Toulouse, and that by violating a capitulation, to which they had sworn, they exposed themselves to terrible reprisals. The prince answered, "My lords, I do not wish to injure the church, but neither ought I to do injury to the young count or his people." He consequently gave permission to the officer who commanded the garrison and his gens-d'armes to proceed wherever they chose. But during this time Amaury de Montfort entered into the town of Marmande, and gave orders to his underlings to execute the work which the Bishop of Saintes had recommended, in order to procure the blessing of God upon his arms. All the inhabitants—men, women, and children—to the number of five thousand, were massacred in cold blood. When Prince Louis was made acquainted with what had taken place, he testified his displeasure against Amaury for having thus violated the royal promise; nevertheless he proceeded with Amaury towards Toulouse, to lay siege to that capital.*

When the inhabitants of Toulouse learnt what had taken place at Marmande, they became convinced they had nothing to hope for from such sanguinary tyrants, and they therefore made up their minds to the most determined defence. Bertrand, the pope's legate, had sworn "that in the said Toulouse should remain neither man, woman, boy, nor girl, but that all should be put to death, without sparing any, old or young; and that in all the city there should not remain one stone upon another, but all should be demolished and thrown down." This horrid oath had been related to Count Raymond, who, on the approach of the crusaders, summoned all his friends and allies to his defence. Every man capable of bearing arms instantly flocked to the standard, and the defence of the seventeen gates of the city was instantly provided for. The magistrates, on their parts, presented themselves before the young count and his knights, and declared to him "that henceforth they abandoned all that they had, both persons and property, to those who had remained with them to defend their city: they besought him to spare them in nothing that should be wanted, whether for strangers, families, or

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxiii. and xlii. p. 311.

friends, and they should expect their wages to be paid according to their will.”*

These spirited preparations for the defence of the city were crowned with the happiest success. On the 16th of June, 1219, Louis arrived before Toulouse, accompanied by Amaury de Montfort and the papal legate, Cardinal de Bertrand. Having traced a line of circumvallation, the besieging army commenced the attack with great vivacity; but in every part they encountered a resistance superior to their means. Numbers of men fell by the sword of the enemy, and by sickness. Presently, divisions crept into the camp of the crusaders; and the most zealous cried out treason, the moment they heard any mention of moderation. Add to which, the troops of Louis had enlisted for no more than forty days, which term was already expired, and, though endeavours were not wanting to prevail on them to continue the siege, it was at last found impossible any longer to retain them. Louis, therefore, on the 1st of August, came to the resolution of burning his warlike machines, and abandoning the siege, retired with precipitation.†

Amongst the most celebrated officers in the army which Amaury had under him, for the purpose of extirpating the Albigenses, were two brothers, whose names were Folcaud and Jean de Brigier—men not less signalized by the infamy of their manners than by their devotedness to the Church of Rome. They had their seraglio, in which were found married women taken from the most respectable persons in the province: they had fixed at a hundred *sols d'or*, the ransom of such as they had taken prisoners; and all who were unable to pay this exorbitant sum for their ransom were suffered to perish with hunger, at the bottom of a tower. Raymond VII. had the good fortune to take these two monsters prisoners, in the year 1220, and he caused their heads to be cut off, as a punishment for so many crimes. In fact, the yoke of the house of Montfort and its lieutenants was become so much the more insupportable to the people of the south of France, as the religious zeal of the crusaders preserved

* *Historia de los Faictes de Tolosa*, pp. 100, 101.

† *Ibid*, p. 301.

them from the commission of no crimes, however atrocious. The war, nevertheless, was carried on with ruthless fury during the year 1220, and with little advantage to the crusaders. The cities of Montauban and Castlensaudary drove out Montfort's garrisons, and raised the standard of Raymond VII. Beziers, with all its viscountship, returned to its allegiance to the young Trencavel, son of the ancient lord of that city, and to the Count of Foix, his tutor. Amaury, to stop the progress of this rebellion, advanced to the siege of Castlensaudary, at the beginning of July, and persevered in it during the long period of eight months ; by which obstinacy he greatly exhausted himself both of men and money. He was, however, compelled to raise the siege in the beginning of March, 1221, and to retire to Carcassonne, which was almost the only place then remaining to him of all his father's conquests.*

Amaury once more took the field, about Midsummer, 1221, and was with his army at Clermont, upon the Garonne, when he was informed that the inhabitants of Agen had entered into a treaty with the house of Toulouse ; and aware how adverse such a treaty must be to his interests, he sent for their consuls to favour him with an interview on the 1st of August. To conciliate them, he granted them a complete amnesty for all the faults they might have committed, engaging also for the future to enlarge their privileges. His finesse, however, was all thrown away ; they had lost all confidence in him. They had learned what this count was capable of, when in the plenitude of his power, and they regarded this shew of moderation as only a proof of his weakness. Before the end of August, 1221, Agen had opened its gates to Raymond VII.

This was unquestionably a very mortifying state of affairs to the papal party, and they evidently viewed it with deep concern. Cardinal Bertrand felt it a reproach to himself that, during the period he had had the honour of officiating as the pope's legate, in the country of the Albigenes, these provinces, in which the catholic church had shed so much blood, had all returned to their ancient masters. The clergy were disgusted with the crusaders, the bishops could no longer succeed in exciting fanaticism ; and

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxiii. ch. xlvii. p. 314.

to remedy this almost hopeless state of affairs, the legate set himself to establish a body more completely devoted to the destruction of the heretics and the lukewarm. Sanctioned by the authority of Pope Honorius III., he now instituted "*The Order of the Holy Faith of Jesus Christ*," dated at Carcassonne, February 9th, 1221, by which he professes that the vows of his order are "to promise aid and succour to Amaury de Montfort and his heirs, for the defence of his person and domains; and to engage to discover and destroy heretics and rebels against the church, and all others, Christians or infidels, who shall make war against that Count."*

His holiness, however, did not depend wholly and solely on the "Knights of the Faith," as they were called, to succour Count Montfort. He renewed his applications to the King of France, and his son, Louis, to whom he granted, as the price of an expedition against the Albigenses, a new levy upon the clergy. This impost was accordingly collected, but Louis dexterously applied it to the raising of an army, which he conducted into the domains of the King of England, in Aquitaine and Poitou, instead of attacking the Count of Toulouse! The pope also addressed the different bishops of France, and particularly the Archbishops of Sens, of Rheims, and of Bourges, engaging them to inquire after, to seize, and commit to the flames, such of the Albigensian heretics as had sought a refuge in their provinces. This severity obliged a great number of these dispersed people to return to their country, in the hope that they should be protected by those who now, on every side, had risen up against the house of Montfort and the catholic church.†

This was an auspicious moment for the poor persecuted Albigenses: they obtained a momentary breathing time. In the year 1222, they found themselves sufficiently numerous in the places where their fathers had suffered, to animate them with the hope of renewing their instructions and re-organizing their churches. According to the registers of the inquisition at Toulouse, about a hundred of the principal Albigenses held a meeting at a place called

* Hist. des Ordres Religieux, tom. viii. p. 286, &c.

† Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1221, § xliii. p. 316.

Pieussan, in Rasez, at which Guillabert de Castres presided. He was one of their oldest preachers, and had escaped the researches of the fanatics. This assembly provided pastors or teachers for the destitute churches whose former office-bearers had perished in the flames. Three new preachers, described in these registers by the titles of "Bishop of Rasez," were ordained by imposition of hands and the kiss of charity. The monks of St. Dominic, or inquisitors, abandoned at this moment by the secular power, were reduced to the necessity of merely noting these circumstances in their books, against the day of vengeance.*

Count Montfort, the great champion of the see of Rome was now in a very humiliating state. The inhabitants of the few castles which still remained to him, were watching an opportunity to revolt and signalize their vengeance on his party. His countship of Montfort, and all his patrimonial possessions were exhausted of men and money; the spirit of fanaticism, which had furnished so many recruits to his father, now seemed extinct. All the bulls of Pope Honorius III. were no longer able to bring a single crusader into Languedoc; and all those who wished to engage in the sacred war, either passed into Egypt or to the Holy Land. Discouraged, disgusted with the war, terrified at the universal hatred of which he saw himself the object, Amaury sent the Bishops of Nismes and of Beziers to the King of France, Philip Augustus, to offer him the cession of all the country which the crusaders had taken from the Albigenses; and at the same time applied to the pope to aid him in this project.†

His holiness wrote to the French monarch on 14th of May, 1222, advising him to accept the offer of Montfort; at the same time representing to him, that it was his bounden duty towards Christendom to extirpate the heresy which was again beginning to spring up in his kingdom; assuring him at the same time, that if he sent a powerful army into the south of France, he would be recompensed for the pains he should take to *purge the land of these sectaries*, by the acquisition of the rich fiefs which were offered to him by the church. But the King of France had at

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxiii. ch. lvii. p. 319.

† Idem, ch. lx. p. 320.

this period lost all the spirit of enterprise and the activity of his youth ; he was frozen with age and sickness ; he pleaded the probability of an approaching war with England, and refused to enter into any negotiation with either Montfort or the pope.*

In the year 1223, a provincial council was convoked in the city of Sens, by Cardinal Conrad, the object of which was, to deliberate on the affairs of the Albigenses ; and one of the motives which he alleged for the church putting herself into a posture of defence against the heretics was, that, according to his statement, they had set up a chief, or pope, who had established himself upon the frontiers of Bulgaria, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, and of Hungary. He added, that a great number of Christians, and even bishops, in those countries, had acknowledged his authority ; that the dispersed Albigenses had resorted to him and had received his decisions as oracles ; and that one of them, Barthelemi, or Bartholomew, of Carcassonne, had returned into his country with the authority of a legate, and arrogated to himself the right of naming new bishops.†

What could have given rise to this very absurd report, it is now impossible to ascertain, and not easy to conjecture. That the principles of the Paulicians had long before this period found their way from the Lesser Asia into the countries above mentioned, is a fact of which we have abundant evidence ; and those principles were substantially the same as were held by the Albigenses in the south of France. Besides which it must not be forgotten that the disciples of Peter Bruys, of Henry of Toulouse, of Peter Waldo, and of Arnold of Brescia, all of whom were decided opponents of the Church of Rome and the firm advocates of dissent, had filled the neighbouring countries with their doctrine. Waldo carried it into Bohemia, and there sowed the seed, which took deep root, and, two centuries afterwards, produced John Huss and Jerome of Prague. In Piedmont, also, Claude, Bishop of Turin, as has been already noticed, had made a noble stand against the corruptions of the church of Rome, and filled the valleys with protestants. Dr. Allix tells us that, so early

* Raynaldi, *Ann. Eccles.* 1222. § xliv. p. 325.

† *Matt. Paris*, p. 267.

as the year 590, the bishops of Italy and the Grisons (Switzerland) to the number of nine, rejected the communion of the pope, or bishop of Rome, considering him an heretic. In the following century, Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia, in Italy, made a decided stand against the papal usurpations. He was a favourite of Charlemagne, and sent to preach the Gospel to the Pagans of Styria, and Carinthia, and to the Huns, or Hungarians. He joined with several Italian bishops in protesting against the decrees of the famous council of Nice, which had established the worship of images, declaring it to be idolatrous, and this too, notwithstanding the decisions of the council had received the sanction of pope Adrian, who was present at its deliberations, and exerted all his authority to maintain its decisions. Paulinus wrote an able treatise against most of the corruptions of the Romish church—particularly the pope's supremacy—the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was then beginning to be broached by the papists; and, in short, says Dr. Allix, "Whoever examines the opinions of this bishop, will easily perceive that he denies what the church of Rome affirms with relation to many of its leading tenets, and affirms what the church of Rome denies; whatever colourable pretexts may be employed, it will be difficult not to perceive this opposition through them all."* Now all this shews, that at no time was the despotism of the court of Rome universally acknowledged even throughout Italy itself. Christ had his people, more or less, in every age, who witnessed for him in opposition to Antichrist, though they were everywhere the objects of hatred and persecution to the adherents of the latter.

M. Sismondi, in his elegant History of Italy, to whom we are indebted for the most accurate and detailed account of the crusades against the Albigenses, tells us, that "there is reason to believe the opinions of the Paulicians had been spread in the west through Bulgaria." All our best historians attest this fact,—Gibbon, Sharon Turner, Henry Hallam, and others. The only question in dispute is, what were the genuine opinions and principles of the Paulicians, and did they differ in any essential points from those maintained by the Albigenses in France, the Paterines

* Remarks on the Churches of Piedmont, p. 52.

in Italy, the Cathari in Germany, and the Waldenses in Piedmont. On this point I have already delivered my opinion in the negative, in some former Lectures, and shall have frequent occasion to repeat it hereafter. "The letter of Cardinal Conrad," says M. Sismondi, "indicates that there still existed a connexion between the sectaries of the two countries (*viz.* Bulgaria and the south of France), and that those of the Sclavonian language, to whom, two centuries later, we are indebted for the reformation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had opened an asylum and offered succour to the persecuted Albigenses. But it is not probable that the sectaries had given themselves the same organization as the church of Rome, whom they opposed. The papists could conceive of no church without a pope; but he whom they imagined in Bulgaria, and even whose name they do not tell us, disappeared without leaving a successor."*

These remarks do infinite credit to the candour of this elegant writer; and had several other of our protestant historians discussed this intricate subject with similar impartiality and discrimination, the cause of truth would have been no loser by it. In all human probability, this chief, or anti-pope, as the catholics thought proper to designate him, was some person of eminent talents among the Paulicians of Bulgaria, to whom the Albigenses, in this hour of their extremity, had recourse for advice and assistance—all the principal teachers among themselves having fallen martyrs to the rage of the crusaders; just as the Waldenses, at a later period, and at a time when their churches were in a destitute and deplorable state, are known to have had recourse to Ecolampadius, one of the Reformers, for counsel and assistance. In fact, this is a matter of frequent recurrence among the dissenters in our own age and country, and consequently they well know what account to make of it. Matthew Paris informs us that in the year 1243, the pastor of a church of the Paterines at Cremona was deposed from his office for having fallen into fornication; and this shews their attention to the purity of their communion and rigid regard to discipline: in the church of Rome, such a thing would have been passed over without notice. The same

* Sismondi's *History of the Crusades*, p. 154.

writer tells us, that Bartholomew of Carcassonne, above-mentioned, was a most active and useful labourer in his Lord's vineyard; that he contributed greatly to the formation and organization of churches in Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bulgaria, and other places, which may well account to us for the calumnies raised against him by the catholics—namely, that “he returned into his own country with the authority of a legate, and arrogated to himself the right of naming new bishops.” But to return from this digression :

Philip Augustus, king of France, departed this life on the 14th of July, 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and forty-fourth of his reign, having bequeathed an immense property to the church. Among other instances of his munificence, he left twenty thousand livres to Amaury de Montfort, to be employed in the extirpation of the heresy of the Albigenses; for it was neither from scruple of conscience, nor from a sentiment of humanity that he had himself always refused to march against those sectaries. He was succeeded by his son, Louis, so often mentioned in the preceding part of this Lecture, and who assumed the title of Louis VIII., then thirty-six years of age. Immediately on his accession to the throne, he paid into the hands of Amaury de Montfort ten thousand marks, in part of what the late king had bequeathed to that lord towards maintaining the war against the Albigenses. With this money, Amaury collected an army, with which he proceeded to Carcassonne, and compelled the Languedocian lords, who were besieging it, to retire; but his money was soon expended, and the mercenaries assembled under his standards declared that their services should cease when their pay was discontinued. In vain did Amaury solicit, by turns, the bishops of the province, the citizens of Narbonne, and his own knights—in vain he offered to pledge his French domains, and even his person: he could neither find money nor retain his soldiers. He was, after a short time, again shut up in Carcassonne, by the Counts of Toulouse and Foix; and losing, at last, all hopes of resistance, he signed, on the 14th of January, 1224, a convention with them, by which he engaged to use all his efforts to reconcile the two Counts with the see of Rome and the King of France. He delivered up to them, by this treaty, Carcassonne,

Minerva, and Penne d'Agenois; he stipulated an armistice of two months for six places that still belonged to him in the province, with a guarantee for the rights of individuals acquired during the war, and received ten thousand marks of silver for the expenses of his journey. On the following day, 15th of January, 1224, he set out for the north of France with all the knights devoted to his fortune, abandoning for ever the country where his house had now reigned fourteen years.

Louis VIII. was no sooner raised to his new dignity, than he determined to signalize himself by the conquest of the country of the Albigenes. He addressed himself to the see of Rome, and required that a fresh crusade should be preached throughout all France, with the express mention that the indulgences should be fully equal to those which might be gained by the crusade to the Holy Land. He required, at the same time, that those who would not follow him from devotion should be obliged to do it in fulfilment of their feudal duties, just as if the kingdom were subject to a foreign invasion; "for no invasion," said he, "is more fearful than that of heresy." Consequently, he demanded that all the French barons who refused on this occasion to accomplish the service of their fief, should be excommunicated, and their lands put under an interdict. To be more sure of the direction of these ecclesiastical thunderbolts, he demanded that the Archbishop of Bourges should be assigned him as cardinal-legate, with full powers over the territories of the Albigenes. He required the pope, by letters patent, to deprive for ever the Count of Toulouse, the Viscount of Carcassonne and of Beziers, and all those who should be allied to them, or should make war in concert with them, of all the fiefs they might have in the kingdom of France, and to invest with them, for ever, the king and his descendants. And, lastly, he required that, in order to complete this conquest, the church should guarantee to him for ten years the truce then existing with the King of England, and should, during the same time, pay him sixty thousand livres of Paris each year; declaring, that if all these conditions were not accepted, he should consider himself under no obligation to pass into the country of the Albigenes.*

* *Petitio ad Papam pro reg. Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc, No. 155, p. 292.*

To these conditions, hard as they were, his holiness had given his assent, and the prelates who were his ambassadors had returned to France, when a letter which the pope received from Frederic II., emperor of Germany, upset the whole scheme of things, to the great discomfiture of both king and pope. The latter wrote to the King of France, informing him of the difficulties that had arisen; but Louis, who had made himself sure of the support of the church, was exceedingly enraged when he saw himself abandoned by the pope. He wrote to him with much ill-humour, recapitulated in his letter all that he had already done at the persuasion of the church, and finished with these words:—"We have replied to the Cardinal-bishop of Porto, that seeing the lord pope would not at present attend to our reasonable demands, we consider ourselves discharged from the burden of this business, and we have protested as much publicly, before all the prelates and barons of France."

In 1225, negotiations respecting the destruction of the Albigenses were renewed between the court of Rome and the King of France, Louis VIII., through the medium of Cardinal Romana di Sant. Angelo. The latter published a bull against Count Raymond, which, for its singularity, deserves to be recorded, as a specimen of the miserable conceits and witticisms of the Vatican. Thus it ran:—"The miserable state, or rather the established misery of the province of Narbonne, and of the neighbouring regions," said the pope, "has long tormented us with anxiety, and suspended us in doubt. In our anxiety, we sought whether we could not find a way and manner to raise the interests of the faith and of peace, which appeared absolutely cast down in those countries. In our doubt, we hesitated whether this land was not so corrupted, that all labour which we could bestow upon it would be useless. . . . In truth, this land, though laboured with much sweat—though sweated with much labour, has been in vain forged by its smith, for all its malice has not been consumed, all its rust has not been removed, even by the fire to which God, by a hidden yet a just judgment, has delivered the infidelity of the hearts of its inhabitants, and the frost of their malice. Neither the fomentations of caresses nor the torments of flagellations have been able to soften them. They have so hardened their hearts

against God, that, although given up to a multitude of scourges, they have not accepted their discipline. Because they have had some success against the church, they see in it a confirmation of their errors, not considering that the felicity of sinners is the greatest of all infelicities.”*

Such was the miserable cant of the papacy, and such the sophistical jargon on which was built the pretext for a religious crusade against the Albigenses at this time. The statesman would have blushed who should have attempted to kindle a temporal war without better reasons for it than such antitheses as these; but they were quite sufficient on which to ground a religious war. The Albigenses of Languedoc were at this time too insignificant as a party to give any real cause of disquietude to the church of Rome; nevertheless, such was the intolerance of the pope, that it made him restless, and the increase of the Paterines in his own country awakened symptoms of mental agitation whenever he looked around him. The persecutions of the sectaries had, by dispersing them, spread the germs of reformation throughout all the countries of Christendom. The unhappy sufferers, who had been treated with such pitiless cruelty, and who, on account of what they had endured, were designated by the name of *Paterines* (from the word *pati*, “to suffer”), distinguished themselves by the purity of their conduct as well as by that of their doctrine. The contrast between their morals and those of the priests of the catholic church, was apparent to all; they had multiplied in Italy, and more particularly in Lombardy; and in this same year, 1225, Honorius III. charged the Bishops of Modena, of Brescia, and of Rimini, to inquire after them, to pull down their houses, and destroy their race.†

In the month of November, 1225, a council was convened at Bourges, than which few partial assemblies of the church had presented a more imposing appearance. It consisted of six archbishops, one hundred and thirteen bishops, and a hundred and fifty abbots. The pope’s legate presided; the King of France assisted with his court; and Raymond VII., of St. Gilles, on the

* Bull 15. Kal. Martii apud Raynaldum, 1225, p. 351.

† Raynaldi Annal. Eccles. 1225, ch. xlvii. p. 355.

one part, Amaury de Montfort on the other, presented themselves to set forth their claims on the countship of Toulouse. Raymond well knew that his ruin was the ultimate object of all the negotiations then pending between the King of France and the court of Rome. At this council Amaury displayed the titles of the donations made to his father, Simon de Montfort, by the pope and by King Philip, and contended that Raymond had been irrevocably deprived of his heritage by the highest authority in the church, that of the œcumenical council of Lateran. Raymond, on his part, declared himself ready to do service for his fiefs, and to acquit himself, both towards the king and the church of Rome, of all that he owed to them on account of his heritage.

The legate, not liking that the cause of the church should be debated in this public and chivalrous manner, hastened to close the discussion; enjoining on each archbishop to assemble his bishops and to deliberate with them, without communication with his brethren. He then demanded of each to transmit to him his opinion in writing, and he fulminated an excommunication against whoever of the prelates should reveal the secret of these partial deliberations.* Raymond was at this time sincerely anxious to be restored to the communion of the church of Rome, well knowing that, without this, his dominions must ever be the theatre of war, devastation, and cruelty. The legate, however, sought a plausible pretext for refusing him absolution, and for directing upon him all the forces of Christendom. The legate, therefore, repeated against the count all the old accusations of heresy and revolt. Raymond, addressing the legate in the most suppliant tones, then "besought him to come in person and visit each of the cities of his province, to make inquiries of each individual as to the articles of his faith, and if he found any who differed from the catholic belief, he protested that he was ready to inflict upon him the severest punishment, according to the judgment of the holy church. In like manner, if any city was found rebellious, he affirmed that he was ready with all his power to compel it, as well as all its inhabitants, to make satisfaction. As to himself, he offered, if he had sinned in any thing (which he

* M. Paris, p. 277. *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, livre xxiv. ch. iii.

did not remember to have done), to make full penitence to God and the holy church, like a faithful Christian; and if it pleased the legate, he was willing equally to suffer the examination of his faith. But the legate despised all these things, and the count, catholic as he was, could obtain no favour, unless he would renounce his heritage for himself and his heirs.* At this council the treaty was renewed and ratified between Louis VIII. and the court of Rome. His holiness acceded to all the demands which Louis had formerly made; he granted to those who should take the cross against the Albigenses the most extensive indulgences, and prohibited the King of England from disquieting the King of France, so long as he should be engaged in the service of God and the church, under pain of excommunication. All these measures being taken, the legate dismissed the council, the king returned to Paris, Count Raymond to his territories; and the cardinal then announced, that the separate opinion which he had received from each archbishop was, "that Raymond ought in no case to be absolved on account of the offers he had made, but that the King of the French should be charged by the church with this affair, since no other could, so well as he, purge the land from the wickedness of the heretics: that, in fine, to recompense the king for his expenses, the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues should be assigned to him for five years, should the war last so long."†

The King of France was very willing to accept the confiscations of the territories belonging to the Count of Toulouse, as the avenger of the offended church; but he wished at the same time to shield himself against the accusations of cupidity or injustice, by the authority of those who had given him this counsel. He therefore called together his parliaments. On the 28th of January, 1226, Louis VIII. convoked the parliament of Paris, the result of whose deliberations was, that on the one hand twenty-seven secular lords, on the other seventeen archbishops or bishops, declared, by letters patent given in that assembly, that they counselled the king to take upon himself the affair of the

* M. Paris, Hist. Ang. p. 279.

† Instrumentum Romani Cardinalis, p. 323.

Albigenses, and promised to assist him with all their power : the one as his liege-men, the other by excommunicating all his enemies. Two days after, the king took the cross with all its barons, and the legate publicly excommunicated, as a condemned heretic, Raymond, count of Toulouse, with all his associates. Amaury de Montfort, on his part, ceded to the king all his pretensions upon the country of the Albigenses, in exchange for the post of constable of France. The legate granted to Louis one hundred thousand livres annually, to be taken from the tenth of the ecclesiastical possessions of the kingdom ; and he sent out missionaries to every part of France, with power to absolve from all their sins those who should repair to Bourges, a month after Easter, to serve in the army which Louis would at this time take under his command. Thus was this mighty enterprise decreed by the authority of the pope, and sanctioned by the suffrages of the archbishops and bishops of France. Raymond VII. might well stand aghast when he contemplated his situation and surveyed the prospect before him. He now found himself abandoned by all his former allies, with the exception of the Count of Foix, and he learned that the army destined to annihilate him reckoned, in knights, squires, and serjeants-at-arms, FIFTY THOUSAND HORSE-MEN !!*

It would be utterly vain to attempt to describe the terror which such a formidable armament inspired in the country destined to experience its fury, and which had already felt the horrors of religious wars. The people knew that the churches of the Albigenses had been long since scattered, and that the ministry of the reformers had almost entirely ceased in their province. Terrified with the apprehension of seeing the former scenes of pillage and slaughter renewed among them, those who had any conscience of religion would naturally seek an asylum in some of the neighbouring countries ; and this they found in the extensive range of the Pyrenean mountains on the west, and in the valleys of Piedmont on the east, both of which districts became filled with dissenters from the Romish church, who had migrated from Languedoc and the southern provinces of France. Especially

* Matt. Paris, p. 280 ; Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, p. 354.

were the Alps and the countries beyond them filled with these persecuted Albigenses, and in a little time we shall have to meet them again, under the new designation of *Vaudois*, or *Waldenses* : in the meantime, however, let us pursue this affecting narrative of the Albigenian crusade to its termination.

Excessive fear now dissolved all the ancient bonds of affection, of relationship, and of feudal subjection. A nobleman who had married a daughter of Raymond VII. sent her back to him, declaring that after the summons of the king and the church, he broke off all connection with him. Whilst Louis was collecting his army at Bourges, and was traversing the Nivernois, and when he arrived at Lyons on the 28th of May, to celebrate the feast of the ascension, he received numerous deputations from all the barons of the states of Raymond, or from the cities which were subject to him, tendering their oath of fealty, their keys, their hostages, all the guarantees ; in a word, declaring their entire obedience to the king and the church, which the crusaders could desire. The inhabitants of Avignon were among the number of those who had long ago offered themselves to Louis. They placed at his service the use of their city and of their bridge over the Rhone, to facilitate his route into the states of Raymond VII.

It should, however, be mentioned in this place, that Avignon retained a strong attachment to the house of Saint Gilles, of which Raymond was the ostensible representative ; but the inhabitants now acted under the impulse of fear : they did not feel themselves strong enough to resist the violence of the crusade ; nor did they think that Count Raymond himself would be able to resist it. They therefore offered to Louis VIII. provisions, and the passage of the Rhone ; but they declined to receive an army so ill supplied and ill disciplined as his, within the walls. In conformity with this line of conduct, the consul of the city took all proper measures for the safety of the republic. The walls were repaired, arms and warlike machines provided, and provisions brought into the city from all the surrounding country. Raymond VII., on whom those lands depended, took no umbrage at the advances which they had made to his enemy. He did not despair of his safety ; but he knew that he could not meet the formidable army which was coming against him in the open field. He looked for-

wards to the prolongation of the war, trusting that time might operate some favourable changes in his behalf. On the one hand, to confirm the affections of his subjects, he granted new privileges to the inhabitants of Toulouse, and new fiefs to Roger, count of Foix, his only ally. On the other hand, he concerted with the city of Avignon, after they had supplied themselves, to destroy all the grain and forage which they had not secured, and even took the precaution to break up all the meadows, that the approaching army of the crusaders might find no forage.*

To prevent the entire army from entering the city, the magistrates constructed a temporary wooden bridge over the river by which Louis passed three thousand of his soldiers; there was no necessity for his demanding any other passage; and as the city did not acknowledge him as its lord, he ought to have contented himself with the offer that was made him, to open a passage for his army without the walls, and honourably to admit himself, the pope's legate, and the most distinguished of his staff, into the city. But the clergy wished to punish a city which had remained twelve years in impenitence, under the weight of an excommunication. The crusaders were longing after the riches which they expected to find accumulated in it; and the pride of the king was wounded by any opposition made to his authority. He declared to the magistrates, that he wished to pass the river by the stone bridge, and for that purpose to traverse their city with his lance on his thigh, at the head of his whole army. The magistrates declared that they would not permit it, and immediately shut their gates against him.†

The army of the crusaders arrived before Avignon on the 6th of June, 1226, but it was not till the 10th that the siege was fairly commenced. On the 9th, the legate published a decree, enjoining it upon the king to purge the city from heretics; and the French having, during the truce, made an attempt to surprise one of the gates, blood was spilt on both sides, and each party prepared for hostilities. But the siege of Avignon was found a much more difficult enterprise than the legate and the crusaders

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxiv. ch. xi. p. 354. Matt. Paris, Hist. Ang. p. 280.

† Matt. Paris, p. 280.

expected. The city *was strong*, both from its situation, and from a double enclosure of walls. The population was numerous, and well provided with arms and warlike machines; they knew all the dangers to which their situation exposed them; and the fate that awaited them if they should happen to fall. They relied, however, on the goodness of their cause, and the love of liberty redoubled the bravery of its defenders. Matthew Paris tells us that "they returned stones for stones, arrows for arrows, beams for beams, spears for spears; they invented machines to destroy the effect of those of the besiegers, and they inflicted mortal wounds upon the French."*

The siege of Avignon lasted three months, and proved very destructive to the army of crusaders. The fall of the wooden bridge at a time when it was crowded with soldiers, precipitated a great number into the Rhone, where they perished; many more were slain in the assaults, or by the sorties of the besieged: but the greatest loss which the army of Louis experienced, was caused by disease and famine. Provisions, and especially forage failed, in that burning climate, in the midst of summer, to the most numerous body of cavalry that had ever been assembled in France. Louis was obliged to send out foraging parties to a great distance, but they mostly fell into the hands of Raymond VII., who, avoiding a battle, still hovered on the flanks of the besiegers. The camp was soon surrounded, in every direction, with the carcasses of horses which had died either from privation or fatigue. Their stench produced maladies amongst the soldiers; and it was said that large flies which were nourished by their putrified flesh, and which afterwards attacked the men, propagated the contagion by their stings. Guy, count of St. Paul, the bishop of Limoges, and two hundred knights bannerets sunk under the destructive fever which attacked the army; and, according to Matthew Paris, the number of crusaders, of all ranks, who perished in this siege, amounted to twenty thousand men!†

On the 12th of September, the citizens of Avignon consented to a capitulation. Matthew Paris relates that they only engaged to receive within their walls, the legate, and high lords of the

* Matt. Paris, p. 280. *Chronicon Turonense*, p. 315.

† Matt. Paris, p. 281. *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, p. 358.

army; but these being introduced into the city with their attendants, took possession of the gates in contempt of the capitulation. Neither the king nor the legate thought themselves in conscience obliged to keep any faith with excommunicated heretics; but they owed some regard to Frederic II., emperor of Germany, and it was probably on his account that they contented themselves with requiring three hundred hostages, as a guarantee for the submission of the citizens to the commands of the church and the legate; with imposing on the city a warlike contribution; with throwing down parts of its walls and towers; and with putting to the sword the Flemings and the French who were found in the garrison. It is probable that, but for the interference of the emperor, all the inhabitants would have been put to the sword.*

The King of France remained a short time at Avignon with his army. Fifteen days after he had taken the city, a terrible inundation of the river Durance covered all the space which had been occupied by the French camp. Had the soldiers not taken up their quarters within the walls, they would all have been swept away by the water, with their tents and baggage. Louis then took his departure, and, passing through the province, arrived within four leagues of Toulouse, where he was magnificently entertained and feasted by Fouquet, the bishop formerly mentioned, and who followed the army: he was admitted into the castles of the Languedocian lords, from whom he successively received an oath of fidelity. But throughout this whole expedition he had not the opportunity of signalizing the bravery of his soldiers by a single warlike exploit. The Counts of Toulouse and Foix, who had renewed their alliance under the guarantee of the city of Toulouse, avoided every battle and every kind of action, allowing the crusaders to exhaust themselves by their own efforts. They concluded that, if the King of France returned into their province in the following year, he would not be accompanied by so many fanatics; that they would have received a salutary lesson from the mortality and sufferings before Avignon; and that their persecuting zeal would be much abated by the disappointment they must unavoidably incur, in finding none of the

* Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1226 et 1240, p. 365.

heretics in a province which they had been given to believe was full of them. The king, the legate, and the Bishop Fouquet earnestly desired to find, in the country where they had made war, some of those enemies of the church for whose extirpation the whole of France had been put in motion. But nothing was more difficult than this, after fifteen years of persecution, during which they had either been expelled or put to death. It was with the greatest exertions that they at last discovered, at Cannes, in the diocese of Narbonne, an old preacher among the Albigenses, whose name was Peter Isarn, and who, being disabled by age and infirmity from quitting the country, had concealed himself from time to time in secret places. Being detected, he was condemned by the Archbishop of Narbonne, and committed to the flames with great ceremony.

After this execution, to accomplish which at least twenty thousand lives had been sacrificed, and an incalculable expense incurred, Louis VIII. prepared to return home; and having arrived at Montpensier, in Auvergne, on the 29th of October, felt himself attacked by the malady which had carried off so many persons during the siege of Avignon. This obliged him to halt, and he soon discovered that his malady was fatal. On the 3rd of November he called into his chamber the prelates and principal lords by whom he had been accompanied, and commended to them his eldest son, then only twelve years of age, and afterwards celebrated as *Saint Louis*. He confided him to the care of his wife, Blanche of Castille; he demanded of his prelates and barons that they would promise to crown him, without delay, as their lord and king, and pay him their homage, and made them confirm this by a solemn oath. The malady soon reached its last stage, and Louis expired on the 8th of November, 1226.*

Another lecture will bring to a close this tragical history of the persecution of the Albigenses.

* Hist. de Languedoc, livre xxiv. ch. xxvii. p. 353. Gesta Ludov. viii. p. 310. Chronique de St. Denys, p. 422.

LECTURE XLVI.

Termination of the Crusades against the Albigenses, from the death of Louis VIII., A.D. 1226, to the Peace of Paris, 1229, and its final ratification, 1242—Regency of Queen Blanche—Renewed measures of severity against the Albigenses—Raymond VII. reduced to a state of phrenzy—Horrid conduct of Fouquet, Bishop of Toulouse—Siege of Toulouse—Raymond treats for Peace; his abject submission—Death of Bishop Fouquet—The Heretics apparently extirpated in Languedoc—Pope Gregory IX. burns numerous Heretics at Rome—Edict of Frederic II., and the Pope's Bulls—Burning of Heretics in Germany—Heretics spring up afresh in France—Assembling of a Council at Narbonne—Circular Letter of Instruction to the Inquisitors; opposed by the people of Languedoc—Raymond VII. attempts to recover his forfeited States, but is unsuccessful; becomes a vassal of Louis IX.—General pacification, A.D. 1242.

It seems only reasonable to expect that, when the parties confederated against the Albigenses—viz., Louis VIII., king of France; Cardinal Romano di Sant. Angelo, the pope's legate; and Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, whom the persecuted heretics called "the bishop of Devils"—had traversed the whole province and found only one surviving object of their pursuit on whom to wreak their vengeance, they would have been satisfied, and henceforth desisted from all further hostile proceedings against either Count Raymond or his subjects. Such, however, was not the case; the cruelty of the persecutors was not yet satiated. In the year 1227 a fresh crusade was determined on; and, during

the season of Lent, Peter, archbishop of Narbonne, presided at a council in his episcopal city; the canons of which council, to the number of twenty, were all intended to redouble the rigours of persecution against the Jews and the heretics, the Count of Toulouse, the Count of Foix, and the Viscount of Beziers, and to augment the authority of the ecclesiastics. Among other things it was ordered, that a testament should not be held valid unless it was signed in the presence of the curate, and that, in each parish, assistants to the inquisitors, under the name of synodical witnesses, should be instituted for the discovery of those whose faith might be suspected; in other words, who were suspected of not yielding implicit obedience to the see of Rome.*

The first point of attack with the new crusaders was the castle of Bécède, in Lauraguais, to attend the siege of which the Archbishop of Narbonne, and "the Bishop of Devils," the renowned Fouquet, hastened. The commandant of the castle not being able to prolong its defence, succeeded one night in making his escape with a part of the garrison; the rest were either knocked on the head or put to the sword by the besiegers. On this occasion it is related, that Bishop Fouquet actually saved the lives of some women and children; and, in like manner, rescued from the hands of the soldiers Girard de la Motte, pastor of the heretics of Bécède, and all those who formed his flock; but it was that he might enjoy the gratification of seeing them perish in the flames.†

Similar instances of unrelenting cruelty were exhibited during all the period on which we are now entering. The repressive measures adopted by the councils acquired, each succeeding year, additional severity, and gave to the inquisition an organization still more terrible. Nevertheless, the spirit of fanaticism which had armed the first crusaders against the Albigenses was considerably abated. No one now regarded popery as in any danger from the heretics, whose object was reform; no one was anxious to save the church of Rome from the invasion of thought; no one (a few bigoted and sanguinary ecclesiastics excepted) longed

* *Concilia Generalia Labbei*, tom. xi. p. 304. *Hist. de Languedoc*, livre xxiv. ch. xxxii. p. 365.

† *Guill. de Podio Laurentii*, ch. xxxvii. p. 680.

for the moment which should give them an opportunity of rejoicing at the burning of the heretics, or bathe in their blood ! To an outrageous phrenzy had succeeded a calm indifference ; yet toleration had gained nothing by the exchange. Kings, nobles, priests, and people were all agreed in thinking that heretics, so called, must be destroyed by fire and sword ; and in the vocabulary of the church of Rome, all were denominated heretics who adhered " to the law and the testimony"—the simplicity that there is in Christ Jesus. An odious nick-name, which recalled the Bulgarian origin of the sect of the Albigenses, was applied to all whose object it was to bring back morals to their purity, religion to its spirituality, and its profession to its original simplicity. A cold contempt was the portion vouchsafed to those persons who had been animated by such generous sentiments, and had suffered so much affliction, as if they had in them nothing human—none of the ordinary feelings of humanity—nothing with which the heart of man could sympathize. Their very punishment excited no emotion ; and those who put them to death foolishly thought they were doing God service. But we shall pursue this tragical subject to its termination, which now fast approached.

The demise of Louis VIII. has been mentioned at the close of the preceding Lecture, and the crown now devolved upon his eldest son, at that time eleven-years-and-a-half old, who took the title of Louis IX. During his minority, the affairs of the state were chiefly under the management of his mother, Blanche, by birth a Spaniard, and possessed of the qualities common to her nation—qualities peculiar to great minds. At the period of the late king's death, she was about thirty-eight years of age ; of prepossessing appearance ; religious, according to the religion of the church of Rome ; jealous of her authority, jealous of the affections of those she loved ; and, above all things, solicitous to inspire her children with the same religious sentiments by which she herself was actuated. On assuming the reins of government as queen-regent, Blanche found herself charged with the war which her late husband, according to the exhortation of the holy see, had, in the preceding year, carried on against the Albigenses, and the influence of the ecclesiastics by whom she was surrounded was not wanting to goad her onwards in the pious crusade. In

the midst of the troubles of an agitated regency, with numerous risings and revolts of the barons within the realm, and threatenings and dangers from without, Blanche had the talent to terminate the conquest of the Albigenses, and to gather the fruits of the policy of Philip Augustus, of the zeal of Louis VIII., and of the fanatical fury of their subjects. In her eyes, intolerance and persecuting fanaticism were virtues, and she only acted on the principles instilled into her mind by the renowned doctors of the age in which she lived. But cupidity, cruelty, and want of faith in political transactions could be sanctioned by no religious instruction. We can no more exculpate from these vices the great of the middle ages, than those of our own days. The frequency of examples cannot change the nature of things, nor justify that which conscience disapproves and reprobates. In the year 1228, Count Raymond VII., who seems to have abandoned all hope of pacifying the vindictive temper of the court of Rome, and had consequently given himself up to a state of frenzy, hastened to take the field, flattering himself that he should find the royal party discouraged by the civil wars with the barons, and the crusaders weakened by the departure of the most enthusiastic among them for the Holy Land. Guy de Montfort, brother of the ferocious Simon, was killed at the siege of the Vareilles; after which Raymond took possession of Castel Sarazin. In the neighbourhood of that place he stationed a body of troops in ambush, and having taken a great number of prisoners, he abandoned himself to those sentiments of hatred and vengeance, which the horrors of the wars had excited both in his soldiers and himself. The captives were mutilated with an odious cruelty; a second advantage caused additional French prisoners to fall into his hands, and a second time he treated them with similar barbarity. Probably a mistaken policy led him thus to outrage the laws of humanity. Discouragement had seized the hearts of the people of Languedoc; their constancy had been exhausted by such a succession of combats, and so many sufferings, that Raymond might imagine he should render them warlike, by permitting them to become ferocious. This, however, was so far from being the case, that those who had degraded themselves by taking the character of executioners, ceased to merit in war the title of soldiers.

From this inauspicious moment the tide of affairs set in against Raymond: his success ended with his clemency.*

Humbert de Beaujeu, whom Louis VIII. had left in the capacity of lieutenant of the province of Languedoc, received but little assistance from the government; but this deficiency was made up by the superabundant zeal of the prelates. In the middle of June, the Archbishops of Auch and Bourdeaux arrived at his camp, accompanied by a great number of bishops, who had been preaching up the crusade in their respective dioceses, and they brought him a numerous and fanatical army. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had never quitted the crusaders, and he surpassed all his compeers in sanguinary zeal. He considered himself as entrusted with a commission to purify by fire his episcopal city, and he induced the king's lieutenant to draw his army close to Toulouse. The affrighted citizens shut themselves up within their walls, abandoning the surrounding country, and flattering themselves still to be able, by lengthening out the war, to weary the patience of the besiegers. It was their own bishop, Fouquet, who suggested the method of wounding his people in what he knew to be the most sensible part, and of rendering this war for ever fatal to their country. By his advice, the French officers conducted, every morning, their troops to the gates of Toulouse, and then retiring to the mountains, each day, by a different route. On their march they commanded them, through all the space they passed over, to cut down the corn, tear up the vines, destroy the fruit-trees, and burn the houses; so that there remained not a vestige of the industry, or of the riches of man. Each succeeding day the general traced in this manner a new radius, and, during three months, he uninterruptedly continued thus methodically to ravage all the adjacent country. At the end of the campaign, the city was only surrounded by a frightful desert; all its richest inhabitants were ruined, and their courage no longer enabled them to brave such a merciless warfare.† Several lords,

* *Mett. Paris, Hist. Ang.* p. 294. *Guill. de Podio Laurentii*, ch. xxxvii. p. 689. *Præclara Fræno. facinora*, p. 776.

† *Hist. de Languedoc*, livre xxiv. ch. xxxviii. p. 368. *Guill. de Podio Laurentii*, ch. xxxviii. p. 690. *Præclara Fræno. facinora*, p. 776.

hitherto their friends, now abandoned them, submitting their castles to the King of France ; and nearly at the same time Count Raymond listened to propositions of peace, which were made by the Abbot of Grandseve. On the 10th of December, 1228, he gave full powers to this abbot to negotiate, in his name, with the king, the queen-mother, and the Cardinal di Sant. Angelo, engaging to ratify whatever treaty should obtain the consent of his cousin Thibaud, count of Champagne, whom he took for arbitrator of his differences with Queen Blanche, who was his cousin. In fact, Raymond appears to have been so totally overwhelmed with terror, as well as his subjects, that he no longer preserved any hope of defending himself. It might even be supposed that the victories of his enemies appeared to him in the light of a judgment from heaven, and that he thought himself obliged, in conscience, henceforth to share the persecuting fanaticism against which he so long had contested. In fact, he demanded neither liberty of conscience for his subjects, nor the preservation of his own sovereignty. He abandoned all thoughts of maintaining any longer his independence. He consented to surrender himself disarmed, and without guarantee, into the hands of his enemies, and to leave to them the disposal of his heritage. He only desired to covenant for the possession of a small part of his states, to secure to himself, not a sovereignty, but a revenue, which should cease with his life.*

Early in the year 1229 the cardinal-legate held two provincial councils—one at Sens, the other at Senlis—to prepare the articles relative to this pacification. He afterwards repaired to Meaux, where the young king, Louis IX., the Queen Blanche, Count Raymond VII., the deputies from Toulouse, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the principal bishops of his province, successively arrived. The treaty which had been concerted between the Cardinal di Sant. Angelo and the Abbot of Grandseve was then read. It was the most extraordinary that any sovereign had ever been required to sign. Each of its articles, says an historian of those times, contained a concession which

* *Maestri Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 943. *Preuves de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, § 183, p. 326.

might alone have sufficed for the ransom of the Count of Toulouse, had he been made a prisoner in a universal rout of all his army; but Raymond made no hesitation to give his consent to it.

The definitive treaty was signed at Paris, on the 12th of April, 1229. By this act Raymond VII. abandoned to the king all his French possessions, and to the pope's legate all that he possessed in the kingdom of Arles. After this universal renunciation, the king, as if by favour, granted him, as a fief, for the remainder of his life, a part only of what he had taken from him—viz. a portion of the dioceses of Toulouse, of Albigeois, and of Quercy, with the entire dioceses of Agenois and of Rovergue. These provinces, which the king restored to him, were, moreover, to constitute the portion of his daughter, Jane, then nine years of age, whom he named his sole heiress, and whom he engaged to deliver immediately into the hands of Queen Blanche, that she might bring her up under her own eye, and afterwards marry her to one of her sons at her discretion. In accepting for her son, Alphonso, then also nine years old, the daughter of a prince so long proscribed, and so constantly excommunicated, Blanche sufficiently manifested that she, at least, did not consider him a heretic, that she felt no horror at being allied to him, and that, on the part of the court of France, the crusade was rather political than religious. Its real design was to obtain possession of the domains belonging to the most powerful of the grand vassals, though its ostensible object was the suppression of heresy.

The sacrifices which Count Raymond VII. was thus called to make were humiliating to the last degree, and so painful to dwell upon, that I gladly pass them over; but one of them required him to promise that he would henceforth make war against all those who, to this moment, had remained faithful to him, and especially against the Count of Foix; and that he would pay to every individual who should arrest a heretic, two marks for each of his subjects who might be thus carried before the tribunals. Raymond felt himself so debased by these extorted conditions, that he himself demanded to be retained a prisoner at the Louvre, whilst they were beginning to execute

the treaty; and preferred submitting to the obligation of serving five years in a crusade to the Holy Land, when he should leave his prison, rather than witness the entire ruin of his country. The love of repose, however, or the dread of humiliations he might have to endure in an army of fanatics, or perhaps some new hopes, induced him to alter his purpose.

The union of the hereditary domains of Count Raymond to the crown of France, and the submission of all the rest to those fanatical priests who had called thither the crusaders, were but the forerunners of inexpressible calamities to these provinces. That which perhaps exceeded all the others was the permanent establishment of the inquisition, of which we have lately had the subject under review. This was principally the work of the council assembled at Toulouse in the month of November, 1229, and composed of the Archbishops of Narbonne, of Bourdeaux, and of Auch, with their suffragans. In the month of the preceding April an ordonnance of Louis IX. had renewed, in the countries which had fallen under his dominion, the severest pursuits against the heretics.*

Whilst Raymond VII. delivered up his country to its persecutors, he submitted himself, on the 12th of April, 1229, to the most humiliating penance. He repaired, with his feet naked, and with only his shirt and trowsers, to the church of Notre Dame, at Paris; there the Cardinal Romani di Sant. Angelo met him, and, after administering the discipline upon his naked shoulders, conducted him to the foot of the grand altar, where he declared that, on account of his humility and devotion, he pronounced his absolution; but under this condition, that he should again fall under the preceding excommunication if he failed to observe the treaty of Paris. After this, Raymond remained a prisoner in the Louvre during six weeks, in which time his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners, his strong castles were opened to them, and the wall of his capital, to the extent of three thousand feet, was thrown down. On his release from captivity, Louis IX. received his homage for the fiefs which still remained to him, knighted him on the 3rd of June, and then

* Concilia Generalia Labbei, tom. xi. p. 425. Ordonn. de France, tom. i. p. 50. Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. livre xxiv.

allowed him to return to his country. As long as the Bishop Fouquet lived, the residence of Raymond VII., at Toulouse, was embittered by the ferocity of a prelate, who thought he could only honour God by sacrificing human victims, and who had long been obliged to tear from their lord those whom he demanded to offer upon his altars. Daily denunciations, and every kind of humiliation, caused the Count of Toulouse to live in continual dread of new excommunications, and a new crusade. Happily, however, for the count, Fouquet at last died, on Christmas day, 1231, after an episcopate of twenty-eight years; and Raymond VII. then experienced a diminution of the severities to which he had hitherto been exposed. He obtained from the court of Rome, first a respite, and afterwards a dispensation from proceeding to the Holy Land, according to his engagement; and could he have silenced the reproaches of honour and conscience, he might from that time have enjoyed a sort of peace in the domains which were still spared to him.

The transfer of the country of the Albigenses from Count Raymond to its new masters was a source of incalculable misery to the inhabitants. All kinds of oppression now pressed at once upon the people. They suffered, at the same time, from the arbitrary extent and the capricious exercise of the royal authority, from the power of the nobles, from the power of the priests, and from the power of the proprietors of the soil, who claimed also a property in the persons of their villains. But in this state of universal suffering the people of France, as well as those of the rest of Europe, appeared to resign themselves to the ills which were inflicted on their bodies, and only asked liberty of conscience. The sanctuary of conscience was the only one the entrance to which they still endeavoured to defend, surrounded as they were by such a host of tyrannies. We cannot reflect without emotion, that, tormented by necessities, by cares, and by sorrows, the independence of the mind was the only boon they demanded, and that this was refused them by their suspicious masters with the same unfeeling cruelty as the rest.

The work of reformation, which the Albigenses had so nobly commenced and vigorously prosecuted, had been extinguished there by the arms of half Europe. Blood never ceased to flow, nor the flames to devour their victims, in those provinces now

abandoned to the dark fanaticism of the inquisitors. But that terror which had dispersed the heretics had, by so doing, scattered sparks through all Europe, by which the torch of reason might be again rekindled. No voice, no outward appearance announced the preaching of reform, or troubled the public tranquillity. Driven from their native country, the land of their fathers, the proscribed Albigenses had migrated into other districts—some into Germany, others into Switzerland, but the greater part crossed the Alps, and found an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont, where we shall presently trace them again mingled with the Waldenses, their brethren in Christ, whose religious tenets corresponded with their own. “The world was all before them, where to choose their residence, and Providence their guide.” The Pyrenean mountains, which separate France from Spain, and lay contiguous to the province of Languedoc, afforded a convenient retreat to thousands of these exiles. Those mountains extend from the Mediterranean sea to the Atlantic ocean, that is, a range of two hundred miles, and in breadth, in several places, more than a hundred. A spectator, taking his stand on the summit of these mountains, sees at the foot of them, on the Spanish side, Asturias, Old Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia; and, on the French side, Guienne and Languedoc, Toulouse, Bearn, Alby, Roussillon, and Narbonne, all of them remarkable in the darkest times for harbouring Christians who were reputed heretics by the church of Rome. There, in the cottage of the peasant or the poor artisan, whose labours they shared in profound obscurity, the persecuted Albigenses taught their hosts to read the gospel of our salvation, and, through the blessing of heaven upon their instructions, to understand and believe it. They taught them to pray in their native tongue without the aid of hireling priests, to sing the praises of God, and to regulate their lives by the New Testament, without any regard to the decisions of popes, cardinals, or councils. In vain did the inquisition imagine that it had compelled the human mind to an implicit subjection to the dogmas of the court of Rome, and established an invariable standard for regulating the faith and worship of Christians. In the midst of the darkness which it had created, it was every now and then surprised at finding some

luminous spots appear where it would least have expected them. Its efforts to extinguish served only to scatter them, and no sooner had it conquered than it was compelled to renew the combat.

In proof of what has now been said, I may remark, that Pope Gregory IX., who had deemed the very soil of Languedoc polluted by its having produced so many sectaries, and that the Count of Toulouse could not be innocent whilst he had so many heretics among his subjects, all at once discovered, with alarm, that even at Rome he was surrounded with heretics ! At once to furnish a terrible example to the world of the extent of his power, and of vengeance to such incorrigible offenders, he caused a great number of them to be apprehended and committed to the flames before the gates of Santa Maria Major ; after which he imprisoned, in the convents of La Cava, and of the Monte Cassino, those who were priests or clergymen, and who had been publicly degraded, with such also as had given signs of penitence.* His holiness on this occasion caused an edict to be promulgated, determining the different punishments to be assigned to the heretics—to those who encouraged them—to those who should afford them an asylum—and, lastly, to those who neglected to accuse them ; always dividing the confiscations between the spy who denounces and the judge who condemns, that the scaffolds might never be left without victims.

No sooner was this edict issued by the senator than the pope caused it to be forwarded, accompanied by his own bull, to the Archbishop of Milan, whom he exhorted to follow his example, in the destruction of the Paterines. He also profited by his recent reconciliation with the Emperor Frederic II. to announce to him, that Catharines, Paterines, Poor of Lyons, and other heretics, formed in the school of the Albigenses, had at the same time appeared in Lombardy and in the two Sicilies, and to obtain from his friendship an edict which has gained the eulogium of the annalist of the church (Raynaldus), and has been deposited in the pontifical archives. By this edict the emperor commanded all magistrates and judges immediately to deliver to the flames

* Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1231, ch. xiii. et xiv. p. 415. Vita Gregorii IX. a Card. Aragonia, tom. iii. p. 578.

every man who should be convicted of heresy by the bishop of the diocese, and to pull out the tongue of those to whom the bishop should think it proper to shew favour, that they might not corrupt others by attempting to justify themselves. After having thus raged in Italy against the fugitive Albigenses and their disciples, his holiness did not forget to pursue them into France. He wrote to the Archbishop of Bourges, and to the Bishop of Auxerre, exhorting them to shew themselves worthy of the sacred ordination they had received, by committing to the flames all the heretics that had been discovered at La Charité, upon the Loire.*

An infallible pope might have learned, from observation and the evidence of facts, that the method he was pursuing towards the Albigenses was not the best calculated to promote the interests of his own church. By granting them no respite in their own country, he compelled them to spread themselves throughout almost every part of Europe; and wherever they went they carried the gospel with them, and sowed the seeds of reformation. He did not, however, reason thus, but, on the contrary, he laboured to redouble the ardour of the persecutions in the countship of Toulouse, by giving Raymond VII. to expect that he would, on this condition, restore to him the marquisate of Provence. Raymond, either converted or terrified, no longer refused any act of inquisition or of cruelty against his unhappy subjects. In 1232 he consented to associate himself with the new Bishop of Toulouse, to surprise by night a house in which they discovered nineteen men and women (probably assembled for the worship of God and mutual edification), whom they pronounced *relapsed* heretics, and caused them to perish in the flames.† Notwithstanding this shameful truckling to the papal party, the condition of Count Raymond was scarcely ameliorated. Sometimes he was suspected by the bishops of his states of not sincerely seconding them in their persecutions. At other times it was their pleasure to humble him, for the sake of imitating their predecessors, or perhaps to enrich themselves with his spoils. The pope himself was obliged to recommend him to the Bishop of

* Raynaldi Eccles. Ann. 1231. §. 18. and 23.

† Hist. de Languedoc, livre xxiv. ch. lxxxi. p. 302.

Tournay, who acted as his legate in the province, bidding him "to water him kindly, as a young plant, and to nourish him with the milk of the church."* A section of the Albigenes had found an asylum in the province of Gascoony, which at that time depended on the King of England, but where the authority of the government was nearly disregarded, so that, being masters of the strong castles, the heretics defended themselves by open force. The pope wrote to the knights of Saint James of Galicia, to exterminate them with fire and sword, charging the Bishops of Auch and Bourdeaux to give all possible aid to these knights in their work of extermination.†

While matters were thus progressing, the pope and his conclave were suddenly alarmed by the news, that the work of reform, which had been so often extinguished, yet was ever breaking out afresh, had now made its appearance in the very heart of Germany, and that the city of Stettin, was infected by those same heretics, who, as he fondly hoped, had been extirpated in Languedoc. Gregory, therefore, lost no time in addressing bulls to the Bishops of Minden, of Lubeck, and of Rachhasbourg in Styria, to induce them to preach up a crusade against the heretics.‡ In order to excite greater horror against these sectaries, the most fearful things were related concerning them, which excited as much astonishment as abomination. "A hideous toad," said the pope, "was presented at once to the adoration and the caresses of the initiated. The same being, who was no other than the devil, afterwards took, successively, different forms, all equally revolting, and all offered to the salutations of his worshippers."§ Such an accusation, coming from the lips of holiness itself, could not fail of success. The fanatics took up arms in crowds, under the conduct of the German bishops. The Duke of Brabant, and the Count of Holland joined them, and took the command of this army of the cross. Those among the sectaries who were not in a condition to carry arms, or who had not taken refuge in the strong places, were first brought to judgment;

* Gregorii IX. Epist. in tom. xi. Concil. Labbei, ep. xxiii. p. 361, ep. xxvii. p. 363.

† Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1232, p. 430.

‡ Idem, § viii. 427.

§ Epistolæ Gregorii IX. ap. Raynald, Ann. Eccles. 1232, p. 447.

and in the year 1233, "an innumerable multitude of heretics was burned alive through all Germany; a still greater number was converted."* The crusading army next marched against Stettin. The sectaries had the boldness to arrest them in the open field; but six thousand of them were destroyed in the combat; others were driven into the Oder and drowned; and the whole race was exterminated.† But such is the nature of this pestilence, for so it was deemed by the court of Rome, that, like water which is dammed up in one place by inadequate mounds, it is sure to break out in another. In 1239, a hundred and eighty heretics were burnt to death in Champagne, a province of France prior to the revolution, in the same flames, and in the presence of eighteen bishops! A monk who witnessed the execution, exclaimed, "It is a holocaust agreeable to God." Such was the temper of the ecclesiastics of France in those days, under the reign of St. Louis and his mother Blanche. They were passive instruments in the hands of the clergy, and found no scruple of conscience in sanctioning a practice which came recommended by the concurrent zeal of monks, of prelates, of popes, and of councils.

To prosecute this subject in all its details would carry me far beyond the limits which I have prescribed to myself in this course of Lectures, and also exhaust the patience of the reader. The same decrees, the same menaces, the same horrors, rise up in almost endless succession; yet heresy was not destroyed by these sanguinary proceedings. These disastrous revolutions were succeeded by a protracted agony, but tranquillity was never restored; persecution was never suspended, even by the death of its victims. The only expedient for maintaining the unity of the faith which the church of Rome had ever known, was to burn those who had separated from it. For two hundred years the fires had been kindled, yet every day catholics abandoned the faith of their fathers to embrace that which must conduct them to the flames. It was in vain that Gregory IX. had destroyed all the heretics who had been concealed at Rome, in 1231, and in the states of the church; numerous letters, addressed by him in 1235, to all the bishops of that part of Italy, announced, that notwithstanding

* Labbei Con. Gen., tom. xi. p. 478.

† Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1234. § xliii. p. 462.

the severity of the inquisitors, the Paterines had made fresh progress. A council was also held the same year at Narbonne, in the south of France, where the archbishop presided, when a circular letter was addressed to the inquisitors, declaring that heresy had broken out afresh in the three provinces of Narbonne, Arles, and Aix.*

This circular consisted of twenty-nine articles, and was intended to serve for instruction to the inquisitors; and though in none of them is the punishment of death expressly pronounced, yet in most of them it is understood by the hypocritical phrase of *delivering the criminal to the secular arm*. In fact, death was the invariable consequence of revolt or relapse, and the great business of the council of Narbonne appears to have been to multiply the cases in which, by a fiction of law, they might apply the punishment of relapse or revolt. The following may convey some idea of the forms of procedure prescribed by this circular:—

“As to those you are to arrest,” say the prelates, “we think proper to add, that no man can be exempted from imprisonment on account of his wife, however young she may be; no woman on account of her husband; nor either of them on account of their children, their relations, or those to whom they are most necessary. Let not any one be exempted from prison on account of weakness, or age, or any similar cause.—If you have not succeeded in arresting them, hesitate not to proceed against the absent, as if they were present. Take particular care, in conformity with the discerning will of the apostolic see, not to publish by word or sign the names of the witnesses; and if the culprit pretends that he has enemies, and that they have conspired against him, ask the names of those enemies, and the cause of that conspiracy; for thus you will provide for the safety of the witnesses, and the conviction of the accused. On account of the enormity of this crime, you ought to admit, in proof of it, the testimony of criminals, of infamous persons, and of accomplices. He who persists in denying a fault, of which he may be convicted by witnesses or by any other proof, must be considered, without hesitation, as an impenitent heretic.”†

* Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1235. § xv. xix. p. 467. Labbei Concil. Gen. tom. xi. p. 487.

† Labbei Concil. Gen. tom. xi. p. 488—501.

This code of instruction, in which such favour was shewn to informers, and such precipitation in pronouncing the ruin of a family, struck with terror many of those who were attached to the see of Rome. The patience of the Languedocians was exhausted; the magistrates of Toulouse wished to oppose the continuance of these inquisitorial proceedings. They were unable to bear any longer the spectacle which daily presented itself, of inquisitors digging up the half-putrified bodies of those against whom informations had been laid, and, after the mockery of a trial, dragging them on a hurdle to the flames, through all the streets of the city. They therefore expelled from the city the chaplains of the parochial churches, who had been employed by the inquisitors in citing witnesses, and they prohibited the latter from appearing or deposing in future. The grand inquisitor, William Arnold, refused to recognise the authority of the magistrates, and took his departure on the 5th of November, 1235. On the following day, the forty Jacobin monks, who were in the convent of St. Dominic, quitted the city in procession. On the 10th of the same month excommunication was pronounced against Toulouse, and Raymond VII., who happened then to be in Alsace, with Frederic II., was nevertheless included in the same sentence, though he hastened to make his submission and recal the inquisitors. It was not till the end of the year 1236 that he could obtain his absolution; and the pope charged it as a crime against the emperor, that he communicated with Raymond in spite of the sentence that had been passed upon him.*

It is a very singular circumstance, and not to be accounted for, that from the year 1237 to 1241, the inquisition remained in a state of total inactivity, in consequence of an order from the court of Rome, addressed to the inquisitors in Languedoc, intimating to them that they should suspend all inquiry after heretics. It has been resolved by some writers into a species of alarm which Gregory IX. had taken, at seeing an alliance about to be formed between several of the principal cities in France to resist this intolerable yoke; but whatever was the occasion, it was an

* Hist. de Languedoc, livre xxiv. ch. v. p. 404. Ibid, ch. viii. p. 407. Raynaldi Ann. Eccles. 1236, p. 484.

interval of repose to the people of Languedoc. Raymond VII. at this auspicious period began once more to lift up his head after his long suffering. He cultivated the friendship of the Emperor of Germany, Frederick II., who appeared at that time sufficiently powerful to protect him against his enemies the priests. Accordingly, in January, 1240, he managed to assemble an army on the banks of the Rhone, with the view of recovering his lost territories in Provence. He succeeded in possessing himself of a number of small places; and found himself suddenly surprised by a young and spirited ally in the person of young Trencavel, son of Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, whom Simon de Montfort had, in 1209, caused to perish in his prison. This young man now appeared in the country to claim the inheritance of his fathers, accompanied by a great number of other knights who had been proscribed under the suspicion of heresy, and had afterwards distinguished themselves in Spain, in the war against the Moors, or Mahometans. Their memory was still dear to their ancient vassals, and they were especially preferred to the new masters, whose yoke the people had ever since been obliged to support. At their arrival, therefore, the whole country rose in their cause. In this moment of danger, the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Toulouse shut themselves up in Carcassonne, to confirm the citizens in their fidelity to the King of France. They expected to make sure of them, by causing them to renew their oaths of fealty; but the inhabitants of the town of Carcassonne rose in the night of the 18th of September, and received Trencavel within their walls.*

No sooner was Louis IX. made acquainted with the approach of these ancient exiles, than he took measures to arrest a revolt which appeared to him as much directed against heaven as against himself. He despatched into Languedoc his chamberlain, John de Beaumont, with many other knights, to collect an army with all possible expedition. Trencavel, apprised of the approach of the French, and not having been able during a month that he

* *History Gen. de Languedoc*, livre xxv. ch. xxxviii. p. 421. *Chron. de St. Denys*, p. 57.

had occupied the suburbs of Carcassonne, to obtain possession of the city, felt that he could not maintain himself there, and abandoned it on the 11th of September, to shut himself up in Montreal. Here he sustained a long siege, and when at last he was compelled to surrender the place to the superior force of the King of France, it was by an honourable capitulation, which permitted him to retire into Catalonia, with all his knights. The inhabitants, however, and all those who could not rank as gentlemen, were deemed unworthy to be included in the capitulation, and, of course, treated by the king's representative, John de Beaumont, with all that *hauteur* and rigour in which the crusaders then gloried, imagining themselves-called upon to avenge the cause of the Most High. William de Nangis, a French historian of the fourteenth century, in recording these transactions, does not favour us with any circumstantial details: he merely says of Beaumont, the king's lieutenant—"We may with truth apply to him the words of Scripture, '*In his wrath he stamped the earth with his feet, and the nations were dumb with astonishment at beholding his fury.*'"^{*} Could the pencil of Fuseli have produced a more finished picture?

During the expedition of young Trencavel, Count Raymond had remained undecided as to what part he ought to take; but when he saw that young nobleman again compelled to quit the country, the French flocking to range themselves under the royal standard, and Louis IX. employing all his activity to arrest the rebellion, he was filled with apprehensions of seeing the crusades against the Albigenses renewed in all their horrors, and therefore resolved upon disarming both the court of Rome and the King of France of all hostility, by an entire submission. He treated first with the cardinal-legate, the Bishop of Prenestum. He pledged himself, prior to the 1st of March, 1241, to abandon the cause of the Emperor Frederick II., who had again quarrelled with Pope Gregory IX. and again been excommunicated, and who was now endeavouring to avenge himself upon the weakest cities of the states of the church. Raymond now promised to assist with all his power the see of Rome against *Frederick II., who*

^{*} Gesta Ludovico. ix. p. 334. Proclara Francar. facinora, pp. 788, 789.

called himself emperor, and against all who supported his pretended rights.* After this, Count Raymond set out for the court of France, and, approaching Louis IX., on the 14th of March, took an oath to him to assist him "towards and against all"—to drive from his country such as had been proscribed on account of their faith, and to assist the king in destroying them in that part of Languedoc which belonged to him. Returning to Toulouse, Raymond made peace also with Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, and signed a treaty with the King of Aragon.

In the year 1242 Raymond VII. made one more struggle to free himself and his country ere the chains of slavery were finally and irrevocably riveted upon them. He took advantage of a war then subsisting between England and the French barons, and Louis IX., to form a league with the Kings of Spain, who possessed fiefs in France, and the great lords who spake the Provençal language. Although abandoned in the moment of trial by the greater part of his allies, he, in the month of April, 1242, held an assembly of the lords at the foot of the Pyrenees, who were for the greater part his vassals, and who agreed, in concert with him, to declare war against France. Roger, count of Foix, was the first who promised to second him with all his forces; the Counts of Armagnac, of Cominges, and of Rhodes, and a great number of viscounts and lords, made similar engagements with him.

About the middle of June, the combined army of Languedocians entered the provinces which Raymond VII. had ceded to the King of Spain by the treaty of Paris. In a little time they made several conquests. Raymond was introduced into Narbonne by the viscount of that city; but the archbishop fled at his approach, and, on his arrival at Beziers, fulminated against him, on the 21st of July, a sentence of excommunication. The inhabitants of the country, seeing their lord engaged in a war with those same Frenchmen who had been the agents of all the persecutions of the Romish church, and who had delivered them up to the merciless rage of crusaders and inquisitors, now thought the moment arrived to free themselves from an insupportable

* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, livre xxv. ch. xli. p. 423. Preuves, No. 134.

tyranny. Some Albigensian heretics, who had taken refuge in the castle of Mirepoix, set out in the night of the 28th of May, and surprised the castle of Avignonet, where Arnold had lately established the supreme tribunal of the inquisition. Four Dominicans, two Franciscans, and seven nuncios or familiars of the inquisition, of whom this tribunal was composed, were cut in pieces. These monks, who had ordered so many murders, who had been insensible to the sorrows of so many families, awaited their murderers on their knees, and singing *Te Deum*, without endeavouring either to defend or save themselves. They anticipated the enjoyment of the glory of the martyrs—so sincerely did they imagine themselves serving God, when they bathed his altars with the blood of human victims.

But the massacre of so many ecclesiastics, and more especially of persons constituting the "holy office," could not be viewed by the papal party in any other light than that of a crime of the deepest die; and as the perpetrators were in the interest of Count Raymond, he would necessarily be held responsible for the atrocious deed. His courage now drooped, from the defection of several of his allies, particularly the Count of Foix, on whose assistance he reckoned the most, but who at this crisis announced to him by letter, that being no longer disposed to persevere in a hopeless contest, he withdrew his homage, and had made his peace with the King of France, Louis IX., who had taken him under his immediate protection. Whatever resentment Raymond might testify at this defection, it was whispered abroad that he himself had, at that very time, despatched the Bishop of Toulouse to the king, to treat for his own submission. The conditions stipulated by the bishop not being acceded to, Raymond VII. wrote, on the 20th of October, 1242, to Louis IX., submitting to him unconditionally, and asking the king's pardon for himself and his associates, with the exception of the heretics, upon whom he pledged himself to execute severe justice, as well as upon those who had killed the inquisitors.*

During the month of January, 1243, Raymond and the King of France had a personal interview, when the former renewed

Hist. de Languedoc, livre xxv. ch. lxiv. p. 496—in Sismondi's History of the Crusades against the Albigenses.

his homage to his sovereign; and the treaty of pacification was ratified, sealing the destiny of the Albigenses, so far as the tyranny of man could exert its power over their minds and consciences.

I have thus brought to a close the affecting history of the crusades against the Albigenses, with more minuteness of detail, probably, than exactly comports with the title of Lectures; but I would willingly hope that an apology will be found for me in the peculiarity of the subject, which happily has not its parallel in the annals of the human race, unless it be in the case of the Waldenses, yet before us. We have witnessed the last act of this melancholy tragedy, and are left to deplore the folly and wickedness of the prime actors in it, on the one hand, and the sufferings of our brethren in Christ, on the other, who were fated to be the victims of their cruelty, lust, and rage. What a train of reflection would a review of the whole narrative supply us with, were this the place to indulge in it, but it is not. Let us turn the picture, and listen to Monsieur Voltaire, whose voice on a subject of this kind deserves attention.

“In the beautiful and trading cities of Italy,” says he, “the people lived in ease and affluence. With them alone the sweets of life seem to have taken up their residence, and riches and liberty inspired their genius and elevated their courage. Notwithstanding the dissensions that prevailed everywhere, they began to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe after the decline of the Roman empire. The necessary arts had never been entirely lost: the artificers and merchants, whose humble station had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themselves peaceable habitations, while the vultures and eagles of the world were tearing one another in pieces.”* What a contrast to the condition of the southern provinces of France during the thirteenth century! But in these mercurious proceedings, how completely do we see identified the prophetic character of the apocalyptic beast and his image, Rev. xiii. 16, 17.

* General Hist. ch. lxi.

LECTURE XLVII.

Introduction to the History of the WALDENSES, or VAUDOIS—Retrospective View of the Extermination of the Albigenses—Geographical Sketch of the Pyrenean and Alpine Mountains, with the Valleys of Piedmont—Dissenters from the Church of Rome continue to abound in both countries—Inquiry into the Origin of the term, Waldenses—they form a Colony in Calabria—Voltaire's Account of their Numbers in France—Massacres of them in Paris—their increase throughout Germany—Anecdote of Eachard, a Jacobin monk—The Waldenses spread into Saxony and Pomerania—the Netherlands—Poland—and Lithuania.

It has been pertinently remarked by a late writer, that, in the patriarchal age of the world, when the people of the East had parcelled out the country into many separate states, some savage, others civilized, it is said of the Hebrews, that they went from one nation to another—from one kingdom to another people; Ps. cv. 13. Not war, but feeding of flocks and trafficking in peace, was their plan. In the middle ages the same spirit prevailed all over the West. Petty chiefs assumed independence, and formed a vast number of separate kingdoms. Reputed heretics, like the ancient Israelites, emigrated from place to place, abiding only where religious liberty could be enjoyed.

We have seen, in several of the preceding Lectures, the sanguinary proceedings that were carried on by the court of Rome, in conjunction with the kings of France, for the ex-

termination of the Albigenses in the south of France, during the former half of the thirteenth century; in which time, it has been computed that not less than a million of human beings fell a sacrifice to the insatiable rage of the, so called, "holy, catholic, apostolical, Roman church;" and from this period we read little more in history of the sect of the Albigenses. Henceforth our chief concern, at least for some centuries, will be with that of the Waldenses, whose history is not less interesting, and whose soundness in the faith seems never to have been questioned.

Of the origin of the Waldenses, however, a variety of discordant opinions has obtained among those who have had occasion to touch upon their history. Peter Gilles, who wrote a History of the Reformed Church in Piedmont, in a quarto volume, published at Geneva, A. D. 1644, and whose book is quoted by our poet, Milton, evidently with approbation, traces up their origin to Peter Waldo, of Lyons, A. D. 1160. He tells us that, "inasmuch as Peter Waldo, above all others of his day, employed himself in this holy work, [of opposing the corruptions of the church of Rome] the name of Waldenses was given, from that time, to such as shook off the yoke of superstition, and especially to those who had done it after his example, and by virtue of the instructions which, in conformity with the word of God, he had imparted to them."*

John Paul Perrin, of Lyons, also, who published a history of the Waldenses, A. D. 1618, has the same view of this matter, though his English translator, Dr. Bray, has entered his caveat against it. But the most complete and decisive refutation of that notion is to be found in the learned Dr. Allix's "Remarks upon the Ancient Churches of Piedmont," ch. xix. &c.; where, in opposition to the authority of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, he

* *Histoire des Eglises Reformées de Piedmont.* Gilles began to write this history about the year 1550, though it does not appear to have been published till near a century after. He is said, by Moreri, to have died in 1555, which must be a wrong date, because his book relates events several years posterior to that time.

has made it appear that, even in the valleys of Piedmont, numerous churches of the Waldenses existed prior to the times of the preaching and persecution of Peter Waldo and his followers. For my own part, after much investigation of the point, I may say that I have not met with any writer who has thrown so much light upon the subject as the late Mr. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*, ch. x. Thus he writes:—"From the Latin 'vallis' came the English 'valley'—the French and Spanish 'valle'—the Italian 'valdesi'—the low Dutch 'valleye'—the Provençal 'vaux,' 'vaudois'—the ecclesiastical 'vallenses, valdenses, ualdenses, and waldenses.' The words simply signify valleys, inhabitants of valleys, and no more."

According to this author, some of the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, and of the adjacent states, and not those of the valleys of Piedmont, were the true *original* Waldenses; for to them, and to them only, he thinks, the descriptions in the books of the inquisitors agree. He assures us that the province of Catalonia, which lies at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, on the Spanish side, was filled with heretics, that is, dissenters from the church of Rome, from an early period. In the beginning of the fifth century, the Alani settled in Spain, and the district in which they resided was called Alankerck, that is, the Alani church. When the Moors subdued Spain, the descendants of these people inhabited what is now called Catalonia: and, in general, it may be remarked, that it was the usual policy of heretics who chose local settlements, to inhabit the borders of kingdoms, that when they were persecuted in one city, they might flee to another, as Christ had instructed his disciples.

Near the middle of the eighth century, many thousands of these people, with their wives, children, and servants, emigrated over the Pyrenees, from the Spanish to the French foot of the mountains. The country called Navarre is divided by the Pyrenees—the one side belonging to France—the other to Spain. The emigrants did not carry away with them all the spirit of freedom; love of civil liberty remained, and never did a people

struggle more zealously for that than the Catalonians; for in every part of their history a sort of enthusiasm for freedom blazes out. So lately as the latter end of the fifteenth century, some of their preachers taught the noblest lessons of civil polity: as, that popes and emperors had no right to temporal dominion in foreign states; that people were not made for magistrates, but magistrates for people; that where interests clashed, the safety of the state ought to be preferred before the interest of an individual; that the Kings of Aragon were not absolute lords of the principality of Catalonia, but were elected by the people, and bound by contract, confirmed with an oath, to govern by laws made by the people; and that a violation of these laws was a breach of the contract.

In the language of councils, canons, and books of divinity, Christians in Spain were at this time denominated, either with a view to their opinions, heretics, or, with regard to their discipline, schismatics; and as there was one article of discipline in which they all agreed, they were frequently named from that. This article was baptism. They all held, that the catholic corporation was not a church of Christ, and they consequently rebaptized such as had been baptized in that community, before they admitted them into their own societies: hence they were called in general Anabaptists.

In a council held at Lerida, A.D. 524, in the archbishopric of Tarragona, it was decreed that such as had fallen into the prevarication of anabaptism, if they should return to the catholic church, should be received as the council of Nice had enacted. The bishops there had agreed that proselytes returning from the Novatianists, and others who were sound in the faith, and baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, should be admitted by laying on of hands; but that such as came from Antitrinitarians, who had been baptized only in the name of Christ, should be rebaptized. Other parties made no such distinctions: they baptized converts from pagans and Jews; they rebaptized all catholics, and *they baptized none without a confession of faith.* They called

themselves Christians; they censured the fraud and folly of those who imposed on the world by calling themselves catholics, and who ought rather to call themselves Cyprianites, being the apostate followers of that pretended saint. They quoted Scripture abundantly, to prove that a New Testament church consisted of virtuous persons only, "born of water and of the Spirit:" they separated from the catholics on account of the impurity of their church; they despised councils, and expressed their astonishment that Christians should approve of such superficial writings as those of Cyprian, and others called Fathers; and they took the New Testament as the rule of a Christian's faith and practice. They revered the Old Testament, and quoted it: nevertheless, they contended that the Levitical economy of church government was abolished by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that when the church of Rome revived it, she expelled the pious, and formed a worldly corporation which had little more of Christian than the name. They reprov'd the latter for calling themselves saints, while they exercised the violent passions of anger, and malice, and revenge, against all who differed from them. In reply to this, one St. Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, replied—"We only follow the example of bees, guarding the honey with the sting."* But to return to my author's description of the country in which these dissenters from the catholic church took up their abode.

The Pyrenean mountains, which separate France and Spain, extend from the Mediterranean sea to the Atlantic ocean, that is, above two hundred miles, and in breadth, at several places more than a hundred. The surface is, as may naturally be expected, most wonderfully diversified. Hills rise upon hills, mountains over mountains, some bare of verdure, others crowned with forests of huge cork trees, oak, beech, chesnuts, and evergreens. In some places are bleak perpendicular rocks and dangerous precipices; in others beautiful, fertile, and very extensive valleys, adorned with aloes, christ-thorn, or wild pomegranate, enriched with olives, lemons, oranges, apples, corn, flax, and perfumed with aromatic herbs, and animated with venison and wild fowl.

* Ecclesiastical Researches, pp. 246, 247.

In some parts, cliffs and piles of rocks of awful and tremendous aspect block up all further progress to the traveller; in other parts, narrow passes, winding through the dells, lead from the kingdom on one side to that on the other. Numerous flocks of sheep and goats enliven the hills; manufacturers of wool inhabit the valleys; and corn and wine, flax and oil, hang on the slopes. There are inexhaustible mines of the finest iron in the world, and the forests supply them with plenty of timber; there are whole towns of smiths, who carry on the manufacture of all sorts of iron work, especially for the use of the military and the navy, and their workmanship is extremely neat and elegant. This chain of mountains runs from sea to sea; one end is at the Bay of Biscay, and the other at the Bay of Roses, and the seaports about both are crowded with inhabitants, commerce, plenty, and wealth. A spectator taking his stand on the top of the ridge of these mountains will observe, that at the foot on the Spanish side lie Asturias, Old Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia; and, on the French side, Guienne and Languedoc, Toulouse, Bearn, Alby, Roussillon, and Narbonne; places, all of them remarkable in the darkest times for harbouring Christians called heretics.

It is very natural to conclude that when persecution raged fiercely against the Albigenses in the southern provinces of France, the disciples of the Saviour would seek an asylum in the secure recesses of the Pyrenees, on the one side, as we know they did among the Alps on the other. And conformable to this view of the matter, the author just now quoted thus proceeds:—"Deep dells, encircled with inaccessible mountains, to be entered only by narrow passes, and these unknown to all but the inhabitants; coverts in dark forests, and caverns known only to miners, naturally inspire love of freedom, which rises in proportion to a knowledge of the impossibility of being robbed of it by foreign armies. The inhabitants of these parts have in all ages been celebrated for their zeal for liberty. For several centuries these mountaineers made no secret of despising the pope, and laughing at St. Peter's keys. It is very well observed by an accurate Spanish historian, that when writers of those times treat of bishops and bishoprics in those parts, the reader ought not to confound ancient names with modern things; for in those times

either every church was a cathedral, and every rector a bishop, or there were fewer bishoprics than they suppose.

To these mountains, in all periods, the sons of freedom, or advocates of religious liberty, fled. When travellers of taste pass over some parts of the Pyrenees they are in raptures, and are at a loss for words to express what they behold. The landscape, say they, on every side is divine. More delightful prospects never existed even in the creative imagination of Claude Lorraine. The county of the Vallenses, called Valles, a district near Barcelona, in the province of Catalonia, was the most beautiful and fruitful that can be imagined. It was filled with villas, towns, and inhabitants, begirt all round with mountains, and abounding with corn, olives, pines, and vineyards, enriching the valleys, embellishing the hills, and impregnating the air with effluvia of the most salutiferous kind. It was about twenty-eight miles long, and sixteen broad. That the people called Valdenses and Sabbatati originally inhabited this district is the most probable of all conjectures. The first, a corruption of Caldenses, or the inhabitants about the hot-wells (for which this country was remarkable), or Vallenses, the natives of the county; and the last, from Sabbadell, one of the towns. Accident might give the same names to others; but these appear to be the only persons in whom all the characters of the first Waldenses meet. It is not pretended that the Piedmontese were not inhabitants of valleys; it is only observed, that they were not such inhabitants of valleys as old ecclesiastical history describes. Little did the old Waldenses think, when they were held in universal abhorrence, and committed everywhere to the flames, that a time would come when the honour of a connexion with them would be disputed by different parties of the highest reputation. So it happened, however, at the Reformation, and every reformed church put in its claim.*

Such is this acute and learned writer's theory concerning the origin of the Waldenses, which, whether true or false, is entitled to respectful notice; but I must not dismiss it altogether, without allowing him to explain what he means by accident giving the

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, ch. x.

same name to others ; and on this subject we have the following account :—

“ It happened that the inhabitants of the valleys of the Pyrenees did not profess the catholic faith ; it fell out also, that the inhabitants of the valleys about the Alps did not embrace it ; it happened, moreover, in the ninth century, that one Valdo, a friend and counsellor of Berengarius, and a man of eminence, who had many followers, did not approve of the papal discipline and doctrine : and it came to pass about a hundred and thirty years after that, a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called Valdo because he received his religious notions from the inhabitants of the valleys, openly disavowed the Roman religion, supported many to teach the doctrines believed in the valleys, and became the instrument of the conversion of great numbers. All these people were called Waldenses.”

• Now, if we take the term in this comprehensive sense, it is manifest that it must include a vast variety of different sects—a heterogeneous mass of people holding discordant sentiments ; and certainly, thus considered, we may admit the truth of the representation of the jesuit, Gretzer, when he says, “ the Waldenses were collections of various sects of Manichæans, Arians, and others ; some of whom believed the doctrines of the church, but did not embrace the worship or discipline of it ; others renounced the whole.” As applied to all the inhabitants of the valleys of the Pyrenean and Alpine mountains, the correctness of this may be admitted, while we deny its truth when applied to the evangelical churches of Piedmont, or such as held fellowship with them, dispersed throughout France, Spain, Italy, Bohemia, Calabria, and elsewhere ; and their orthodoxy, or soundness in the faith, is unhesitatingly avouched by their enemies, as will hereafter appear. But the fact that the persecuted Albigenses, when no longer permitted to enjoy toleration in the provinces of Dauphiné and Languedoc, crossed the Pyrenees, and took shelter from the storm in the Spanish provinces of Aragon and Catalonia, is notified by Matthew Paris, in his History of the Reign of our English Henry III. He informs us that, in the year 1254, during the pontificate of Alexander IV., there were great numbers of the Waldenses in those provinces, of which the pope

bitterly complained in one of his bulls, saying, that they had permitted them to gain such a footing, and given them such time to increase and multiply, that the evil called loudly for a remedy. The historian further adds, that the Waldenses had several churches, duly set in order with their bishops and deacons, in which they publicly and fearlessly proclaimed their doctrine. Thither the inquisitors traced their steps; for, as early as the year 1232, an effort was made to introduce the inquisition into Aragon, but it was with little effect; indeed it had little more than a nominal existence for some time after this, as we learn from Ludovicus-a-Paramo. A further inducement, indeed, to establish the inquisition in this quarter, was, that the Bishop of Huesca, a city of considerable note in Aragon, was reported to his holiness *to err in matters of faith*; or, in other words, to be disaffected to the court of Rome. The office of making inquisition against these heretics was committed to a friar of the order of Predicants, whose name was Peter Caderite; and the King of Aragon was magisterially enjoined not to allow him, or any of his assistants, to be molested while discharging the duties of the inquisition. A commission was at the same time given to the Archbishop of Tarragona, the metropolitan city of Catalonia, and his suffragans, to constitute a court of inquisition there also against heretical pravity. The following is a copy of the bull which was issued for that purpose:—

“ Since the evening of the world is now declining, we admonish and baseech your brotherhood, and strictly command you by our written and apostolic words, as you regard the Divine judgment, that with diligent care you make inquiry against heretics, and render them infamous, by the assistance of the friars, Predicants, and others, whom you shall judge fit for the business; and that you proceed against all who are culpable and infamous, according to our statutes lately published against heretics, unless they will from the heart absolutely obey the commands of the church—which statutes we send you enclosed in our bull; and that ye also proceed against the receivers, abettors, and favourers of heretics, according to the same statutes. But if any will wholly abjure the heretical plague, and return to the ecclesiastical

unity, grant them the benefit of absolution, according to the forms of the church, and enjoin them the usual penance.”*

Soon after the establishment of the inquisition in Aragon, a synod was convened at Tarragona, when many severe decrees were passed against heretics, and the holy office was erected there also; and for the space of a century and a half measures of the greatest rigour were incessantly carried on against the Waldenses in that quarter, before their extermination could be effected. The catholic writers themselves avow these facts, and acknowledge that they owed their ultimate success, in subduing the heretics in that quarter, to the superior talents and exertions of Nicholas Eymeric, a preaching monk, and author of the Directory of the Inquisitors, who was created inquisitor-general about the year 1358; an office which he held to the time of his death, which happened on the 4th of January, 1392, a period of four-and-forty years.

But from Spain let us now direct our attention to Piedmont—from the Pyrenees to the Alps. These are a range of mountains, the highest in Europe, extending from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean seas, and separating Italy from France, Switzerland, and Germany. The principality of Piedmont† derives its name from its locality, being situated at the foot of the Alps. It is bounded on the east by the duchies of Milan and Montserrat; on the south by the county of Nice and the territory of Genoa; on the west by France; and on the north by Savoy. In former times it constituted a part of Lombardy, but recently has been subject to the King of Sardinia, who takes up his residence at Turin, the capital of the province, and one of the finest cities in Europe. It is an extensive tract of rich and fruitful valleys, embosomed in mountains, which are encircled again with mountains higher than they, intersected with deep and rapid rivers, and exhibiting in strong contrast the beauty and plenty of Paradise, in sight of frightful precipices, wide lakes of ice, and stupendous mountains of never-wasting snow. The whole country is an

* Bzovius, Ann. 1233, sect. 8, 9.

† **PIEDMONT** is compounded of the two words, *pède* and *montium*, at the foot of the mountains—viz., the Alps.

interchange of hill and dale, mountain and valley, traversed with four principal rivers; namely, the Po, the Tanaro, the Stura, and the Dora, besides about eight-and-twenty rivulets, great and small, which, winding their courses in different directions, contribute to the fertility of the valleys, and make them resemble a watered garden.*

* As I have, in the former part of this Lecture, indulged a little latitude in describing the scenery of the Pyrenees, for the amusement of my readers, I feel disposed to add to the sin there committed by following it up with a brief descant on that of the Alps, in order that the account may be properly balanced.

In a general point of view the Alps extend, in a kind of semi-circular form, from the Gulf of Genoa through Switzerland, which contains their centre and highest parts, and terminate in the Carnic Alps, on the north of the Adriatic sea. This grand chain of mountains has, in ancient and modern times, been divided into different portions, known by distinct appellations. The maritime Alps are those which arise from the Gulf of Genoa. Mount Genevre, out of which springs the river Durance, was anciently named *Alpis Cottia* (the Cottian Alps), from Cottius, a prince who resided at Suza; and these lay most contiguous to Piedmont and Savoy. Further to the north were the *Alpes Graie*, now the Little St. Bernard. The *Alpes Penninæ* consisted of the Great St. Bernard, Mont Blanc, and the grand chain extending on the south of the Rhone to the north of modern Piedmont, the eastern part being also styled the *Lepantine Alps*. The *Rhætian Alps* extended through the Grisons and Tyrol, terminating in the Carnic or Julian Alps. That chain which pervades Switzerland, from Mount Sanets in the S.W., towards the sources of the Inn on the N.E., was known by the appellation of the *Helvetian Alps*. The extent of this vast course of mountains may be computed at about 550 British miles.

It was reserved for this age of enterprise to disclose the secret wonders of the superior Alps. The enormous ridges, clothed with a depth of perpetual snow, often crowned with sharp obelisks of granite, styled by the Swiss horns or needles; the dreadful chasms of some thousand feet of perpendicular height, over which the dauntless traveller sometimes stands on a shelf of frozen snow; the *glaciers*, or seas of ice, sometimes extending thirty or forty miles in length; the sacred silence of the scenes, before unvisited except by the chamois and goat of the rocks; the cloud, and sometimes the thunder-storm, passing at a great distance below; the extensive prospects, which reduce kingdoms as it were to a map; the pure elasticity of the air exciting a kind of incorporeal sensation—are all novelties in the history of human adventure.

To describe the natural curiosities of this range of mountains, particularly on the side of Switzerland, is no easy task. The glaciers, the vast precipices, the descending torrents, the sources of the rivers, the beautiful lakes and cataracts, are all natural curiosities of the greatest singularity and most sublime description. Of late the glaciers have attracted particular attention; but these seas of ice, intersected with numerous deep fissures, owing to sudden cracks which resound like thunder, must yield in sublimity to the stupendous summits clothed with ice and snow—the latter

The principal valleys are Aosta and Susa on the north; Stura on the south; and, in the interior of the country, Lucerna, Angrogna, Roccapiatta, Pramol, Perosa, and S. Martino. The valley of Clusone, or Pragela, as it is often called, was in ancient times a part of the province of Dauphiné, in France, and has been, from the days of Hannibal, the ordinary route of the French and other armies, when marching into Italy. Angrogna, Pramol, and S. Martino are strongly fortified by nature, on account of their very difficult passes and bulwarks of rocks and mountains; as if the all-wise Creator, says Sir Samuel Morland, had from the beginning designed that place as a cabinet wherein to put some inestimable jewel, or in which to reserve many thousand souls, which should not bow the knee to Baal.*

often descending in what are called avalanches, or prodigious balls, which, gathering as they roll, sometimes overwhelm travellers and even villages. Nay, the mountains themselves will sometimes burst and overwhelm whole towns, as happened in the memorable instance of Pleurs, near Chiavanna, in which thousands perished, and not a vestige of a building was left: nor are recent instances, though less tremendous, wholly unknown. The vast reservoirs of ice and snow give birth to many important rivers, whose sources deeply interest curiosity. As an example, the following account given of that of the Rhone by a late traveller, may be selected:—"At length we perceived," says he, "through the trees, a mountain of ice as splendid as the sun, and flashing a similar light on the environs. This first aspect of the glacier of the Rhone inspired us with great expectation. A moment afterwards this enormous mass of ice having disappeared behind thick pines, it soon after met our sight between two vast blocks of rock, which formed a kind of portico. Surprised at the magnificence of this spectacle, and at its admirable contrasts, we beheld it with rapture. At length we reached this beautiful portico, beyond which we were to discover all the glacier. We arrived: at this sight one would suppose one's self in another world, so much is the imagination impressed with the nature and immensity of the objects. To form an idea of this superb spectacle, figure in your mind a scaffolding of transparent ice, filling a space of two miles, rising to the clouds, and darting flashes of light like the sun. Nor were the several parts less magnificent and surprising. One might see, as it were, the streets and buildings of a city, erected in the form of an amphitheatre, and embellished with pieces of water, cascades, and torrents. The effects were as prodigious as the immensity and the height; the most beautiful azure, the most splendid white, the regular appearance of a thousand pyramids of ice, are more easy to be imagined than described. Such is the aspect of the glacier of the Rhone, reared by Nature, on a plan which she alone can execute. We admire the majestic course of a river, without suspecting that what gives it birth and maintains its waters may be still more majestic and magnificent."—*Bourrit*, vol. iii. p. 163.

* History of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 5.

Several of these valleys are described by our geographers as being remarkably rich and fruitful—as fertile and pleasant as any part of Italy. In the mountains are mines of gold, silver, brass, and iron; the rivers abound with a variety of exquisite fish; the forests and the fields with game; while the soil yields everything necessary to the enjoyment of human life; abundance of corn, rice, wine, fruits, hemp, and cattle. Throughout the whole territory, except on the tops of the mountains, there is to be found great plenty of fruits, especially of chesnuts, which the inhabitants gather in immense quantities, and after drying them in an oven or upon a kiln, they manufacture from them an excellent kind of biscuit, which in France goes by the name of marroons, and where they are in high estimation as a species of confectionary. As the bread made from the chesnut constitutes a considerable part of the food of the inhabitants of Piedmont, it is usual with them, after reserving sufficient for their own sustenance, to sell or exchange the surplus with the inhabitants of the plain, for corn or other commodities.*

Such is the description given us by those who have visited it, of the country which, under the wise arrangements of Providence, was to become, in an especial manner, the abode of the VAUDOIS, by which name they chose to designate themselves, the inhabitants of the valleys of Savoy and Piedmont. Accurate Latin writers translate the word VALLENCES, and we from them WALDENSES, who first appear in ecclesiastical history in the twelfth century, as a class of religionists obnoxious to the church of Rome. An introduction to their history has already been furnished† in the account of Claude, bishop of Turin, who, by his eloquence and determined opposition to the usurpations of the court of Rome, his exposure of its corruptions, and clear preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, sowed the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, which, fostered by divine influence, in process of time, produced an abundant harvest of converts.

But however numerous the disciples of Claude were, from the time he exercised his ministry at Turin, it is certain that they continually received large accessions, in consequence of the

* Sir S. Morland, *ut supra*.

† See Lect. xxxvii. p. 135.

persecutions that were raised against the heretics in the southern provinces of France: in particular, the intolerant proceedings which were instituted, in 1163, against Peter Waldo, of Lyons, and all who received his doctrine, drove thousands to seek an asylum in the valleys of Piedmont. The same may be said concerning the crusades against the Albigenses, in the provinces of Languedoc, &c., as detailed in several of the preceding Lectures. This took place A.D. 1210 to 1242; and the consequence was that, in the space of a hundred and fifty years, the Waldenses multiplied to such an extent in the valleys of Piedmont, where at that time they remained unmolested, that the place was inadequate to their accommodation, and they were under the necessity of seeking a dwelling for a part of their families elsewhere. Peter Gilles tells us that a goodly number went into Provence, and having agreed with the proper authorities, settled between Cisteron and the district of Avignon, where they raised several villages—as Merindol, Lormarin, &c.; and there they cultivated the soil, which was previously in a barren state; and there we shall presently have occasion to notice them again, with a high eulogium on their character from the pen of the celebrated De Thou, president of the parliament of Paris. Several families also, mostly from the valley of Lucerne, having obtained a grant of land from the lords and corporation of Paysane, in the marquisate of Salucces, in the valleys of Pravigelm, Biolets, and Bietone, took up their residence there. Many went from the valley of Clusone, and took up their abode at Meance and Mathis, near Susa, on the river Dora; but the greater part of those who emigrated at this time proceeded into Calabria, in the extremity of Italy on the east, where they were invited by one of the lords of the soil. This nobleman had accidentally fallen in with some of the Waldenses, and finding that they were looking out for a fresh place of settlement, made them an offer of as much vacant and fertile land in Calabria as they could desire, (provided they were persons of worth and respectability,) on conditions mutually agreed to.

The people of the valleys accordingly sent proper persons to survey the country, which they found very suitable, in all respects, to their purpose; and a considerable extent of terri-

tory was granted them, extremely fertile, producing fruits of every kind almost spontaneously, and hitherto lost for want of cultivation. It consisted of plains and hills, covered pell-mell with all kinds of fruit trees, chesnut and walnut, orange and walnut trees, larch and fir trees, good vegetables, excellent ground for tillage and pasture. That such a district should lie waste for want of inhabitants may seem strange to us in the present day; but the reason is to be found in the rigid enforcement of the laws of celibacy upon the clergy in a country which abounded with that class of men, and which could not but thin the population. As a proof of this fact we may instance the city of Rome itself, which, in the days of the Cæsars, contained a million and a quarter of inhabitants, but at the present moment has not a population of more than one-tenth of that number!

The Waldensian deputies negotiated for a variety of stipulations towards securing their rights, properties, and privileges, and also agreed with the lords and magistrates for all rights or dues, ordinary or casual, that might arise to them, and obtained an authenticated conveyance of all these privileges, which was subsequently ratified by Ferdinand Aragon, king of Naples.

The deputies having returned to the valleys of Piedmont, and made a report of all they had done, a great number of people determined on removing thither, and took the necessary steps for their departure by disposing of such things as they could not conveniently carry with them. The young people married before quitting the valleys, and being recommended to the grace of God, took leave of their friends, and proceeded to their new domains, taking up their residence near the city of Montalto, in Calabria. The journey occupied about five and twenty days; and on their arrival they immediately set about building the hamlet of Borgo-Ultramontane,—referring to the Appennine mountains, which lay between the valleys of Piedmont and their new residence. The hamlet was soon peopled; and about fifty years after, a second emigration took place, which greatly augmented their numbers; and they now built the hamlet of St. Sixte, which afterwards was the seat of one

of their most flourishing churches. These new settlers, in process of time built and peopled Vacarisso, Argentine, and St. Vincent. Finally, the Marquis Spinello permitted them to build on his estate an enclosed town, which they called Guardia: it was situated on elevated ground near the Mediterranean sea; and, having some immunities and special privileges attached to it, it became in time a populous and opulent city. And in all these places these Waldenses, for a considerable time, lived in peace, and greatly multiplied.* So far respecting this new colony of Waldenses in Calabria: let us now trace them in other places.

The vanity of hoping to coerce religious opinions by brute force is abundantly manifest through all the history of the Albigenes and Waldenses, and may be said to strike us with all the force of a demonstration. Although the popes and the French monarchs joined their councils, and their respective forces, to destroy these troublesome heretics, it was to little avail. The preceding Lectures, indeed, exhibit lucid proof of their laying waste by fire and sword the southern provinces of France, yet M. de Voltaire informs us that "numbers of persons holding the principles of the Albigenes retired into the interior of the country, where they lived a long time in obscurity, busied in the culture of barren lands, which, with indefatigable industry, they rendered fit for corn and pasture. The neighbouring grounds were let to them on leases, which they improved by their labour so as to maintain themselves, and to enrich their landlords, who never complained of their behaviour. In the space of two hundred and fifty years their number increased to eighteen thousand, who were dispersed in thirty small towns, besides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their industry. *There were no priests among them—no quarrels about religious worship—no lawsuits: they determined their differences among themselves. None but those who had occasion to go to the neighbouring cities knew that there existed such things as mass and bishops. They prayed to God in their own provincial dialect, and, being continually employed, they had the happi-*

* Pierre Gilles, *Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, c. iii.

ness to know no vice. This peaceful state they enjoyed for above two hundred years, since the wars against the Albigenses terminated, with which the nation had been tired. When mankind have long rioted in cruelty, their fury abates, and sinks into languor and indifference: this we see constantly verified in individuals as well as in whole nations.

“Such was the tranquillity which the *Vaudois* (Waldenses) enjoyed, when the reformers of Germany and Geneva came to hear that there were others of the same persuasion as themselves. Immediately they sent some of their ministers to visit them; and since then, the *Vaudois* are but too well known.”*

The same writer, speaking of these same people, on another occasion, is pleased to say, that “nothing is so well known to the curious in these matters as the following verses upon the *Vaudois*, written in the year 1100.

“Que sel se troba alcun bon que volla amar Dio e temer Jeshu Xrist,
Que non volla maudire, ni jura, ni mentir,
Ni avoutras, ni aucire, ni pense de l'autrui,
Ni venjax se do li sio ennemie,
Illi dison quel es *Vaudes* e degno do murir.”

“When a man will neither curse, nor swear, nor lie,
Nor slay, nor rob, nor commit adultery,
Nor avenge himself on his enemy,
They call him one of the *Vaudois*, and so worthy to die.”

In the year 1210 twenty-four persons of the sect of the Waldenses were seized in the very city of Paris, some of whom were imprisoned, and others committed to the flames. In the year 1334 the monks of the inquisition apprehended one hundred and fourteen of them at Paris, who were burnt alive, sustaining their torture with admirable fortitude. It is also related by the author of a work entitled “The Sea of Histories,” that, in the year 1378, the persecution against the Waldenses then going forward, a vast number of them were committed to the flames, in the Place de Grave, in Paris. These

* Voltaire's Universal History, vol. ii. ch. xcvi.

sanguinary proceedings, however, did little towards eradicating the heresy; for, two years after this, viz. in 1380, we find Francis Borelli, an inquisitorial monk, armed with a bull of Pope Clement VII., undertaking the persecution of the Waldenses in the same quarter. In the space of thirteen years, he delivered into the hands of the civil magistrates of Grenoble one hundred and fifty persons, to be burned as heretics; and in the valley of Fraissiniere, he apprehended eighty more, who were also committed to the flames.*

In Germany, the Waldenses continued to increase during the whole of the 13th and 14th centuries, which is in some respects to be accounted for from the circumstance, that a violent quarrel had ensued between the Emperor Frederick II. and the papal see, in consequence of which the heretics found protection from the former. Frederick, on his first accession to the throne, had gone eagerly into all the measures of the court of Rome, and issued four sanguinary edicts against the heretics, which edicts have been adduced in a former Lecture.† But he had now, by some means, incurred the displeasure of Gregory IX., who, at the moment that Frederick was prosecuting a war against the Saracens in the east, excited the emperor's own son, Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel against his father, in consequence of which the cities of Lombardy had revolted. The rebellion was, however, suppressed, the prince was confined, and Frederick triumphed—but his troubles were not ended. The pope excommunicated him, and, to sow division between him and the princes of the empire, he (A. D. 1237) transmitted a bull into Germany, in which were the following words, referring to the emperor:—

“A beast of blasphemy, abounding with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different animals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth in blasphemy against the holy name; not even fearing to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast, desirous of breaking

* Perrin's History of the Vaudois, book ii. ch. xi. and xv. Milner's Church History, vol. iii. p. 496.

† See Lect. xliv. p. 345.

everything in pieces with his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, hath already prepared private battering rams against the wall of the catholic faith, and now raises open machines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmaelites; rising, according to report, in opposition to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked heresy. Be not, therefore, surprised at the malice of this blasphemous beast, if we, who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruction. This king of plagues was even heard to say, that the whole world has been deceived by three impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mahomet; but he makes Jesus far inferior to the other two. ‘They,’ says he, ‘supported their glory to the last, whereas Christ was ignominiously crucified.’” Frederick, on the other hand, drew up an apology to the princes of Germany, in which he terms Gregory the GREAT DRAGON and ANTICHRIST, of whom it is written, “and another red horse arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth.”*

In the year 1245, Pope Innocent IV. convened the famous council of Lyons, concerning which the following inscription is preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome. “The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons: Frederick II. is there declared an enemy to the church, and *deprived of the imperial diadem.*” To this council Frederick did not fail to send ambassadors to defend his cause, well knowing that he was there to be publicly accused. The pope, who had set himself up as judge at the head of the council, acted also the part of his own advocate; and after strenuously insisting on his right to the temporalities of Naples and Sicily, and to the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, he charged Frederick with having made a peace with the Mahometans—with having had Mahometan concubines—with not believing in Christ—and, in a word, with being a heretic.† The emperor’s orators harangued in his defence with great spirit and resolution, and in their turn accused the pope of having been guilty of usury and rapine.

* Russel’s *Modern Europe*, vol. i. letter 32.

† Mons. Voltaire *drily* asks, “How could the Emperor be a *heretic* and an *infidel* at the same time?” A very pertinent question certainly.

The emperor was himself at Turin during these transactions, and, according to report, was greatly agitated on hearing of them. He, however, called for his strong box, which was brought him, and taking out of it the imperial crown, he added, "This the pope and his council have not been able to take from me, and before they strip me of it much blood shall be spilt." He then proceeded to write to all the princes of Europe, urging them to support him against the pope. "I am not the first," says he, in his letters, "whom the clergy have treated so unworthily, and I shall not be the last. But you are the cause of it, by obeying these hypocrites, whose ambition, you are sensible, is carried beyond all bounds. How many infamous actions, shocking to modesty, might you not, if you were disposed to it, discover in the court of Rome? While they are abandoned to the vices of the age, and intoxicated with pleasure, the greatness of their riches stifles in their minds all sense of religion. It is, therefore, a work of charity to deprive them of these pernicious treasures, which are their ruin, and it is your duty to assist me in so doing."

These extracts sufficiently shew the state of deadly hatred that existed between the pope and emperor, and which produced a flame that raged, with more or less violence, throughout the empire, until the death of the latter in the year 1250. "It was dreadful," says a late writer, "to see the misery to which many thousands were reduced in Germany, by a new and illegal election of another emperor, and by the violences committed in the revolted cities of Italy; in all which the pope was the only one insensible to the operations of Divine justice. In the midst of this confusion, (1254) the Almighty summoned him before his tribunal."* One beneficial result of this long-pending quarrel was, that it retarded the establishment of the inquisition in different parts of the German empire, and consequently gave the Waldenses an opportunity of propagating their sentiments more extensively. The clergy, no doubt, were generally upon the alert in quest of heretics, and wherever they were discovered, means of one kind or other were not wanting to persecute them, and render their dispersion necessary to avoid its fury. But these

* Walch's History of the Popes.

things always turned out to the furtherance of the gospel, "because many learned preachers were thereby dispersed abroad, to make known the purity of their religion to the world."*

But after the death of Frederick, the establishment of the inquisition met with less obstruction. The affairs of Germany had been left by him in great disorder; Italy was without a prince, and the Milanese under the control of the pope. "The latter," says Limborch, "now determined to extirpate all heresy, *which had greatly increased during the preceding war.*"†

About the year 1330, the Waldenses were grievously harassed and oppressed, in several parts of Germany, by an inquisitor of the name of Eachard, a Jacobin monk. The circumstance is related by Vignier, in his *Historical Library*, part the third, where he also records an anecdote of this Eachard that is worth mentioning. After inflicting cruelties with great severity, and for a length of time, upon the Waldenses, he was at length induced to investigate the causes and reasons of their separation from the church of Rome. The force of truth ultimately prevailed over all his prejudices—his own conscience attested that many of the errors and corruptions which they charged on that apostate church really existed; and, finding himself unable to disprove the articles of their faith by the word of God, he confessed that truth had overcome him, gave glory to God, and entered into the communion of the Waldensian churches, which he had long been engaged in punishing and persecuting even to death. The news of his conversion was soon spread abroad, and reached the ears of the other inquisitors, whose indignation was roused by his apostacy. Emissaries were despatched in pursuit of him, and he was at length apprehended and conveyed to Heidelberg, where he was committed to the flames. His dying testimony was a noble attestation to the principles and conduct of the Waldenses; for he went to the stake charging it upon the church of Rome as a monstrous and iniquitous proceeding to put to death so many innocent persons, for no other crime but their steadfast adherence to the cause of Christ, in opposition to the delusions of Antichrist.‡

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. ii.

† Limborch's Inquisition, ch. xv.

‡ Vignier's Biblioth. Hist. part iii. Anno 1330, in Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. ii.

We are enabled to trace the Waldenses, at this period, into Saxony and Pomerania, where, in the year 1391, four hundred and forty-three were seized by the inquisitors; they confessed that their teachers came from Bohemia, and that they and their ancestors before them had been instructed in the principles they then held. I shall have occasion afterwards to treat of the progress of these principles in Bohemia, where they obtained the title of the *Unitas-Fratrium*, or Bohemian brethren, and therefore do not dwell upon it in this place. In 1457, a great number of the Waldenses were discovered by the inquisitors in the diocese of Eiston, in Germany, who were put to death, and who confessed that they had among them twelve *barbes*, or pastors, who laboured in the work of the ministry. In fact, it would appear from what Trithemius relates, that Germany was full of the Waldenses prior to the reformation by Luther; for he mentions it as a well-known fact, that so numerous were they, that in travelling from Cologne to Milan, the whole extent of Germany, they could lodge every night with persons of their own profession; and that it was a custom among them to affix certain private marks to their signs and gates, whereby they made themselves known to one another.*

The Netherlands also, during this period, formed a retreat for the Waldenses, and exhibited numerous scenes of persecution and slaughter. It certainly was very natural that, when persecuted in France, they should retreat into that country, and thither the intolerant zeal of the inquisitors pursued and made dreadful havoc of them. Here they passed under several names, such as Piphles, or weavers, many of them being of that occupation; but the more common name was that of Turlupins, or Turilupins, which is variously explained. Some derive the term from the city of Turin, in Piedmont, and the Latin word *lupus*, a wolf; according to which the meaning is, "the wolves of Turin;" importing that, being banished from the society of men, they were compelled to dwell with the beasts of the forest. Matthew Paris, in his *Life of our King Henry III.*, informs us that one Robert Bougre, who had lived among the Waldenses,

* Perrin's *Hist. des Vaudois*, book ii. ch. xi.

and professed their faith, apostatized from them, became a Dominican, and was raised to the high office of inquisitor-general. This man, from his intimate knowledge of their places of concealment, apprehended more than fifty of them in the year 1236, and caused them all to be either burnt or buried alive. But of the extreme to which this man carried his cruelty, a tolerable notion may be formed from the singular occurrence, that even his holiness himself complained of his abusing the power with which he was entrusted. He was accused of perverting the authority of his office—of punishing the innocent with the guilty—and of committing various atrocities; in consequence of which he was degraded from his station, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.*

We are told by the *Sieur de la Popeliniere*, who wrote a History of France, that the principles of the Waldenses extended throughout all the countries of Europe, even into Poland and Lithuania, where indeed we shall trace them hereafter, and the Waldenses in that quarter suffering the fury of papal brutality. He says, that ever since the year 1100, they had been propagating their doctrine, which differed but little from that of the protestants since the Reformation. He adds that, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts that have been resorted to by different princes and powers, to suppress their doctrine, they had, even to his times, boldly and courageously maintained it. *Mons. Vignier* also mentions, that when the Waldenses were driven from Picardy through the violence of persecution, several of them retired into Poland; and we find that, in the year 1330, the inquisition followed them there, and numbers were put to death. *Matthias Illyricus*, in his catalogue of "The Witnesses of the Truth," says he had lying before him the forms of the inquisition made use of on that occasion.†

From these same writers, to whom may also be added the inquisitor, *Reinerius Saccho*, we learn, that the persecutions which took place in the south of France during the former part of the thirteenth century, drove the Waldenses also into various

* *M. Paris*, *Life of Henry III.* Perrin, book ii. ch. xiii.

† *Perrin's History of the Vaudois*, book ii. ch. xiv., and *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, ch. xvi.

other countries. "In 1229 they had spread themselves in great numbers throughout all Italy. They had ten schools in Valcamonica alone, which were supported by pecuniary contributions in all their societies, and which contributions were transmitted into Lombardy." Reinerius adds that, about the year 1250, the Waldenses had churches in Albania, Lombardy, Milan, in Romagna, Vicenza, Florence, and Val Spoletine; and, in the year 1280, there were a considerable number of Waldenses in Sicily. In all these places the sanguinary edicts of the Emperor Frederick II. were continually suspended, like the sword of Damocles, over their heads. To these, also, were now added the rage of inquisitors and of papal constitutions, through which they were continually exposed to suffering and misery. In Sicily in particular, the imperial fury raged against them; they were ordered to be treated with the greatest severity, that they might be banished, not only from the country, but from the earth. And throughout Italy, both Gregory IX. and Honorius IV. harassed and oppressed them with the most unrelenting barbarity, by means of the inquisition: the living were, without mercy, committed to the hands of the executioner, their houses razed to the ground, their goods confiscated, and even the slumbering remains of the dead were dragged from their graves, and their bones committed to the flames.*

We are further informed by Reinerius Saccho, that in his time the Waldenses had their churches at Constantinople and Philadelphia, in Sclavonia, Bulgaria, and Diagonitia. Vignier reports that, after the persecution of Picardy, they dispersed themselves into Livonia and Sarmatia. And, it is added by Matthew Paris, that they had spread themselves as far as Croatia and Dalmatia, where their profession prevailed to that degree, that they had won over several (catholic) bishops to their party.

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. xvi.

LECTURE XLVIII.

A View of the Opinions and Practices of the Waldenses, collected from the Writings of their Adversaries—From Reincrius Saccho, an Inquisitor—From a second Inquisitor, in Bohemia—From Aeneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II.—From Claudius Seisselius, Archbishop of Turin.

HAVING, in the preceding Lecture, attempted to trace out the countries in which the Waldenses were to be found maintaining their opposition to the church of Rome, in greater or lesser numbers, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the flame of persecution began to rage with violence against the Albigenses, to the period of the utter extirpation of the evangelical churches of Piedmont—it may be proper, before we go into their political history, to take a review of their sentiments and practices in regard to religion. Such an exhibition will enable the reader the better to understand the character of this class of religionists, and form his judgment more correctly, how far they are entitled to be branded as heretics, which they were by the church of Rome, or regarded as the genuine disciples of Christ, in which light I am disposed to view them.

The primary source to which I shall have recourse for evidence on this interesting point shall be the writings of their adversaries; and certainly a more unexceptionable source from whence to extract it cannot be imagined, in so far as it goes to illustrate, dis-

passionately, their opposition to the leading tenets of popery. And the first witness which I shall call is REINERIUUS SACCHO, an Italian by birth, and of famous memory. This man had once, in the earlier part of his life, been connected with the Waldenses during a period of seventeen years; but he apostatized from their profession, entered the catholic church, was raised in it to the dignified station of an inquisitor, and became one of their most cruel persecutors. He was deputed by the pope to reside in Lombardy, in the south of France; and, about the year 1250, published a catalogue of the errors of the Waldenses, under three-and-thirty distinct heads. The original Latin may be found in Dr. Allix's Remarks upon the Churches of Piedmont, pp. 188—191. The following is a faithful translation:—

“Their first error,” says he, “is a contempt of ecclesiastical power, and from thence they have been delivered up to Satan, and by him cast headlong into innumerable errors, mixing the erroneous doctrines of the heretics of old with their own inventions; and, being cast out of the catholic church, they affirm that they alone are the church of Christ and his disciples. They declare themselves to be the apostles’ successors, to have apostolical authority, and the keys of binding and loosing. They hold the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, (Rev. ch. xvii.) and that all that obey her are damned, especially the clergy that have been subject to her since the time of Pope Sylvester.* They deny that any true miracles are wrought in the church, because none of themselves ever worked any. They hold that none of the ordinances of the church which have been introduced since Christ’s ascension ought to be observed, as being of no value. The feasts, fasts, orders, blessings, offices of the church, and the like, they utterly reject. They speak against consecrated churches, church-yards, and other things of the like nature, declaring that they were the inventions of covetous priests, to augment their own gains, in spunging the people, by those means, of their money and oblations. They say that a man is then first baptized when he is received into their community. Some of them hold

* This pontiff was Bishop of Rome in the days of Constantine the Great, about the year 350.

that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe. They reject the sacrament of confirmation, but instead of that their teachers lay their hands upon their disciples. They say the bishops, clergy, and other religious orders, are no better than the Scribes and Pharisees, and other persecutors of the apostles. They do not believe the body and blood of Christ to be the true sacrament, but only blessed bread, which by a figure only is called the body of Christ, even as it is said, 'and the rock was Christ,' &c. Some of them hold that this sacrament can only be celebrated by those that are good,—others again by any that know the words of consecration. This sacrament they celebrate in their assemblies, repeating the words of the Gospel at their table, and participating together, in imitation of Christ's Supper. They say that a priest who is a sinner cannot bind or loose any one, as being himself bound; and that any good and intelligent layman may absolve another and impose penance. They reject extreme unction, declaring it to be rather a curse than a sacrament. Marriage, say they, is nothing else but sworn fornication, unless the parties live continently; and they account any filthiness preferable to the conjugal rites. They praise continence, indeed, but in the meantime give way to the satisfying of burning lusts by any filthy means whatsoever, expounding that place of the apostle, "It is better to marry than to burn," thus—that it is better to satisfy one's lust by any filthy act, than to be tempted therewith in the heart.* But this they conceal as much as pos-

* There appears something like a consciousness about Reinerius, that in this monstrous accusation he was calumniating the Waldenses, for in the following words he qualifies the charge by describing them as not avowing it. The reader will presently see their sentiments on the subject of marriage, and be convinced of the foulness of this slander. I shall therefore, at present, only quote from their own Apology a short extract, in which they repel the charge of countenancing lasciviousness. "It was this vice," say they, "that led David to procure the death of his faithful servant, that he might enjoy his wife—and Ammon to defile his sister Tamar. This vice consumes the estates of many, as it is said of the prodigal son, who wasted his substance in riotous living. Balaam made choice of this vice to provoke the children of Israel to sin, which occasioned the death of twenty-four thousand persons. This sin was the occasion of Samson's losing his sight; it perverted Solomon, and many have perished through the beauty of a woman. The remedies for this sin are fasting, prayer, and keeping at a distance from it. Other vices may be subdued by fighting; In this we conquer by flight; of which we have an example in Joseph."—*Perrin's Hist.* ch. iv.

sible, that they may not be reproached therewith. If any honest woman among them that has the repute of chastity, is brought to bed of a child, they carefully conceal it, and send it abroad to be nursed, that it may not be known. They hold all oaths to be unlawful and a mortal sin, yet they dispense with them when it is done to avoid death, lest they should betray their accomplices, or the secret of their infidelity. They hold it to be an unpardonable sin to betray an heretic—yea, the very sin against the Holy Ghost. They say that malefactors ought not to be put to death by the secular power. Some of them hold it unlawful to kill brute animals—as fishes, or the like—but when they have a mind to eat them, they hang them over the fire or smoke till they die. Fleas and such sort of insects they shake off their clothes, or else dip their clothes in hot water, supposing them thus to be dead of themselves. Thus they cheat their own consciences in this and other observances. From whence we may see that, having forsaken truth, they deceive themselves by their own false notions. According to them there is no purgatory, and all that die immediately pass either into heaven or hell. That therefore the prayers of the church for the dead are of no use, because those that are in heaven do not want them, nor can those that are in hell be relieved by them. And from thence they infer that all offerings made for the dead are only of use to the clergymen that eat them, and not to the deceased, who are incapable of being profited by them. They hold that the saints in heaven do not hear the prayers of the faithful, nor regard the honours which are done to them, because their bodies lie dead here beneath, and their spirits are at so great a distance from us in heaven, that they can neither hear our prayers nor see the honours which we pay them. They add that the saints do not pray for us, and that therefore we are not to entreat their intercession, because, being swallowed up with heavenly joy, they cannot attend to us, nor indeed to anything else. Hence they deride all the festivals which we celebrate in honour of the saints, and all other instances of our veneration for them. Accordingly, wherever they can do it, they secretly work upon holidays, arguing that, since working is good, it cannot be evil to do that which is good on a holiday. They do not observe Lent, or other fasts of the church, alleging that

God does not delight in the afflictions of his friends, as being able to save without them. Some heretics, indeed, afflict themselves with fasting, watchings, and the like, because, without these, they cannot obtain the reputation of being holy among the simple people, nor deceive them by their feigned hypocrisy. They do not receive the Old Testament, but the Gospel only, that they may not be overthrown by it, but rather be able to defend themselves therewith, pretending that upon the introduction of the Gospel dispensation all old things were to be laid aside. In like manner they select the choicest sayings and authorities of the holy fathers—such as Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostome, and Isidore—that with them they may support their opinions, oppose others, or the more easily seduce the simple, by varnishing over their sacrilegious doctrine with the good sentences of the saints, at the same time very quietly passing over those parts of the writings of the holy fathers that oppose and confute their errors. Such as are teachable and eloquent among them, they instruct to get the words of the Gospel, as well as the sayings of the apostles, and other holy men, by heart, that they may be able to inform others, and draw in believers,—beautifying their sect with the goodly words of the saints, that the things they persuade and recommend may pass for sound and wholesome doctrine,—thus by their soft speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple. And not only the men, but even their women also, teach* amongst them, because women have an easier access to those of their own sex, to pervert them, that afterwards, by their means, the men may be perverted also, as the serpent deceived Adam by means of Eve. They teach their disciples to speak in dark and obscure words, and instead of speaking truth, to endeavour to speak lies—that, when they are asked about one thing, they might perversely answer about another, and thus craftily deceive their hearers, especially when they fear that by confessing the truth they should discover

* The reader must not understand the teaching here alluded to as referring to public teaching in the church, for the Waldenses permitted nothing of that kind in their females, and the Scriptures pointedly forbid it; but he refers to their mode of propagating their sentiments by conversation, and I shall have an opportunity of shewing in a future Lecture, from the writings of this same Reinerius, the very simple and striking manner in which they did this.

their errors. In the same dissembling manner they frequent our churches, are present at Divine service, offer at the altar, receive the sacrament, confess to the priests, observe the church fasts, celebrate festivals, and receive the priest's blessing, reverently bowing their heads, though in the meantime they scoff at all these institutions of the church, looking upon them as profane and hurtful. They say it is sufficient for their salvation if they confess to God, and not to man."

Such is the view which Reinerius gave of the principles of the Waldenses, about eighty years subsequent to the times of Peter Waldo; and we must understand this description as applicable to one general class of Christians, scattered throughout the south of France, the valleys of the Pyrenean mountains, the valleys of Piedmont, and the country of the Milanese; though probably distinguished in different places by the different names of Puritans or Catharists, Paterines, Arnoldists, Leonists, Albigenses or Waldenses, the last of which ultimately became their more general appellation. No doubt there were shades of difference in sentiment among them on points of minor importance, even as there are among Christians in the present day; and it is very certain that the catholic writers sometimes class under the general name of Waldenses, or Albigenses, persons whose theological sentiments and religious practices were very opposite to those which were professed by the followers of Peter Waldo.

In the sketch which Reinerius has furnished of the principles of the Waldenses, it is to be remarked, that there is not the slightest allusion to any erroneous opinions maintained by them, regarding the faith and doctrines of the Gospel, and this is a noble testimony to the soundness of their creed. For having himself been connected with them—a man of learning and talents—he doubtless was intimately acquainted with their doctrinal sentiments; and having apostatized from their profession and become their determined adversary, he did not want inclination to bring forward any accusation against them which could be done with the smallest regard to decency on his own part. The errors of which he accuses them (a few instances excepted, and on which they repelled his slanderous charges,) are such as no protestant dissenter of the present day would shrink from the odium which

is connected with holding, since they will all be found in one way or other to resolve themselves into the unfounded claims of the clergy, or the introduction of human traditions and the basest superstition into the worship of God.

We have seen, in a former Lecture, that the Waldenses flourished in Bohemia, into which country Peter Waldo, of Lyons, had carried their principles, and there they took deep root and produced an abundant harvest, as will be shewn hereafter. There are two noted authors who have treated particularly of the faith and conversation of the Waldenses in this quarter. The first is an inquisitor, or Dominican friar, who wrote towards the close of the fourteenth century, and who tells us he had an exact or perfect knowledge of the Waldenses, at whose trials he had often assisted in several countries. Thus he writes: but I must entreat the reader to keep in mind that it is an inquisitor who speaks, consequently some grains of allowance must be made for the severity of his style.

“The first error of the Waldenses is, that they affirm the church of Rome is not the church of Jesus Christ, but an assembly of ungodly men, and that she has ceased from being the true church from the days of Pope Sylvester, at which time the poison of temporal advantages was cast into the church; that all vices and sins reign in that church, and that *they* (the Waldenses) alone live righteously; that they are the true church of Christ, and that the church of Rome is the whore mentioned in the Revelations. They despise and reject all the ordinances and statutes of the church, as being too many and very burdensome. They insist that the pope is the head and leader of all error; that the prelates are the Scribes and seemingly-religious Pharisees; that the popes and their bishops, on account of the wars they foment, are murderers; that our obedience is due to God alone, and not to prelates, which they found on Acts iv. 9.; that none in the church ought to be greater than their brethren, according to Matt. xx. 25, &c.; that no man ought to kneel to a priest, because the angel said to John, (Rev. xix. 10.) ‘See thou do it not;’ that tithes ought not to be given to priests, because there was no use of them in the primitive church; that the clergy ought not to enjoy any temporal possessions, because it was said

in the law, 'The tribe of Levi shall have no inheritance with the children of Israel, the sacrifices being their portion' (Deut. xviii.); that it is wrong to endow and found churches and monasteries, and that nothing ought to be bequeathed to churches by way of legacy. They condemn the clergy for their idleness, saying they ought to work with their hands as the apostles did. They reject all the titles of prelates, as pope, bishop, &c. They affirm that no man ought to be forcibly compelled in matters of faith. They condemn all ecclesiastical offices, and the privileges and immunities of the church, and all persons and things belonging to it, such as councils and synods, parochial rights, &c., declaring that the observances of the *religious* are nothing else than pharisaical traditions.

"As to the second class of their errors—they condemn all the sacraments of the church. Concerning the sacrament of baptism they say, that the catechism signifies nothing—that the absolution pronounced over infants avails them nothing—that the godfathers and godmothers do not understand what they answer the priest. That the oblation which is called *Al wogen* is nothing but a mere human invention. They reject all exorcisms and blessings. Concerning the eucharist they say, that a wicked priest cannot celebrate that sacrament—that transubstantiation is not performed by the hands of him who celebrates unworthily, and that it (the eucharist) may be celebrated on our common tables, alleging for this the words of Malachi, i. 11,—'In every place shall a pure offering be offered to my name.' They condemn the custom of believers communicating no more than once a year, whereas they communicate daily.* That the mass signifies nothing; that the apostles knew nothing of it; and that it is only done for gain. They reject the canon of the mass, and only make use of the words of Christ in the vulgar tongue—affirming that the offering made by the priest in the mass is of no value. They reject the kiss of peace, that of the altar, of the priest's hands, and the pope's feet. They condemn marriage *as a sacrament*, saying that those that enter into the state of marriage without hope of children are guilty of sin.

* Probably every Lord's day, or first day of the week, for it is certain they did not come together for worship *every day*; nor indeed was the thing practicable. But in holding weekly communion they adhered to the order of the apostolic churches. See Acts ii. 42.

They have no regard to the degrees of carnal or spiritual affinity in marriage which the church observes, nor the impediments of order and public decency, or to the prohibition of the church in that matter. They contend that a woman after child-birth doth not stand in need of any blessing or churching. That it was an error of the church to forbid the clergy to marry. They disallow the sacrament of extreme unction; they hold the sacrament of different orders of the clergy to be of no use, every good layman being a priest, and the apostles themselves being all laymen. That the preaching of a wicked priest cannot profit anybody, and that which is uttered in the Latin tongue can be of no use to those laymen who do not understand it. They deride the tonsure of priests, and reproach the church that she raiseth bastards, boys, and notorious sinners to ecclesiastical dignities. Whatsoever is preached without Scripture proof they account no better than fables. They hold that the holy Scripture is of the same efficacy in the vulgar tongue as in Latin, and accordingly they communicate and administer the sacraments in the vulgar tongue. They can say a great part of the Old and New Testaments by heart. They despise the decretals, and the sayings and expositions of holy men, and cleave only to the text of Scripture. They condemn excommunication; neither do they value absolution, which they expect alone from God. They reject the indulgences of the church, and deride its dispensations. They admit none for saints except the apostles, and they pray to no saint. They condemn the canonization, translation, and vigils of the saints. They laugh at those laymen who chuse themselves saints at the altar. They never read the liturgy. They give no credit to the legends of the saints, make a mock of the saints' miracles, and despise their relics. They abhor the wood of the cross, because of Christ's suffering on it; neither do they sign themselves with it. They contend that the doctrine of Christ and his apostles is sufficient to salvation without any church statutes and ordinances; and affirm, that the traditions of the church were no better than the traditions of the Pharisees; insisting, moreover, that greater stress is laid on the observation of human tradition than on the keeping of the law of God. They refute the mystical sense of Scripture, especially as delivered in

sayings and actions, and published by the church—such as that the cock upon steeples signifies the pastor !

“ Their third class of errors is as follows :—They condemn all approved ecclesiastical customs which they do not read of in the Gospel—such as the observation of Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, the reconciliation of penitents, the adoration of the cross on Good-Friday. They despise the feast of Easter, and all other festivals of Christ and the saints, and say that one day is as good as another, working upon holidays, where they can do it without being taken notice of. They disregard the church fasts, alleging Isa. lviii, ‘ Is this the fast that I have chosen ? ’ They deride and mock at all dedications, consecrations, and benedictions of candles, ashes, palm-branches, oil, fire, wax-candles, *Agnus Dei*, churching of women, strangers, holy places and persons, vestments, salt and water. They look upon the church built of stone to be no better than a common barn, neither do they believe that God dwells there, quoting Acts vii. 48,—‘ God doth not dwell in temples made with hands ; ’ and that prayers offered up in them are of no more efficacy than those which we offer up in our closets, according to Matt. vi. 6,—‘ But thou when thou prayest enter into thy closet. ’ They set no value on the dedication of churches, and call the ornaments of the altar ‘ the sin of the church ; ’ saying, that it would be much better to clothe the poor than to decorate walls. Of the altar they say, that it is wastefulness to let so much cloth lie rotting upon the stones ; and that Christ never gave to his disciples vests, or rockets, or mitres. They celebrate the eucharist in their household cups, and say that the *corporal*, or cloth on which the host is laid, is no holier than the cloth of their breeches. Concerning lights used in the church, they say that God, who is the true light, stands in no need of light, and that it can have no further use than to hinder the priests from stumbling in the dark. They reject all censings, estimating holy water no better than common water. The images and pictures in the church they pronounce to be idolatrous. They mock at the singing [chanting] in churches, saying that the efficacy is in the words and not in the music. They deride the cries of the laymen, and reject all festival processions,—as those of Easter, as well as mournful processions at Rogation week and at

funerals. They laugh at the custom of bringing sick persons on a bench before the altar. They dissuade people from going on a pilgrimage to Rome, and other places beyond sea, though they themselves pretend to go on pilgrimage, whereas it is only with a design to visit their bishops who live in Lombardy. They express no value for the Lord's sepulchre, nor for those of the saints, and condemn the burying in churches, which they found on Matt. xxiii. 29,—‘Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, because ye build the tombs,’ &c. : and would prefer burying in the field to the church-yard, were they not afraid of the church. They maintain that the offices for the dead, masses for the deceased, offerings, funeral pomps, last wills, legacies, visiting of graves, the reading of vigils, anniversary masses, and similar suffrages, are of no avail to departed souls. They condemn watching with the dead by night, because of the folly and wickedness which are practised on those occasions.

“They hold all these errors because they deny purgatory, saying that there are only two ways—the one of the elect to heaven—the other of the damned to hell, according to Eccles. xi. 3,—‘Which way soever the tree falleth, there it must lie.’ They contend that a good man stands in no need of any intercessions, and that they cannot profit those that are wicked; that all sins are mortal, and none of them venial; that once praying in the words of the Lord's prayer, is of more efficacy than the ringing of ten bells, yea, than the mass itself. They think that all swearing is sinful, because Christ says, Matt. v. 34, ‘Swear not at all, but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay.’ They are against punishing malefactors with death, which they found on Rom. xii. 19,—‘Vengeance is mine; I will repay it, saith the Lord.’ They say that all ecclesiastical courts, held by clergymen, are not maintained for the correction of evil doers, but for the profit which they bring with them.”*

This same inquisitor, on a subsequent occasion, tells us that these “heretics are known by their manners and words, for they are orderly and modest in their manners and behaviour; they avoid all pride in their dress, wearing neither very rich clothes,

* Hist. Script. Bohem. p. 222. et seq. in Dr. Allix's Remarks, pp. 211—219.

nor over mean and ragged ones. They keep up no commerce or trade, in order that they may avoid lying, swearing, and deceit, chusing rather to live by the labour of their own hands, as handicraftsmen and day-labourers; and their teachers are weavers and tailors. They do not heap up riches, but are content with necessaries. They are also very chaste. They are sparing and very temperate in eating and drinking; they do not frequent taverns or alehouses; neither do they go to balls or other vanities. They abstain from anger; and even when at work they either learn or teach. In like manner, also, their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of words, and especially abstaining from lies and swearing,—not so much as making use of the common asseverations, ‘in truth,’ ‘for certain,’ and the like,—because they look upon these to be oaths: they commonly answer, ‘yea, yea,’ or ‘no, no.’”

The other account of the Waldenses of Bohemia, to which I referred, is that of Æneas Sylvius, who wrote a history of Bohemia in the fifteenth century. This writer descended from the noble family of Piccolomini, and was born in the year 1405. His abilities were of a superior order, and at an early period of life introduced him to public notice. He officiated as secretary at the council of Basil, in 1431, and his diplomatic talents were afterwards employed in mediating a peace between England and Scotland, which brought him into this country. He was subsequently employed in various embassies, by the Emperor of Germany, Frederick III., with whom he became a great favourite, as well from his literary attainments as from his abilities as a statesman. In 1458 he was elevated to the pontifical chair, on which occasion he assumed the name of Pius II.; but he retained that high station only seven years, for he died in 1464, at the age of 59, leaving behind him the character of having been one of the best scholars that ever wore the triple crown. The following is the brief account of the Waldenses which he has left us in his *History of Bohemia*:—

“They hold,” says he, “that the Pope of Rome is not superior to bishops, and that there is no difference (as to rank or dignity) among priests; that priesthood itself is not a dignity,

for that grace and virtue only give the preference; that the souls of the deceased are either immediately plunged into hell, or advanced to eternal joys [in heaven]; that there is no purgatory fire; that it is a vain thing to pray for the dead, and merely an invention of priestly covetousness; that the images of God and of the saints ought to be destroyed; that the blessing of water and palm-branches is ridiculous; that the religion of the mendicants [begging friars] was invented by evil spirits; that priests ought to be poor, and content themselves with alms; that every one has liberty to preach [or instruct]; no capital sin ought to be tolerated under pretence of avoiding a greater evil; that he who is guilty of mortal sin ought not to enjoy any ecclesiastical dignity; that the confirmation which is celebrated with anointing and extreme unction is none of the sacraments of the church of Christ; that auricular confession is a piece of foppery; that every one ought, in his closet, to confess his sins to God; that baptism ought to be administered without the addition of holy oil; that the use of church-yards is vain, and nothing but a covetous invention, and that it signifies nothing in what ground the bodies of the dead are laid; that the temple of the great God is the universe, and that to build churches, monasteries, and oratories to him, under the supposition that the Divine goodness could be more favourably found in them than in other places, is a limiting the Divine Majesty; that the priestly vestments, altar, ornaments, palls, corporals, chalices, patins, and other vessels, are of no efficacy; that it is vain to implore the suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, because they cannot help us; that it is to no purpose to spend one's time in singing and saying the canonical hours; that we are to cease from working on no day except the Lord's day; that the holidays of saints are to be rejected; and that there is no merit in observing the fasts instituted by the church."*

Though concise, this description of the Waldenses is certainly very pointed, and displays considerable graphic skill in the writer. What follows is more copious, and, coming from

* Hist. Bohem. p. 141.

one who lived in the very midst of the Vaudois, deserves particular regard.

CLAUDIUS SEISSELIUS was archbishop of Turin towards the close of the fifteenth century, a little before the time of the Reformation, and wrote a treatise against the Waldenses. His residence in the very heart of the valleys of Piedmont must have furnished him with the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principles and practices of his nonconformist neighbours, and he has transmitted to posterity a narrative sufficiently circumstantial and explicit to enable any impartial person to form a tolerably correct judgment of them. His testimony is, therefore, of too much importance to be omitted; but I must entreat the reader to bear in mind that it is the testimony of an adversary, whose papal zeal he will perceive to blaze forth against them occasionally with no little fury. Alluding to the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and those scattered throughout the diocese of Italy, he tells us that the most cruel persecutions had not been able to extirpate them, or hinder them from a constant defence of that doctrine which they had received from their ancestors. "All sorts of people," says he, "have repeatedly endeavoured, but in vain, to root them out; for even yet, contrary to the opinion of all men, they still remain conquerors, or at least wholly invincible." He then proceeds thus to describe them:—

"The Pope of Rome, and the rest of the prelates and priests of that church," these Waldenses affirm, "neither follow the life nor the precepts of Christ, but do quite the contrary; and that not only in secret, but so openly and manifestly, that it can no longer be disguised, because they chiefly value themselves on things that are contrary to religion, and not only condemn, but even mock at the precepts of the apostles. The latter lived in great poverty, humility, chastity, continence as to carnal things, and contempt of the world; whereas we prelates and priests live in great pomp, luxuriousness, and dissoluteness. We think it a brave thing to excel in royal power rather than in sacerdotal sanctity; and all our endeavours and studies tend only to the acquisition of glory amongst men—not by means of virtue, holiness, and learning, but by the abundance of all

[temporal] things—by arms and warlike magnificence, and by vast expense in equipage, furniture of horses, gold, and other things of that nature. The apostles would not possess anything as their own, neither would they receive any into their society who had not forsaken all and laid it in common: whereas we, not contented with what we already possess, fish for other people's goods more greedily and impudently than heathens themselves. Hence it is that we make wars, and incite Christian princes and people to take up arms. The apostles, travelling through towns and villages, and sowing the word of God with power, exercised many other offices of charity, according to the several gifts they had received: whereas we, not only do nothing like this, and give no good examples of holy conversation, but on the contrary, frequently resist and oppose those that do—thus opening the way to all manner of dissoluteness and avarice. They, as it were, against their wills and with reluctance, by the divine command or inspiration of God, received ordination to promote the salvation of others: whereas we buy benefices and preferments for money, or procure them by force, or through the favour of princes, and other indirect means, merely to satiate our lusts, to enrich our relations, and for the sake of worldly glory. Moreover, they spent their lives in manifold fastings, watchings, and labours, terrified neither by trouble nor danger, that they might shew to others the way of salvation: whereas we pass our time in idleness, in pleasures, and other earthly or wicked things. They, despising gold and silver, as they had freely received the Divine grace, so they freely dispense it to others; whereas we set all holy things to sale, and barter with the heavenly treasures of God himself, and, in a word, confound all things both divine and human. So that the church of Rome cannot be said to be the spouse of Christ, but that common prostitute described by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and St. John in the Revelations, in such lively colours. For Christ hath joined his church to him to be his bride, holy, pure, fair, adorned with the ornaments and jewels of every virtue, without spot or wrinkle, such as the Holy Spirit figuratively describes her in the Canticles. Far be it, therefore, that Christ should ever think of

changing this his beautiful and lovely bride for such a stinking, loathsome harlot."

Further, Seisselius thus proceeds:—"We do not deny, say the Waldenses, that God alone is the searcher of hearts, for, as the Scriptures saith, 'He searcheth the heart and trieth the reins;' and therefore that he alone knows whether the works of men are pleasing unto him, and obtain his favour, which others can only know by conjecture. But he himself hath taught us how to form our judgment when he saith, 'Ye shall know them by their fruits; for an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit.' Hence, though it be a difficult thing to judge of good works, because they receive their value from the intention of the doer, yet wicked works discover themselves, and the intention cannot make them good, especially when they are open, bare-faced, and obviously repugnant to the law of God. Therefore, if I see the bishops and priests every day living in dissoluteness and luxury, robbing others of their goods, smiting their neighbours, persecuting those that are good, blaspheming the name of God, prodigally wasting the patrimony of the church in voluptuousness and damnable crimes, may I not undoubtedly affirm, that they who commit these things are not the ministers of God, but his public and avowed enemies? Surely such they are, though we should suppose them created or confirmed by an universal synod of Christians, or by the pope, or by Peter himself. But how much more may we conclude them such, when those that ordain them are worse than themselves, and their works obviously worse than theirs? What shall we say, if it appear that they have publicly and notoriously bought the papacy—that they openly set to sale sacerdotal functions, and that they set over the churches, not by mistake but out of malice, those who are known to be wholly unworthy of that charge, and who never in all their lifetime did anything worthy either of a priest, or even of a Christian? Shall we obey such priests and prelates, who lead us the way to salvation neither by word nor work, but rather endeavour all they can to drag us into the same pit of destruction as themselves? Doth not our Saviour tell us that we must not suffer ourselves to be led by blind guides, lest when one blind man leads

another, they both fall into the ditch? Hath he not delared that such as these are cut off from the life of the church and the body of Christ, and destined to the fire? How can he be the vicegerent of Christ, who is not so much as a Christian, or a member of the mystical body of Christ—but whom he commands us to avoid as a heathen and publican, so long as he continues incorrigible?

“The apostolic authority, the faith of Peter, which Christ said should not fail the catholic church, and with which church he promiseth to abide for ever, is to be found amongst us (Vaudois) who walk after the example of the apostles, and according to our weak measure, observe the commands and ordinances they have given us. We are those of whom the Apostle Paul speaks in his Epistle to the Corinthians :—‘ Brethren, consider your calling, that ye are not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; but God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise; and the weak things of this world to confound the things that are mighty; and the base things of this world, and things that are despised, yea, and the things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are.’ And the same apostle tells us, that he was sent to preach the Gospel, not in the mightiness of man’s wisdom, but in plainness and simplicity; alleging to this purpose what the Lord saith elsewhere—‘ I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nought the prudence of the prudent.’

“They receive only what is written in the Old and New Testaments. They say that the popes of Rome and other priests have corrupted the Scriptures by their doctrines and glosses—that they owe neither tithes nor first-fruits to the clergy—that the consecration of churches, indulgences, and similar benedictions, are the inventions of false priests. They do not celebrate the festivals of the saints. They say that men do not stand in need of the suffrages of the saints, Christ abundantly sufficing in all things. They affirm that marriage may be contracted in any degree, excepting only one or two at the most—as if the popes had no power to prohibit marriage in any other degrees! They say that whatever is done to deliver the souls of the dead from the pains of purgatory is useless, lost, and superstitious—that our

priests have not the power of forgiving sins. They say that they alone observe the evangelic and apostolic doctrine, on which account, *by an intolerable impudence*, they usurp the name of the catholic church! Their barbs [pastors] do greatly err," saith Seisselius, "because they are neither sent of God, nor by the pastors of the [catholic] church, but of the devil, *as appears from their damnable doctrine*. They say that the authority of hearing confessions belongs to all Christians that walk according to the apostolic precepts, (which their barbs attribute to themselves) because the Apostle James saith, 'Confess your faults one to another.' They say that we ought not to have any kind of [set form of] prayer, except it appear that it was composed by some certain [inspired] author, and approved of God. Their barbs have often preached this doctrine, to abolish the service of the glorious Virgin and of other saints. They do not think that Christians ought to say the angelical salutation to the Mother of God, alleging that it has not the form of a prayer, but a salutation: but that they do only that they may rob the Virgin of this service, saying, that it is not lawful to worship or serve her any more than the rest of the saints. They affirm that the blessings of the priests are of no virtue at all. Did not Christ bless the bread in the desert? When the apostles sat down to eat bread, they blessed what was set upon the table. They say there is no need of holy water in the churches, because neither Christ nor his apostles either made it or commanded it: as if we ought to say or do nothing but what we read was done by them. They say, that the indulgences allowed of by the church are despicable, useless things; that the souls of the dead, without being tried by any purgation, immediately on their parting from the body enter into happiness or misery; and that the clergy, blinded by their covetousness, have invented purgatory. They say that the saints cannot take notice of what is done here below. They detest and abhor all images, and the sign of the cross, much more than we honour them. They make no distinction between the worship of *Latria*, which is due to God only, and that of *Dulia*, which belongs to the saints. As to the fasts which the catholic church has instituted for the honour of God and the saints, they have yet less reason to object to us. They affirm that a lie is always a

mortal sin, because David said, "God shall destroy all liars." And, then, in reference to transubstantiation, he tells us, that the Waldenses made a mock of all the artifices which the catholics had recourse to, with a view of making it appear to them more plausible. On this topic, the remarks of the learned archbishop are not a little curious, and sufficiently remarkable to be here introduced. "I think," says he, "that those took pains to little purpose, who, when writing against this sect, made it their chief business to insist upon the difficulties about the sacrament of the eucharist, and who, in order to clear them have spoken so sharply and subtilely, not to say confusedly, that I have great reason to doubt whether they ever understood the things themselves. Yet I will not say that because I do not myself comprehend it, (for that I ingenuously confess) I think it also to surpass the capacity of others—but because it has always appeared to me to be a point of that difficulty, that the ablest have been ready to own that the strength of human understanding must in this case be subject to faith."

So far the Archbishop of Turin, who is further pleased to say of them, that, "their heresy excepted, they generally lead a purer life than other Christians. They never swear but by compulsion, and rarely take the name of God in vain. They fulfil their promises with punctuality; and living for the most part in poverty, they profess to preserve the apostolic life and doctrine. They also profess it to be their desire to overcome only by the simplicity of faith, by purity of conscience, and integrity of life—not by philosophical niceties and theological subtleties;" and he candidly admits that, "in their lives and morals they are perfect, irreproachable, and inoffensive among men, addicting themselves with all their might to observe the commands of God."*

* Usher, de Christ. Eccles. success. et statu—in Perrin, book i. ch. v.

LECTURE XLIX.

Inquiry into the Theological Tenets of the Waldenses—Affinity to this Sect claimed by different Denominations of the present day—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Dissenters—Syllabus of their doctrinal sentiments—Testimonies from learned Catholic Authors—from Limborch and Mosheim—Inquiry into the Constitution of their Churches—concerning their Barbs, or Pastors—Dr. Allix, Milton, and Dr. Jortin, quoted—Illustrations of their Character and History from various writers.

FROM the foregoing Lecture, an intelligent reader may form a pretty clear and distinct notion of the general character of the Waldenses—the principles they had imbibed, the spirit by which they were actuated, and the deportment by which the sect was characterized. In whatever country their lot was cast, we find them the same sort of people, and for an obvious reason—their principles, temper, and conduct had no dependence on the climate, customs, or government of the country. They took their rise from a quite different source, and that was, the word of God, and particularly the New Testament, which they received as their sole and exclusive directory in all matters of faith and duty—it was the man of their counsel and the guide of their lives; and this, in the very nature of things, must produce a correspondency of conduct and deportment, however diversified might be their external circumstances. In proportion as they were under the influence of their Christian principles, “walking by the same

rule, and minding the same thing," they could not fail to make it manifest in what school they were taught. They were cast into the same mould of doctrine, and exhibited its impress in their lives and conversations.

I am aware, however, that it may be objected by some, that the extracts produced in the last Lecture from their catholic adversaries, do indeed display an extraordinary coincidence of judgment, an uniformity of sentiment, on one particular point, namely, in opposing the corrupt practices, the unauthorised rites and ceremonies of the papal church; but that those extracts do not afford us all the evidence we could desire, respecting their general views of divine truth. They are sufficiently proved to have been *dissenters* from the church of Rome; but may not persons dissent and yet be heterodox in their doctrinal tenets? Even in our own age and nation we have various classes of nonconformists, holding discordant sentiments; for, to say nothing of the episcopal established church of England and of the Presbyterian established church of Scotland, both of which, while they protest against the corruptions of the church of Rome, are nevertheless as corrupt as herself in their constitution, discipline, and worldly maxims—we have dissenters of every shade: Arian, Sabellian, Socinian, Pelagian, Arminian, Calvinistic, with others of an inferior grade, whom I need not mention, because they are not distinguished by any theological tenets. Add to which we have Baptists, Anti-baptists, and Pœdobaptists—but what were the Waldenses, generally, in relation to these points?

Now, this is surely an interesting question at all times; but it has become more particularly so in our day, when almost every sect in Christendom has thought proper to claim the Waldenses as their own; and, to an impartial spectator, it must be not a little amusing to witness the zeal and activity to which this competition has led. Since their history, which had unaccountably fallen into oblivion, was revived, about twenty years ago, by my humble instrumentality, the excursions that have been taken to the valleys of Piedmont in the hope of collecting evidence, and the books and pamphlets that the subject has given rise to, are not easily enumerated. From the simple circumstance that they were averse to priests and war, the Quakers claimed them as theirs;

but that was too futile a pretext to exist long. Next on the list came the clergy of the church of England,—Messrs. Sims, Gilly, Ackland, and others, whose “Excursions to the vallies of Piedmont,” in the hope of finding them of *their* party, and whose numerous and elaborate productions to make out the connexion, have not gone without their reward from the dignitaries of the establishment! Whereas nothing can be more wild and extravagant than such a speculation. The old Waldenses were no more Episcopalians, in the modern acceptation of that term, than they were Mahometans. Nor have the clergy of the church of Scotland been altogether asleep upon this occasion. One of them in particular, after wasting the midnight lamp for eight long years, has recently favoured us with what he calls “A History of the Waldenses,” in two ponderous tomes, which he seems to have studied to make as *unreadable* as it was possible for a work on that subject to become. He is entitled, however, to the praise of having shewn the fallacy of the claims of the clergy of the church of England. For why?—He finds the words *Presbytery* and *Synod* in their writings, which clearly proves they were not Episcopalians—and if not Episcopalians, what else could they be but Presbyterians? In this logical method, the reverend gentleman has settled the question, doubtless, quite to his own satisfaction. But to return.

It is not to the writings of the catholics, nor yet to those of the clergy of our own day, that we must have recourse for the evidence of the creed, or articles of belief, the *credenda* of the Waldenses. Mr. Hallam is pleased to assure us, that “they were always considered as much less erroneous in their tenets than the Albigenses, or Manichæans.” And then to prove it quotes Monachus, a Cistercian monk, who says that “the Waldenses derived their name from Waldo, of Lyons—that indeed they were wicked men, but when compared with other heretics, far less perverse; for in many things they agreed with the church of Rome, in others, however, they differed.” The only faults he seems to impute to them, are the denial of the lawfulness of oaths, and the wearing of *sabots*, or wooden sandals!

This is sufficient to shew us the folly of looking to Mr. Hallam’s pages for any clear and distinct account of the principles of the

Waldenses ; and it may be recollected that I formerly quoted him as giving his decided opinion that purity of moral conduct has little or no connexion with doctrinal sentiments !* This may account to us for his taking no notice of the “ Confessions of Faith,” drawn up and published to the world, from time to time, by the Waldenses, in vindication of their faith and practice ; for if, as he supposes, there is little or no connexion between these two things, nothing can be more idle than to insist upon them. Such, however, was not the opinion of the Waldenses themselves, as is manifest from their own writings ; they contended, that true religion consisted in the fear and love of God, whose character was only to be known fully by the Gospel—and, to use their own words—“ that all those in whom the fear of God dwells, will thereby be led to please him, and to abound in good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them—such as love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, gentleness, sobriety, and the other good works enforced in the holy Scriptures.” And, whereas the catholic church had, from an early period of her history, a standard of doctrine, independent of the Scriptures, though founded upon them, which they termed the “ Symbol,” or “ Apostles’ Creed,” the Waldenses made no hesitation of acknowledging their consent to it. Thus, in one of their Catechisms, they say, “ We take the Old and New Testament for the rule of our life, and *we agree with the general confession of faith contained in the Apostles’ Creed,*”—and of which we have an exposition in their writings.†

Were I called upon to describe the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont, and their brethren scattered abroad, throughout France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, &c. &c., so as that their real character might be known, I should prefer doing it in a *negative* way. Thus I should say, they were not of the church of Rome, nor of the church of England, nor of the church of Scotland, though they held some doctrinal sentiments common to each. But their views of the nature of Christ’s kingdom, as a kingdom *not* of this world, agreeably to his own

* See Lect. xli. p. 270.

† Perrin’s History of the Waldenses, part ii. book v. ch. iii. Morland’s History of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 30.

confession before Pontius Pilate, compelled them to dissent from the communion of the church of Rome, and would, for the very same reasons, have led them to decline communion with those of England and Scotland.* They considered the catholic church to be that unchaste woman that committed fornication with the kings of the earth, and had intoxicated the nations with the wine of her fornication. "The church of Rome," say they, "is the whore of Babylon"—"the pope and bishops are the wolves of Christ's church"—"so many orders of the clergy, so many marks of the beast."† But, by whatever process of reasoning and induction they arrived at the foregoing conclusion, by the very same they would be compelled to view the churches of England and Scotland in the light of her "unchaste daughters."

And now with regard to the numerous classes of dissenters from all established or national churches: they were not Socinians, or "Unitarians," in the modern acceptation of the term; for all their confessions and writings are most explicit in holding the revealed distinction in Deity. "We believe," say they, "that there is one God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."‡ They were not Arians, nor yet Sabellians, for in all their writings there is not a trace to be found of their holding any such tenets; on the contrary, had they done so, they could never have given their consent to the Symbol, or Apostles' Creed; in an exposition of which, after adducing scriptural testimonies to the doctrine of the Divine unity, they quote 1 John, v. 7,—*"There are three that bear record in heaven—the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one."* In proof of the proper and essential deity of Christ, they quote John, xvii. 11,—*"That they all may be one, as we are one."* Again, John, i. 3,—*"All things were made by him [the incarnate Word], and without him was not any thing made that was made."* In treating of the incarnation of the WORD, they quote Isa. vii. 14,—*"Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emanuel, which is GOD WITH US."* John, i. 14,—*"The word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."* 1 John, v. 20,—*"We know that the Son of God is come—this is the true God and eternal life."* This

* See Appendix to this Lecture, *Second Confession*.

† Ibid.

‡ See Appendix to this Lecture, *First Confession*.

evidence is full and explicit, so far as regards the revealed distinction in Deity, and the godhead of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as the personality of the Holy Spirit.*

Further, they maintained the doctrine of the fall of our first parents, or original sin, concerning which they say, "God created Adam after his own image and likeness; but through the enmity of the devil and his own disobedience, Adam fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam."† They held that all mankind are by nature and practice sinners against God, who has displayed his grace and mercy towards us in the mission of his beloved Son, who made satisfaction for our sins, and fulfilled the law, which we had broken; that Christ Jesus is the high-priest of his people, who died for the salvation of all who should believe on him, and rose again for their justification; that he is the one and only Mediator betwixt God and man—our advocate and intercessor—"our life, truth, peace, righteousness—the shepherd and bishop of souls;" in short, that there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be saved.‡ They held that sinners are regenerated by the Holy Spirit, "being by him renewed in the spirit of their minds, who creates us anew unto good works, and from whom we receive the knowledge of the truth."§

They contended that a Christian church was an assembly of believers, "faithful men," and that of such a church the Lord Jesus Christ is the head, and he alone; that it is governed by his word and guided by the Holy Spirit; that it behoves all Christians to walk in fellowship; that the only ordinances Christ hath appointed for the use of his churches are Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that they are both symbolical ordinances, or signs of holy things, "visible emblems of invisible blessings," and that believers are the proper participants of them.||

Such was the creed of the Waldenses, according to their own "Confessions;" and it may be fairly presumed that the intelligent Christian will recognise in it "the form of sound words"—"the

* Appendix, Third Confession, Art. 3.

† First Confession, Art. 4.

‡ First Confession, Art. 6, 7, 8. Third ditto, Art. 2.

§ Appendix, Third Confession, Art. 3, 4.

|| First Confession, Art. 12. Third ditto, Art. 8.

faith once delivered to the saints"—the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. On their views and sentiments respecting the unauthorised practices and vain traditions of the catholic church, such an exhibition has been given in the former Lecture as renders it unnecessary to enlarge further in this place. And now, as respects the question, to which of the sects or denominations of the present day were they most nearly related? instead of intruding any opinion of my own, I rather chuse to quote what has been said by several of their own adversaries, who wrote about the times of the Lutheran Reformation, consequently whose testimony ought to be regarded as less liable to exception.

MEZERAY, the celebrated historian of France, an author held in the very highest repute for his integrity and faithfulness in relating facts, in his *Abridgment of Chronology*, speaking of the Waldenses, says, "They held nearly the same opinions as those called Calvinists."

LINDANUS, a catholic bishop of the see of Ghent, who wrote in defence of the church of Rome about the year 1560, terms Calvin "the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses."

GUALTIER, a jesuitical monk, in his *Chronographical Tables*, drew up a catalogue consisting of seven-and-twenty particulars, in which he shews that the principles of the Waldenses and those of the Calvinists coincided with each other.

ÆNEAS SYLVIVS (afterwards Pope Pius II.) declares the doctrine taught by Calvin to be the same as that of the Waldenses. With him may also be classed Claude Rubis, who wrote the *History of the City of Lyons*; in which, adverting to the principles of Luther, he says, "the heresies that have been current in our time are founded upon those of the Waldenses;" and he denominates them "the relics of Waldo."

CARDINAL HOSIUS, a learned and zealous champion of the papacy, who presided at the council of Trent, lived during the days of Luther, and wrote a *History of the Heresies of his own times*, in which he says, "the leprosy of the Waldenses spread its infection throughout all Bohemia; and, following the doctrine of Waldo, the greatest part of the kingdom separated itself from the church of Rome."

THOMAS WALDEN, who wrote against Wickliffe, says, "that

the doctrine of Peter Waldo was conveyed from France into England, and that among others Wyckliffe received it." In this opinion he is joined by Alphonsus de Castro, who says, "that Wyckliffe only brought to light again the errors of the Waldenses." Cardinal Bellarmine, too, is pleased to say, "that Wyckliffe could add nothing to the errors of the Waldenses." And Ecchius, in his controversy with Luther, reproached him that he only renewed the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenes, of Wyckliffe and of Huss, which had been long ago condemned.*

To these impartial testimonies, which are amply sufficient to settle the question of consanguinity, I may add those of two learned protestant writers; namely, Limborch, professor of divinity in the university of Amsterdam, and that of Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History. The former, comparing them with the Christians of his own times, says, "To speak candidly what I think, of all the modern sects of Christians, the Dutch Baptists most resemble both the Albigenes and Waldenses."† The latter expressly owns that, "before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, persons who adhered tenaciously to the principles of the modern Dutch Baptists."‡

Having thus examined the doctrinal sentiments of the Waldenses, and the testimonies borne to them by various learned writers, both friends and foes, I may here take the opportunity of satisfying an inquiry that will naturally suggest itself to an inquisitive mind, "What was the constitution of their churches? or, indeed, had they any?" A people who rejected all communion with the church of Rome, maintained its constitution to be antichristian, cried down its bishops and priests, and declared the pope and his clergy to be "the wolves" of Christ's church, might be presumed, by some who were but slightly acquainted with their principles, to be enemies to all order, rule, and discipline, and to form a kind of lawless mob in the affairs of

* See Perrin's History of the Waldenses, b. i. ch. viii.

† History of the Inquisition, vol. i. ch. viii.

‡ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. sect. iii. part ii. ch. iii.

religion ; or, if conscience dictated to them the necessity of assembling together on the Lord's day for the public worship of God and religious instruction, that they would resemble the meetings of the Society of Friends, where all are upon a level, and office-bearers are unknown. Now on this I observe as follows :—

It cannot be denied that the catholic writers frequently reproached them with making little or no account of the pastoral office—affirming that they made the duty of preaching the Gospel common to every member of the church, both male and female, and that they allowed persons who had not the suffrages of the church to administer the ordinances of Gospel worship. That this was an unfounded accusation has been very satisfactorily shewn by Dr. Allix, whose researches into the history of those churches entitle him to the gratitude of posterity. I subjoin the substance of his defence of them against this charge :—

1. Bernard, Abbot of Foncaud, in his Treatise against the Sect of the Waldenses (ch. vi.), accuses only *some of them* of having no pastors ; which shews, as he very properly remarks, that the body of that church had a fixed ministry before the end of the twelfth century. There is, therefore, nothing in this to support the charge of their making light of the pastoral office ; for it is only what has happened to societies of Christians in every age of the world, to be for a time without presbyters or pastors, until the great Head of the Church raises up among them persons properly qualified by age, experience, and gifts, to take the oversight of their brethren, to labour in the word and doctrine, and rule the church of God. It is plain that it was so with the first churches for a time. Acts xiv. 23. Titus i. 5.

2. Reinerius Saccho, who lived about the year 1250, acknowledges that in Lombardy, where he himself resided, they had their bishops, or pastors ; “ *Lombardiam intrantes, visitant episcopos suos,*” are his words (cap. v.) ; that is, “ When they come into Lombardy they visit their elders.” Again, Matthew Paris (under the year 1243) speaks of a bishop of the Paterines in Cremona, who was deposed by them for fornication. And, further, Pilickdorf, a writer quoted by Bossuet in his History of the Variations, (p. 223,) says, “ *they do not approve of a layman's cele-*

brating the Eucharist" (ch. i.); which sufficiently proves, says Dr. Allix, that they made a signal difference between the people and their pastors.*

3. Commenius, who published a *Synopsis of the Discipline of the Churches of Bohemia*, dwells particularly upon this article; and shews that "*a stated ministry was always considered as a matter of great importance among the Waldensian churches.*" A severe persecution broke out against the Bohemian brethren, in the days of Commenius, which produced such havoc among them that he himself was "the only surviving bishop that escaped." The scattered brethren in process of time, selected three persons as qualified for the pastoral office, but "found themselves greatly perplexed about their ordination." Having understood that there were some Waldensian churches on the confines of Moravia and Austria, to satisfy their own scruples, as well as those of others, they resolved to send Michael Zambergius, one of their pastors, with two other persons, to find out those Waldenses, and give them an account of what had passed among them, and especially to ask their advice upon the matter in hand. They met with one Stephen, a Waldensian bishop, who sent for others also residing in that quarter, with whom they had a conference upon the doctrines of the Gospel and the state of their churches, and by them the said three pastors were ordained by the imposition of hands. "Hence," says Dr. Allix, "it is abundantly evident, that as the Waldenses have preserved the faith that was committed to them, so have they been as careful to preserve entire amongst them the ancient discipline of the church; and hence it will follow, that nothing can be more false than what is pretended—viz., that they had no kind of lawful ministry among them, but that laymen took upon themselves the power of preaching, of ordaining ministers, and administering ordinances."†

But if the Waldenses had a stated ministry among their churches, as the forecited authorities declare, how, it may be asked, were their pastors supported and maintained, and of what description of persons did they consist? On this point, I shall

* Dr. Allix's Remarks, p. 238.

† Ibid. p. 245.

crave permission to introduce our great poet, MILTON, who seems to have diligently studied the character of the Waldenses, and to have well understood their principles and the constitution of their churches. Of this the reader will find abundant evidence hereafter in the numerous letters which he wrote in their behalf to the protestant princes of Europe, pleading their cause against their popish persecutors. What I have at present in view is, the account given by him of the constitution of their churches, and the simplicity of their worship. He wrote a tract, entitled—“CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE LIKELIEST MEANS TO REMOVE HIRELINGS OUT OF THE CHURCH,” addressed to the Parliament of England; in which he shews the pernicious effects arising from the endowing of churches with tithes; refutes, in the most convincing manner, the various pleas which were urged by Episcopalians in favour of that practice, as founded on the Jewish law; and frequently adduces the happy poverty and purity of the Waldenses, as forming a striking contrast to the corruptions that abound in national churches. “For the first three hundred years and upwards,” says he, “in all the ecclesiastical story, I find no such doctrine or example, [as that of supporting the pastors of Christian churches by the imposition of tithes,] though error by that time had brought back again priests, altars, and oblations, and in many other points of religion had miserably judaised the church.”—“The first Christian emperors, who did all things as bishops advised them, supplied what was wanting to the clergy, not out of tithes, which were never mentioned, but out of their own imperial revenues; as is manifest in Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomon, from [the times of] Constantine to Arcadius. Hence those most ancient reformed churches of the Waldenses, if they rather continued not pure since the apostles’ days, denied that tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive church, as appears by an ancient tractate inserted in the Bohemian history. The [pastors of the] poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our Reformation, without our help [of tithes] bred up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture, which is the only true theology, that they might be no burthen to the church; and, after the example of Christ, might cure both soul and body, through industry

adding that to their ministry which he joined to his by the gift of the Spirit. So Peter Gilles relates, in his history of the Waldenses of Piedmont.* But our ministers scorn to use a trade, and count it the reproach of this age that tradesmen preach the Gospel. It were to be wished they were all tradesmen; they would not then, for want of another trade, make a trade of their preaching: and yet they clamour that tradesmen preach, though they preach, while themselves are the worst tradesmen of all.”—“Seeing the Christian church is not national, but consists of many particular congregations, not determined by any outward judge in matters of conscience, those pretended church revenues, as they have ever been, so they are likely to continue, matters of endless dissension between the church and the magistrate, and the churches among themselves; there will, therefore, be found no better remedy for these evils, otherwise incurable, than (after the example of) the most incorrupt council of those Waldenses, our first reformers, to remove them as a pest—an apple of discord in the church; (for what else can the effect of riches be, and the snare of money in religion?) and to convert them to more profitable uses; considering that the church of Christ was founded in poverty rather than in revenues, stood purest and prospered best without them, received them unlawfully from those who both erroneously and unjustly, sometimes impiously, gave them, and so was justly ensnared and corrupted by them.”—“The Waldenses, our first

* As the volume of *Pierre Gilles* is before me, I translate the paragraph to which Milton refers:—

“The Waldenses have had very learned pastors, men well versed in the sciences, in languages, and in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, as well as the ancient Fathers, as appears by their writings. But especially all their Barbs [by which title, they invariably designated the pastors or elders of their churches] have been very laborious and vigilant, as well in the instruction of their scholars in piety and the fear of God, as the exercise of the works of charity, and transcribing as much as possible of the books of the holy Scriptures for the use of their pupils, ere the advantages of printing were known and enjoyed. Each of them had also the knowledge of some useful trade or calling, and especially of medicine and surgery, in which they were well skilled, and for their skill held in great estimation.” *Gilles, Hist. des Eglises Reformées du Piedmont*, c. ii. He adds, that, “some of the pastors were married, but the greater part lived single, not from any scruple of conscience, but that they might be more at liberty to follow, or comply with, their calls to distant churches, missions to which on one side or the other were frequent.”

reformers, both from the Scriptures and primitive example, maintained those among them who bore the office of ministers by alms alone. Take their very words, 'Our food and clothing is sufficiently administered and given to us by way of gratuity and alms, by the good people whom we teach.' As for church endowments and possessions, I meet with none considerable before Constantine, but the houses and gardens where they met, and their places of burial: and I persuade myself, that from thence the ancient Waldenses, whom I deservedly cite so often, held that 'to endow churches is an evil thing,' and that the church then fell off, and became the whore sitting on that beast mentioned in the book of the Revelations, when, under Pope Sylvester, she received those temporal donations. So the forecited tractate of their doctrine testifies."

Thus far Milton: on which it may be observed, that to such as have studied the annals of the Christian church, and are in any tolerable degree aware how much the avarice, pride, and ambition of the clergy, have in all ages contributed to promote the corruptions that have prevailed in it, both in doctrine, discipline, and worship, the view that he gives us of the humble and self-denied deportment of the Waldensian pastors, must be considered as one of the strongest evidences that can be afforded of the purity of the communion of their churches, and of their close adherence to the pattern left them for imitation in the approved examples of the New Testament. But Milton was not singular in the commendation that he has given to the confessors of Piedmont; for thus writes the candid JORTIN, in perfect consistency with our great poet:—"The Waldenses taught that the Roman church departed from its former sanctity and purity in the time of Constantine the Great; they therefore refused to submit to the usurped power of its pontiff. They said that the prelates and doctors ought to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and earn their bread by the labour of their hands. *They contended that the office of teaching, confirming, and admonishing the brethren, belonged in some measure to all Christians, &c.* Their discipline was extremely strict and austere: for they interpreted Christ's discourse on the Mount according to the literal sense of the words; and they condemned war, law-suits, the acquisition of

riches, capital punishments, oaths, and [even] self-defence." Again, the same writer remarks, that "THE HONEST WALDENSES very plainly discerned that the powers usurped by the popes and ecclesiastics were tyrannical and antichristian, and consequently that the decretals which established some of those notions must have been impudent forgeries. Why could not the popes discern the same? Because profaneness, pride, ambition, and avarice, hardened their hearts and blinded their eyes; because they would neither examine, nor let other people examine."*

I shall close the present Lecture by submitting to your consideration some miscellaneous remarks and observations, collected from various writers who have touched on the history of the Waldenses, but all of which will be found, in one way or other, to illustrate their character.

In the year 1508, about ten years before Luther began the Reformation, and during the reign of Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, a severe persecution broke out against that class of his subjects who held the principles of the Waldenses. The latter, to justify themselves from several charges, erroneously imputed to them by their adversaries, drew up an Apology, addressed to the King, which was still extant in the time of Perrin, and as he has handed down to us the substance of it, I shall here extract a few of the more interesting particulars:—

1. It was said of them by their adversaries, that a man might leave his wife when he pleased. On which they reply, that "matrimony is a bond which nothing but death can dissolve, except the crime of fornication, as saith the Lord Jesus Christ;" and also the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. vii.) saith, "Let not the wife depart from her husband, nor the husband put away his wife."

2. A second calumny regards a community of goods and wives—to which they reply, "that marriage was of old ordained by God in Paradise; that it was designed as an antidote against adultery; and that it is recorded by the apostle, when speaking of this subject, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." Also, that "the husband ought to

* Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 303.

love his wife, as Christ loveth the church," and that such as are married ought to live holily together, with their children, in the fear of God. That as for goods, every one hath possessed his own at all times and in all places—they never having had any such intercommunity among them as tended in the smallest degree to derogate from that lawful property which every one has by right to his own estate."

3. Another scandalous charge was, that they worshipped their barbs, or pastors. The grossness of this calumny, indeed, sufficiently refuted itself. At one time they are represented as setting aside the necessity of the pastoral office altogether, and making its peculiar duties common to every member—at others, they are charged with holding their pastors in such estimation, that they paid them divine honours. The Waldenses refer, on this subject, to their own writings, in which they have shewn that God alone is the object of worship, and that they never intended to give that to any creature. And that as to their pastors, regarding them as those by whom they have heard the word of reconciliation, they consider themselves as bound in conscience and duty to treat them with kindness, and to esteem them in love for their work's sake.

4. They have been accused of maintaining that it was in no instance lawful to swear. In reply to that, they say that "some oaths are certainly lawful, tending both to the honour of God and the edification of their neighbour," instancing Heb. vi. 17,—that "men swear by a greater than themselves, and an oath made for confirmation is an end of all strife." They also allege that it was enjoined upon the people of Israel (Deut. vi.) to swear by the name of the Lord—and also the oath made betwixt Abimelech and Isaac (Gen. xxvi.), and that of Jacob. (Gen. xxxi.)

5. Another calumny was, that they shewed no reverence to sacred places, maintaining that it is not a more grievous sin to burn a church than to break open another house. To defend themselves against this charge they say, "That neither the place nor the pulpit makes a man holy—and that those are greatly deceived who think the better of themselves because of the dignity of the place. For what was greater than Paradise, or what more pure than Heaven? Notwithstanding which, man was driven out

of Paradise, because he sinned there; and the angels were expelled from heaven, that they might be an example to all succeeding ages, teaching us that it is neither the place, nor its grandeur and dignity, but innocence of life that makes a man holy."

6. Again, they were charged with holding, that the civil magistrate ought not to sentence any one to death. To which they answer, "That it is written, a malefactor shall not be suffered to live; and that, without correction and discipline, doctrine serves to no purpose, neither would judgments be known or wickedness punished. That, therefore, just anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason the seed of vices, encouraging the wicked to proceed in their excesses." True it is, that they complained of the conduct of the magistrates in delivering them up to death, without any other knowledge of them than they had obtained from the priests and monks, who pretended to discover errors in them, and then exclaiming against them as abuses which they had introduced into the church, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them up to the secular power. Moreover, they regarded it as both unwise and cruel, on the part of the magistrates, to give credit to men so carried away with passion as were the priests, and that they should put to death so many poor innocent persons, without having either heard or examined them.

7. Allied to the foregoing was another slander, tending to render them odious to kings and princes—namely, "that a layman in a state of grace hath more authority than a prince living in mortal sin." In reply to that imputation, they said, that every one ought to be subject to those who are placed in authority—that it is their duty to obey them, to honour them with special honour, to be subject to them with allegiance, and promptly pay them tribute, &c.

8. The next charge was, that the Waldenses affirmed that the pope had no authority over the kings and princes of the earth, who derived their authority from God alone; and on which account they took occasion to call them Manichæans. They replied; "We believe that the Holy Trinity created all things, both visible, and invisible, and that [Jehovah] is Lord of all things in heaven, earth, and hell, as it is written, 'All things were created

by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.”

9. It was further alleged against them, that they objected to the payment of tithes—that priests might lawfully be put to death, or dispossessed of their tithes, which any one might retain without scruple of conscience. And it is certain, says their historian, that could the Waldenses have appropriated their tithes to any other purpose than the maintenance of those whom they regarded as “dumb dogs,” drowsy watchmen, slow bellies, deceivers, and deceived, they would have done it; but as they had not power to detain them, none of them made any disturbance about the matter. It indeed appears, that in what depended upon their own voluntary choice, they gave nothing to such persons, nor cared for any of their helps after death, of which the priests complained, and thence took occasion to accuse them as heretics. But let us hear them upon the subject of revenge:—“The Lord, knowing that we should be delivered up, said, ‘Beware of men.’ But he never teaches or counsels his elect to slay any one, but on the contrary, to ‘love their enemies.’ When the disciples said to him, ‘shall we call for fire from heaven and consume them?’ Christ answered, ‘Ye know not what spirit ye are of.’ Also the Lord said to Peter, ‘Put up thy sword into its place,’ &c. Besides, temporal distresses ought to be despised and sustained with patience, for in them nothing happens that is new. Whilst we are here, we are the Lord’s threshold, to be beaten like corn when it is separated from the chaff.”

10. Claude de Rubis, a virulent catholic writer, who compiled the history of the city of Lyons, defames them by saying, that, having retired from the city of Lyons, and taken refuge among the Alps, the Waldenses, like the rest of the inhabitants of the valleys, had become sorcerers—and, indeed, says he, there are two things which commonly accompany each other, that is, heresy and sorcery, as hath been verified in the cities and provinces which have admitted heresy amongst them. To justify themselves against this foul aspersion, they say, “Those act against the first precept of the decalogue, who believe the planets can control the free-will of man. Such do, in effect, esteem the planets

to be gods, for they attribute to the creature that which is the peculiar province of the Creator. Against such the prophet Jeremiah saith, 'Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not afraid of those things at which the heathen are dismayed.' Paul also says to the Galatians, 'Ye observe days and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain.' They also act against this commandment who believe in sorcerers and diviners, for such believe the demons to be gods. The reason is, because they ask that of demons which God alone can grant—viz., to discover things that are secret, and to reveal the truth of things to come, which is forbidden by God. Lev. xix. 'Thou shalt not regard them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards. Moreover, thou shalt not divine nor give any heed to dreams. Thou shalt not be an enchanter, neither take council with familiar spirits, or wizards, nor inquire the truth among the dead; for all these things are an abomination to the Lord.' And as to the punishment which God, in a way of vengeance, inflicts upon such, we read in the Book of Kings, that 'Elijah demanded of Ahaziah, saying, What! is there no God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron? Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.' Saul died, because he had prevaricated with the commandment that God had given him: he kept it not, neither put his trust in the Lord, but asked council of a witch, wherefore the Lord slew him, and transferred his kingdom to David, the son of Jesse. It is also said, in the Book of Leviticus, that, 'whosoever shall turn aside to enchanters and wizards, I will lay my hand upon him, and cut him off from the midst of his people.' Every one ought to know that all enchantment, or conjuration, or charms, or spells, carried for a remedy to men or beasts, are of no avail, but on the contrary, a snare and ambush of the old adversary the devil, through which he endeavours to deceive mankind."

11. One more charge against them was, that they compelled their pastors to follow some trade. Their answer to this is surely a very satisfactory one. "We do not think it necessary," say they, "that our pastors should work for bread. They might be

better qualified to instruct us, if we could maintain them without their own labour ; but *our poverty has no remedy.*"*

Lielenstenius, a Dominican, speaking of the Waldenses of Bohemia, says, " I say that in morals and life they are good; true in words, unanimous in brotherly love; but their faith is incorrigible and vile, as I have shewn in my Treatise."† And Samuel de Cassini, a Franciscan friar, speaking of them in his " Victoria Trionfale," explicitly owns in what respect their faith was incorrigible and vile, when he says, " That all the errors of these Waldenses consisted in this—that they denied the church of Rome to be the holy mother church, and would not obey her traditions."‡

Jacobus de Riberia, who published a work intituled, " Collections of the City of Toulouse," and who in his time assisted in persecuting the Waldenses, nevertheless acknowledges, that for a long time they had obtained the highest esteem in Narbonne,§ as well as in the diocese of Alby, Rhodes, Cahors, and Agen; and that those who would be styled priests and bishops [in the catholic church] were then but little accounted of, which he resolves into their ignorance and unworthy conduct; by reason of which, says he, it was an easy matter for the Waldenses to obtain the preference among the people for the excellency of their doctrine. He acknowledges that they were so well instructed in the holy Scriptures, that he had seen peasants who could recite the book of Job *verbatim*, and several others who could perfectly repeat all the New Testament. Even Cardinal Baronius, in his Ecclesiastical Annals, tom. xiii., styles the Waldenses of Toulouse " good men," and acknowledges that they were " peaceable persons," though he elsewhere falsely lays to their account many heinous accusations.||

In the time of a great persecution of the Waldenses of Merindol and Provence, a certain monk was deputed by the Bishop of Cavaillon to hold a conference with them, that they might be

* Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois, b. i. ch. iv. and Usher de Christ. Eccles. succ. et statu.

† Usher, *ubi supra*.

‡ History of Popery, vol. i. p. 421.

§ A city and province in the south of France.

|| Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois, ch. v.

convinced of their errors, and the effusion of blood prevented. But the monk returned in confusion, owning that, in his whole life, he had never known so much of the Scriptures as he had learned during those few days that he had been conversing with the heretics. The bishop, however, sent among them a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, which at that time was the very centre of theological subtlety at Paris. One of these publicly owned, that he had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of the little children in their catechisms than by all the disputations which he had ever before heard.*

FRANCIS I. king of France, being informed that the parliament of Provence brought very heavy charges against the Waldenses, whom they were then severely persecuting at Merindol, Cabriers, and other neighbouring places, was desirous of ascertaining the truth of those accusations. With a view to this, he commanded one of his nobles, the Lord of Langeai, who was at that time his lieutenant in Piedmont, to investigate this matter, and report to him the true state of things. His lordship consequently sent into Provence two clergymen, giving them a strict charge to inquire into the lives and religious principles of the Waldenses, and of the proceedings of the parliament against them. On their return they reported that "they were a laborious race of people, who, about two hundred years ago, had emigrated from Piedmont to dwell in Provence—that, betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they had restored many villages destroyed by the wars, and rendered other desert and uncultivated places extremely fertile by their industry. That by the information given them in the said country of Provence, they found they were a very peaceable people, beloved by their neighbours—men of good behaviour, of godly conversation, faithful to their promises, and punctual in paying their debts. That they were a charitable people, not permitting any among them to fall into want. That they were, moreover, liberal to strangers and the travelling poor, as far as their ability extended. And that

* Vesembecius's Oration on the Waldenses, quoted by Perrin, in his *Hist. des Vaudois*, ch. v.

the inhabitants of Provence affirmed, they were a people who could not endure to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in making some solemn contracts, or in judgment. Finally, that they were well known by this—that if they happened to be cast into any company where the conversation was lascivious or blasphemous, to the dishonour of God, they instantly withdrew.”*

LOUIS XII. king of France, A.D. 1498, being informed by the enemies of the Waldenses inhabiting a part of the province of Provence, that several heinous crimes were laid to their account, sent the Master of Requests, and a certain doctor of the Sorbonne, who was confessor to his majesty, to make inquiry into this matter. On their return they reported that they had visited all the parishes where they dwelt, had inspected their places of worship, but that they had found there no images, nor signs of the ornaments belonging to the mass, nor any of the ceremonies of the Romish church; much less could they discover any traces of those crimes with which they were charged. On the contrary, they kept the sabbath-day, observed the ordinance of baptism according to the primitive church, instructed their children in the articles of the Christian faith and the commandments of God. The king, having heard the report of his commissioners, said with an oath, that they were better men than himself or his people.†

The same monarch, having been told that in the valley of Fraissiniere, in the diocese of Ambrun and province of Dauphiné, there was a class of people who lived like beasts, without religion, and strongly opposed to the Romish worship, deputed one of his confessors and the official of Orleans to investigate the truth or falsehood of this report. The confessor, with his colleague, accordingly repaired to the place, where he examined the Waldenses who inhabited the valley respecting their faith and conversation. The Archbishop of Ambrun, well knowing that the goods of the Waldenses were liable to confiscation for the crime of heresy, and that they would be annexed to the domains

* Joachim Camerarius, in his *History*, p. 352, quoted by Perrin, book i. ch. v.

† Vesembecius's *Oration on the Waldenses*, in Perrin, ch. v.

of his archbishopric, strongly pressed the commissioners to condemn them as heretics. They, however, not only resisted his application, but even expressed their admiration of the Waldenses, insomuch that the king's confessor publicly declared, in the presence of a number of his friends, who were with him at his lodgings, at the Angel in Ambrun, that he wished he was as good a Christian as the worst of the valley of Fraissiniere.*

These are, unquestionably, very important testimonies to the Waldenses who resided in France; but I shall now lay before the reader a still more interesting document: it is the testimony which is borne to these people by that eminent historian, THUANUS—an enemy indeed to the Waldenses, himself being a catholic, but he was, nevertheless, a fair and candid one. Quoting the words of Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna, in Roussillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Waldenses, he informs us that “Their fixed opinions are said to be these:—that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree which Christ himself hath cursed and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope and the bishops who cherish his errors; that the monastic life is the sink of the church, and an hellish institution; its vows are vain, and subservient only to the filthy love of boys; the orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast mentioned in the Apocalypse; the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are the inventions of Satan. To these, the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were fictitiously added, concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats.”

Again; describing the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere, he thus proceeds:—“Their clothing is of the skins of sheep—they have no linen. They inhabit seven villages; their houses are constructed of flint stone, having a flat roof covered with mud, which, when spoiled or loosened by the rain, they again smooth with a roller. In these they live, with their cattle, sepa-

* Memorials of Rostain, Archbishop of Ambrun, quoted in Perrin, ch. v.

rated from them, however, by a fence. They have also two caves set apart for particular purposes, in one of which they conceal their cattle, in the other themselves, when hunted by their enemies. They live on milk and venison, being, through constant practice, excellent marksmen. Poor as they are they are content, and live in a state of seclusion from the rest of mankind. One thing is very remarkable, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can all read and write. They know French sufficiently for the understanding of the Bible and the singing of psalms. You can scarcely find a boy among them who cannot give you an intelligible account of the faith which they profess. In this, indeed, they resemble their brethren of the other valleys. They pay tribute with a good conscience, and the obligation of this duty is peculiarly noted in their confession of faith. If, by reason of the civil wars, they are prevented from doing this, they carefully set apart the sum, and at the first opportunity pay it to the king's tax-gatherers.*

But of all the catholic writers who have treated of the Waldenses, there is none whose testimony is more important than that of Reinerius Saccho. He had himself been one of their number, and consequently could speak of them from his personal knowledge. He had apostatized from their profession—was “by merit raised to the bad eminence” of an inquisitor in the catholic church, and of course was become one of their bitterest persecutors. He wrote a book against them (A. D. 1258), from which I have already quoted largely in a former Lecture. But that extract is almost wholly confined to an enumeration of the articles on which they did not agree with the catholic church. Let the reader now remark his unbought testimony in their favour. “Of all the sects that have risen up against the church of Rome,” says he, “the Waldenses have been the most prejudicial and pernicious, inasmuch as their opposition has been of very long continuance. Add to which, that this sect is become very general, for there is scarcely a country to be found in which this heresy is not planted. And, in the third place, because, while all other sects beget in people a dread and horror of them, on account of

* Thuani Hist. sui temporis, lib. vi. sect. 16. and lib. xxvii.

their blasphemies against God, this, on the contrary, hath a great appearance of godliness; for, they live righteously before men, believe rightly concerning God in every particular, holding all the articles contained in the [apostles'] creed—but hating and reviling the church of Rome, and on this subject they are readily believed by the people.”*

“The first lesson,” says he, in another place, “that the Waldenses teach those whom they bring over to their party, is to instruct them what kind of persons the disciples of Christ ought to be; and this they do by the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles, saying that those only are the followers of the apostles who imitate their manner of life. Inferring from thence,” says he, “that the pope, the bishops, and the clergy, who possess the riches of this world, and make them the object of their pursuit, do not tread in the footsteps of the apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the church; it never having been the design of the Lord Jesus Christ to commit his chaste and well-beloved spouse to those who would rather prostitute her by their bad example and abominable works, than preserve her in the same state of purity in which they at first received her—a virgin chaste, and without spot.”†

The same author has furnished us with an interesting account of the manner in which the Waldenses privately disseminated their principles among the gentry; and a proper attention to it will sufficiently explain to the reader the amount of various charges brought against them, from time to time, by the catholic writers, viz., that they allowed their women to teach. It seems to have been a common practice with their teachers, the more readily to gain access for their doctrine among persons in the higher ranks of life, to carry with them a small box of trinkets, or articles of dress, something like the hawkers or pedlars of our day, and Reinerius thus describes the manner in which they were wont to introduce themselves:—

“Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needle-

* Reinerius contra Waldenses, in Perrin, b. ii. ch. i.

† Idem, cap de studio pervertendi alios et modo docendi, fol. 98.

work for veils? I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchase, the company ask, "Have you anything more?" the salesman would reply—"O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promised, on he would go: "The inestimable jewel I spoke of is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him. 'In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth'—and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke.* Or, he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew,—'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat——Woe unto you; ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, ye devour widows' houses.' " "And pray," should one of the company say, "against whom are these woes denounced, think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy and monks! The doctors of the Roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners—they love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi. For our parts we desire no such Rabbis. They are incontinent; we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, 'Woe unto you, ye rich, for ye have received your consolation;' but we 'having food and raiment, are therewith content.' They are voluptuous, and devour widows' houses—we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' For our parts they persecute us for righteousness' sake. *They* do nothing, but eat the bread of idleness: we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and

* The reader must keep in mind that, at this time the use of the Bible was not allowed by the pope to the laity, and indeed very few of the clergy knew anything about its contents: even Luther did not, long after he had taken the cowl.

‘woe be to them that take away the key of knowledge.’ But among us, women teach as well as men, and one disciple, as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart; but of us there is scarcely man or woman who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these Scribes and Pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ.”*

The plan adopted by the Waldenses for engaging the attention of others to the word of God, as described by Reinerius in the foregoing extract, is both simple and striking, and deserves the attention of missionaries in the present day. It seems to have been prosecuted for several centuries, even beyond the times of the Reformation, as appears from the following circumstance. The first editor of the complete book of Reinerius was Father Gretzer, who published it in the year 1613. In the margin of that work, opposite to the passage above quoted, he has placed these words:—“This is a true picture of the heretics of our age, particularly of the Anabaptists.† There are few of the Baptists

* Reineri, cap. viii. *Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati magnorum.*

† Vera effigies hereticorum nostræ ætatis (1613) præsertim Anabaptistarum. I copy the following lines from a recent publication, entitled — “History of the Waldenses; by the Rev. Adam Blair, a Scotch clergyman.

“In a note on Reinerius, the editor, Gretzer, in 1613, calls this ‘a true picture of the heretics of our age, especially of the Anabaptists.’ Gretzer means by this to defame the Waldenses; for the Anabaptists, on the continent, in 1613, acted like madmen, but the Waldenses proceeded prudently. Neither would justice allow us to represent the Antipædobaptists of the present day as like the above Anabaptists.”—Vol. I. p. 413, note.

This latter concession carries on the face of it an appearance of candour, but some readers may be tempted to suspect that it is only a mask, of which the *reverend* gentleman has availed himself, in order to have a thrust at the Baptists of his own age and country, by whom, I doubt not, he is sorely annoyed near home. Were it not that the “madmen” of Munster played their pranks in 1513, *exactly a hundred years prior to the time when Gretzer wrote*, I should have suspected Mr. Blair of having the transactions of Munster in his eye. But to suppose that this is really the case, would not be merely to tax his accuracy, but to fix on him a stigma of *ignorance*—or *inadvertency*, to say the least. And yet I know of nothing in the conduct of the Antipædobaptists, 1613, either in Germany or Britain, which will warrant his allusion. If there be, he will perhaps oblige us, in his next edition, by directing us to it; especially as this

of the present day, it is to be hoped, who would blush to own an alliance with either the old Waldensian preachers, or the heretical Baptists referred to by this father of the catholic church, at least in this part of their conduct; and indeed it would be well if all our missionaries and private Christians of the present day, were as conversant with the word of God as the Waldenses, even in that dark age, appear, from the testimony of their very enemies, to have been. But not to enlarge, I close this Lecture by laying before the reader a few of the testimonies that were borne to the Waldenses by our first protestant reformers, and earlier historians, who, as most of them lived about three hundred years nearer to their times than we do, may reasonably be supposed so much better qualified for appreciating their true character.

In the year 1530, *ECOLAMPADIUS*, one of the reformers then resident at Basle, in Switzerland, was visited by George Morell, one of the pastors among the Waldenses, by whom, on his return to Provence, he addressed a letter "to his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses;" and it is as follows:—

"We have learned with great satisfaction, by your faithful pastor, George Morell, the nature of your faith and religious profession, and in what terms you declare it. Therefore, we thank our most merciful Father, who hath called you to so great light in this age, amidst the dark clouds of ignorance which have spread themselves over the world, and notwithstanding the extravagant power of Antichrist. Wherefore we acknowledge that Christ is in you; for which cause we love you as brethren; and would to God we were able to make you sensible in effect of that which we shall be ready to do for you, although it were to be done with the utmost difficulty. Finally, we desire that what we write may not be looked upon as though through pride we arrogated to ourselves any superiority over you, but consider it as proceeding from that brotherly love and charity which we bear towards you. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath im-

would remove from our minds all suspicion of his having sought an occasion to connect the present race of Antipædobaptists with the madmen of Munster. See the APPENDIX to this Lecture, for some hints on the disputed topic of the sentiments of the Waldenses on the article of BAPTISM.

parted to you an excellent knowledge of his truth, beyond that of many other people, and hath blessed you with spiritual blessings. So that if you persevere in his grace, he hath much greater treasures wherewith to enrich you and make you perfect, according to your advancement in the measure of the inheritance of Christ."

LUTHER, in the year 1533, published the Confessions of the Waldenses, to which he wrote a preface. In this preface he candidly acknowledges that, in the days of his popery, he had hated the Waldenses, as persons who were consigned over to perdition. But having understood from their "Confessions" and writings the piety of their faith, he perceived that those good men had been greatly wronged whom the pope had condemned as heretics; for that, on the contrary, they were rather entitled to the praise due to holy martyrs. He adds, that among them he had found one thing worthy of admiration, a thing unheard of in the popish church—that, laying aside the doctrines of men, they meditated in the law of God, day and night; and that they were expert, and even well versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures; whereas, in the papacy, those who are called masters wholly neglected the Scriptures, and some of them had not so much as seen the Bible at any time. Moreover, having read the Waldensian Confessions, he said he returned thanks to God for the great light which it had pleased him to bestow upon that people; rejoicing that all cause of suspicion being removed which had existed between them and the reformed, they were now brought together into one sheepfold, under the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls.*

THEODORE BEZA, the cotemporary and colleague of Calvin, in his "Treatise of the famous Pillars of Learning and Religion," says, "As for the Waldenses, I may be permitted to call them the very seed of the primitive and purer Christian church, since they are those that have been upheld, as is abundantly manifest, by the wonderful providence of God; so that neither those endless storms and tempests by which the whole Christian world has been shaken for so many succeeding ages, and the western parts at

* Merland's History of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 58. Perrin's Vaudois, ch. vi.

length so miserably oppressed by the Bishop of Rome, falsely so called—nor those horrible persecutions, which have been expressly raised against them, were ever able so far to prevail as to make them bend, or yield a voluntary subjection to the Roman tyranny and idolatry.”*

On another occasion the same writer remarks that, “The Waldenses, time out of mind, have opposed the abuses of the church of Rome, and have been persecuted after such a manner, not by the sword of the word of God, but by every species of cruelty, added to a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they have been compelled to disperse themselves wherever they could, wandering through the deserts like wild beasts. The Lord, nevertheless, has so preserved the residue of them, that notwithstanding the rage of the whole world, they still inhabit three countries, at a great distance from each other—viz. Calabria, Bohemia, and Piedmont, and the countries adjoining, where they dispersed themselves from the quarters of Provence about two hundred and seventy years ago. And as to their religion, they never adhered to papal superstitions; for which reason they have been continually harassed by the bishops and inquisitors, abusing the arm of secular justice, so that their continuance to the present time is evidently miraculous.”†

BULLINGER, in the preface to his *Sermons on the Book of the Revelation*, (1530) writes thus concerning the Waldenses—“What shall we say, that for four hundred years and more, in France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other countries throughout the world, the Waldenses have sustained their profession of the Gospel of Christ, and in several of their writings, as well as by continual preaching, they have accused the pope as the real Antichrist foretold by the Apostle John, and whom, therefore, we ought to avoid. These people have undergone divers and cruel torments, yet have they constantly and openly given testimony to their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and still do so even to this day. Although it has often been attempted by the most powerful kings and princes, instigated by the pope, it hath been found

* Preface to Morland's *History*, p. 7.

† *History of the Reformed Churches in France*, tom. i. b. i. p. 35, in Perrin, b. i. ch. vi.

impossible to extirpate them, for God hath frustrated their efforts." *

MONSIEUR DE VIGNAUX, who was forty years pastor of one of the churches of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, and died at the age of eighty, wrote a Treatise concerning their life, manners, and religion, in which he says, " We live in peace and harmony one with another, have intercourse and dealings chiefly among ourselves, having never mingled ourselves with the members of the church of Rome by marrying our sons to their daughters, nor our daughters to their sons. Yet they are so pleased with our manners and customs, that catholics, both lords and others, would rather have men and maid servants from among us, than from those of their own religion, and they actually come from distant parts to seek nurses among us for little children, finding, as they say, more fidelity among our people than their own." He then gives a summary of their doctrinal principles, for the sake of which they have been persecuted—such as " that the holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to our salvation, and that we are called to believe only what they teach, without any regard to the authority of man—that nothing else ought to be received by us except what God hath commanded—that there is only one Mediator between God and man, and consequently that it is wrong to invoke the saints. That baptism and the Lord's supper are the only standing ordinances in the church of Christ—that all masses are damnable, and ought to be abolished—that all human traditions are to be rejected. That the saying and recital of the office, fasts confined to particular days, superfluous holidays, differences of meats, so many degrees and orders of priests, monks, and nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole vast and confused mass of ceremonies, formerly invented, ought to be abolished. They deny the supremacy of the pope, and more especially the power that he has usurped over the civil government, and admit of no other degrees than bishops and deacons. They contend that the see of Rome is the true Babylon—the marriage of the clergy lawful, and that the true church of Christ consists of those who hear the word of God and believe it." †

* Preface to his Sermons, quoted by Perrin, ch. vi. † Perrin's History, b. i. ch. vi.

JOHN CHASSAGNON, who wrote a History of the Albigenses, says, "It is recorded of the Waldenses, that they rejected all the traditions and ordinances of the church of Rome as being superstitious and unprofitable, and that they made light of the whole body of the clergy and prelates. On which account, having been excommunicated and expelled their country, they dispersed themselves in different places—viz., into Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Piedmont, Calabria, Bohemia, England, and elsewhere. Some say, that a part of the Waldenses retired into Lombardy (in Italy) where they multiplied to such an extent that their doctrine spread itself throughout Italy, and reached even into Sicily. Nevertheless, in all their dispersions they maintained among themselves some union and fraternity, during the space of 400 years, living in great simplicity and the fear of God."*

Here we pause: it would be very easy, were it necessary, to continue these testimonials to the faith and conduct of the Waldenses, and that to a great extent; but enough, I presume, has already been produced to render their character and principles so obvious and transparent as not to be mistaken by the dullest capacity. To them and their brethren, if to any class of professed Christians whom the world has yet seen, must appertain by right the application of the Apocalyptic testimony:—"These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth: these were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb, and in their mouth was found no guile. Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." (Rev. xiv.) In the next Lecture, we shall proceed to narrate the history of their persecutions from the hands of the papal party, who treated them as "the filth of the world, and the offscouring of all things;" and this will furnish us with a clew to the import of the prophetic intimations contained in Rev. xiii. 7,—“And it was given to him [the beast] to make way with the saints, and to overcome them,” &c.

* Perrin, book i. ch. vi.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE XLIX.

JOHN PAUL PERRIN, in his *History of the Waldenses*, published at Geneva, 1619, has presented his readers with two of their *CONFESSIONS OF FAITH*, which are here subjoined. Sir Samuel Morland fixes the date of the first in the year 1120. See his *History of the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 30.

CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE WALDENSES.

1. We believe and firmly maintain all that is contained in the twelve articles of the Symbol, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and we regard as heretical whatever is inconsistent with the said twelve articles.

2. We believe that there is one God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. We acknowledge for sacred Canonical Scriptures the books of the Holy Bible. (Here follows the title of each, exactly conformable to our received canon, but which it is deemed, on that account, quite unnecessary to particularize.)

4. The books above-mentioned teach us—That there is ONE God, almighty, unbounded in wisdom, and infinite in goodness, and who, in his goodness, has made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness. But through the enmity of the devil and his own disobedience, Adam fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam.

5. That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that, knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and to accomplish the law by himself.

6. That at the time appointed of the Father, Christ was born—a time when iniquity everywhere abounded, to make it manifest that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for all were sinners, but that He, who is true, might display his grace and mercy toward us.

7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness—our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice and priest, who died for the salvation of all who should believe, and rose again for our justification.

8. And we also firmly believe, that there is no other mediator, or advocate with God the Father, but Jesus Christ. And as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace; and this we also believe concerning all other saints—namely, that they are waiting in heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9. We also believe, that, after this life, there are but two places—one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which [two] we call paradise and hell, wholly denying that imaginary purgatory of Antichrist, invented in opposition to the truth.

10. Moreover, we have ever regarded all the inventions of men (in the affairs of religion) as an unspeakable abomination before God; such as the festival days and vigils of saints, and what is called holy-water, the abstaining from flesh on certain days, and such like things, but above all, the masses.

11. We hold in abhorrence all human inventions as proceeding from Antichrist, which produce distress,* and are prejudicial to the liberty of the mind.

12. We consider the Sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper and even necessary that believers use these symbols, or visible forms, when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, we maintain that believers may be saved without these signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them.

13. We acknowledge no sacraments (as of divine appointment) but baptism and the Lord's supper.

14. We honour the secular powers, with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.†

A SECOND CONFESSION.

The Centuriators of Magdeburg, in their History of the Christian Church, under *the twelfth century*, recite from an old manuscript the following epitome of the opinions of the Waldenses of that age:—

In articles of faith the authority of the holy Scripture is the highest; and for that reason it is the standard of judging; so that whatsoever doth not agree with the word of God is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

The decrees of Fathers and Councils are [only] so far to be approved as they agree with the word of God.

The reading and knowledge of the holy Scriptures is open to, and is necessary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy; and moreover the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

The sacraments of the church of Christ are two—baptism and the Lord's supper; and in the latter, Christ has instituted the receiving in both kinds both for priests and people.

* Alluding probably to the voluntary penances and mortifications imposed by the catholics on themselves.

† Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, ch. xii.

Masses are impious ; and it is madness to say masses for the dead.

Purgatory is the invention of men ; for they who believe go into eternal life ; they who believe not into eternal damnation.

The invoking and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry.

The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

We must not obey the Pope and bishops, because they are the wolves of the church of Christ.

The Pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Christ ; neither hath he the power of both swords.

That is the church of Christ which hears the pure doctrine of Christ, and observes the ordinances instituted by him, in whatsoever place it exists.

Vows of celibacy are the inventions of men, and productive of uncleanness.

So many orders [of the clergy] so many marks of the beast.

Monkery is a filthy carcass.

So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals, those perpetual bellowings, [alluding to the practice of chanting,] and the observations of various other ceremonies, manifestly obstructing the teaching and learning of the word, are **DIABOLICAL INVENTIONS**.

The marriage of priests is both lawful and necessary.

About the time of the Reformation, the Waldenses who resided in the south of France, and who of course were subjects of the French king, were persecuted with the most sanguinary severity, particularly those resident in the country of Provence. In the year 1540, the parliament of Aix, the chief judicature of the province, passed a law that "they should all of them promiscuously be destroyed, that their houses should be pulled down, the town of Merindole be levelled with the ground, all the trees cut down, and the country adjacent converted into a desert. Voltaire, speaking of this cruel decree, says, "The Waldenses, terrified at this sentence, sent a deputation to Cardinal Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, who at that time was in his diocese. This illustrious scholar, this true philosopher, this humane and compassionate prelate, received them with great goodness, and interceded in their behalf, and the execution of the sentence was for a time suspended."* The sentence, nevertheless, was executed in all its rigour five years afterwards, as will be related in a subsequent Lecture. In the preceding year, however (1544), as we are informed by Sleiden, in his History of the Reformation, p. 347, and also by Thuanus—see Lecture li. *postea*, of this volume,—the Waldenses, to remove the prejudices that were entertained against them, and to manifest their innocence, transmitted to the King, in writing, the following Confession of their Faith.

* Voltaire's Univ. Hist. ch. cxvi.

A THIRD CONFESSION OF THE WALDENSES.

1. We believe that there is but one God, who is a Spirit—the Creator of all things—the Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all; who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth—upon whom we are continually dependent, and to whom we ascribe praise for our life, food, raiment, health, sickness, prosperity and adversity. We love Him, as the source of all goodness; and reverence him, as that sublime Being who searches the reins and trieth the hearts of the children of men.

2. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and image of the Father—that IN HIM all the fulness of the Godhead dwells, and that BY HIM alone we know the Father. He is our Mediator and Advocate; nor is there any other name given under heaven by which we can be saved. In His name alone we call upon the Father, using no other prayers than those contained in the holy Scriptures, or such as are in substance agreeable thereunto.

3. We believe in the Holy Spirit as the Comforter, proceeding from the Father, and from the Son; by whose inspiration we are taught to pray: being by him renewed in the spirit of our minds; who creates us anew unto good works, and from whom we receive the knowledge of the truth.

4. We believe that there is one holy church, comprising the whole assembly of the elect and faithful, that have existed from the beginning of the world, or that shall be to the end thereof. Of this church the Lord Jesus Christ is the head—it is governed by his word and guided by the Holy Spirit. In the church it behoves all Christians to have fellowship. For her He [Christ] prays incessantly, and his prayer for it is most acceptable to God, without which indeed there could be no salvation.

5. We hold that the ministers of the church ought to be unblameable both in life and doctrine; and if found otherwise, that they ought to be deposed from their office, and others substituted in their stead; and that no person ought to presume to take that honour unto himself, but he who is called of God, as was Aaron—that the duties of such are to feed the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, or as having dominion over God's heritage, but as being examples to the flock, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

6. We acknowledge that kings, princes, and governors, are the appointed and established ministers of God, whom we are bound to obey [in all lawful and civil concerns]. For they bear the sword for the defence of the innocent, and the punishment of evil doers; for which reason we are bound to honour and pay them tribute. From this power and authority, no man can exempt himself, as is manifest from the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who voluntarily paid tribute, not taking upon himself any jurisdiction of temporal power.

7. We believe that in the ordinance of baptism the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which by virtue of God's invisible operation, is within us—namely, the renovation of our minds, and the mortification of our members through [the faith of] Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance, we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, previously professing and declaring our faith and change of life.

8. We hold that the Lord's supper is a commemoration of, and thanksgiving for the benefits which we have received by his sufferings and death—and that it is to be received in faith and love—examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread and drink of that cup, as it is written in the holy Scriptures.

9. We maintain that marriage was instituted of God—that it is holy and honourable, and ought to be forbidden to none, provided there be no obstacle from the Divine word.

10. We contend that all those in whom the fear of God dwells, will thereby be led to please him, and to abound in the good works [of the Gospel] which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them—which are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, gentleness, sobriety, and the other good works enforced in the holy Scriptures.

11. On the other hand, we confess that we consider it to be our duty to beware of false teachers, whose object is to divert the minds of men from the true worship of God, and to lead them to place their confidence in the creatures, as well as to depart from the good works of the Gospel, and to regard the inventions of men.

12. We take the Old and the New Testament for the rule of our life, and we agree with the general confession of faith contained in [what is usually termed] the Apostles' Creed.*

OPINION OF THE WALDENSES ON THE ARTICLE OF BAPTISM.

As this has been a subject of dispute in a certain quarter, and pains have been taken to persuade the public, that the author of these Lectures has not given an unbiassed representation of what the Waldenses maintained and contended for, he submits to the reader's judgment the following quotations from Catholic writers who were not likely to misrepresent them; and, for the convenience of the mere English reader, a translation of each extract is annexed. He thinks the quotations are abundantly sufficient to set the question at rest, in reference to their general and prevailing sentiment on this disputed point—though he is far from denying, that individuals might be found among the churches of the valleys who favoured infant baptism. The extracts numbered 1, and 2, are taken from "The Book of Sentences of the Inquisition of Toulouse," from the year 1307 to 1323; the others speak for themselves.

TRANSLATION.

1. *Lib. Tholos. ut. sup.* 176. Culpe personarum immurandarum. Item quod baptismus aque factus per ecclesiam pueris nichil valebat, quia pueri non consenciebant ymo fiebant.

1. Also that baptism by water, administered by the church, was of no use to children, because the children, so far from giving their consent to it, cried at it.

* Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, ch. xiii.

2. 68. Item. Audivit verba et predicationem Petri Auterii et aliorum hæreticorum et aliquos errores expresse ab eis.....quod nullus baptismus valebat aliquid nisi quem ipsi dabant.

3. REINERI SACCHON. *contra Waldens. cap. v. De Sectis Modernorum hæreticorum.* Leonistæ omnia sacramenta ecclesiæ damnant. Primo, de baptismo dicunt, quod catechismus nihil sit. Item, quod ablutio, quæ datur infantibus nihil prosit.

4. *Cap. vi. De nominibus sectarum.* Ortilibenses in sacramentis omnibus errant. De baptismo enim dicunt, quod nihil valeat, nisi quantum valeant merita baptizantis. Parvulus vero non prodest, nisi fuerint perfecti in secta illa.

5. ECKBERTI *adversus pestiferos fædissimosque Catharorum (qui Manichæorum hæresin innovarunt) damnatos errores ac hæreses. Serm. vii. Contra quartam hæresim de baptismo parvulorum.* De baptismo parvulorum dicitis quoniam inanis est, et quod neque illis prodest ad salutem, neque aliquibus qui non sunt ejus discretionis ut possint credere, aut per se ipsos gratiam baptismi postulare. Confirmatis autem, ut æstimo, errorem istum auctoritate evangelici sermonis, quem locutus est Dominus, Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.

6. EBERARDI *contra Waldens. cap. vi. Quod pueri nondum loquentes baptizari debeant.* Iterum, objiciunt illud, quod diximus, Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Mark xvi. 16. Qui crediderit, dixit primo, et postea baptizatus fuerit. Primo ergo oportet credere, quam baptizari. Ergo et puer, qui non credit, nec credendi habet intellectum, baptizari non debet, quousque rationem habeat: Sicut cæcus a nativitate, de quo dixerunt parentes ad scribas, ætatem habet, pro se loquatur. Joan. ix. 21. Pro se ergo loqui debet, qui vult baptizari. Ad quod respondemus.

7. ERMENGARDI *contra Waldensium sectam cap. xiii. De sacramento baptismi.* Dicunt etiam hæretici, quod nulli, nisi proprio ore, et corde hoc sacramentum petat, potest prodesse. Inde adducentes hunc errorem, quod parvulus baptismus nihil prosit. Sed nos, &c.

2. He heard the words and preaching of Peter Auter, and other heretics, and some errors expressly from them; (among others) that no baptism was availing but what they themselves administered.

3. The Leonists condemn all the sacraments of the church. First, as to baptism, they say that the catechising is all nothing. Again, that the ablution which is administered to infants is of no use.

4. The Ortilibenses are in error about all the sacraments; for of baptism they say that it is unavailing, except as far as the merits of the person who administers it avail. And to infants it is of no use, unless they are afterwards completed in that sect.

5. Eckbert, in his seventh discourse against the pestilent and most foul and damnable errors and heresies of the Cathari (who revived the heresy of the Manichees), against their fourth heresy on the baptism of infants, says, "concerning the baptism of infants, you say that it is useless, and that it profits them nothing towards salvation, nor any others who are not of such discretion as to be capable of believing, or of seeking the grace of baptism for themselves. And you support, I apprehend, this error by the authority of the language of the Gospel spoken by our Lord, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

6. *That children, before they speak, ought to be baptized.* Again, they object that passage which we have quoted, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth, it says first, and afterwards, is baptized; wherefore it is necessary first to believe before being baptized. Consequently, a child who does not believe, and possesses not the capacity of believing, ought not to be baptized till he does possess that capacity. As the man, blind from his birth, of whom his parents said to the Scribes, "he is of age, let him speak for himself," John ix. 21. He therefore ought to speak for himself who would be baptized. To which we answer, &c.

7. These heretics say, moreover, that this sacrament can be of no use to any but those who seek it with their own mouth and heart. Hence, drawing this erroneous conclusion, that baptism can be of no advantage to infants. But we, &c.

LECTURE L.

Preliminary Observations—History of the Waldenses in Piedmont, from the twelfth to the sixteenth Century—favourable state of the Valleys of Piedmont for affording them an Asylum—Tolerant Principles of the Dukes of Savoy—Unsuccessful effort to introduce the Inquisition into the Valleys and the Italian States—The Waldenses of Calabria are protected by their Landlords—The Catholics make an outrageous Attack on the Waldenses in Piedmont, A.D. 1400—and in certain districts in France, 1487—Sanguinary Career of the Archdeacon of Cremona, a Papal Legate of Innocent VIII—Estimate of the Number of the Waldenses—Rise of Luther and the Reformers—Invention of the art of Printing.

IN the last three Lectures I have briefly sketched, in a general way, the character of the Waldenses—given some intimation of the countries in which they were found—the principles they held in common—their uniform opposition to the papal hierarchy—and also submitted the best account I have been able to collect of the constitution and order of their churches. I now proceed to narrate some particulars of their external history, and more especially the persecutions with which, from time to time, they were assailed by their implacable adversaries.

It has been remarked by several writers, and the thing is worthy of observation, that at a period when all the potentates of Europe were combined to second the intolerant measures of the court of Rome, the dukes of Savoy, who are now become the

most absolute monarchs in Christendom, should have allowed their subjects liberty of conscience, and protected them in the legitimate exercise of their civil and religious principles. Secluded in a considerable degree from public observation, remote from the influence of noisy parties, and taught by their religion to lead "quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty," the princes and governors of the country in which their lot was cast, were continually receiving the most favourable reports of them, as a people simple in their manners, free from deceit and malice, upright in their dealings, loyal to their governors, and ever ready to yield them a cheerful obedience in everything that did not interfere with the claims of conscience; and they consequently turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of priests and monks to disturb their tranquillity. We need not be surprised that the latter should look upon them with a jealous eye, for, in general, they paid no tithes, offered no mass, worshipped no saints; neither had they recourse to any of the prescribed means for redeeming their souls from the popish fiction of purgatory.

An effort was made to introduce the inquisition into Piedmont during the thirteenth century—but the sanguinary proceedings against the Albigenses in France, which must have been still fresh in their recollection, had sufficiently opened the eyes of the inhabitants to the spirit and principles of that infernal court, so that the Piedmontese wisely resisted its establishment among them. An inquisitor, of the name of Peter of Verona, had been deputed by the court of Rome to carry the project into effect; but, according to the testimony of Luis à Paramo, who wrote the History of the Proceedings of "the Holy Office," the people made a *martyr* of him, either at Turin or at Susa. Limborch gives a somewhat different version of the story; for he tells us that, as Peter was journeying from Como to Milan, in the year 1252, to extirpate heresy, "a certain believer in heretics attacked him, and despatched him with many wounds." His ghostly fathers, however, made him ample amends, for he was canonized as a saint, and worshipped as a martyr!

But the valleys of Piedmont were not the only district which, at this period, resisted the introduction of the inquisition. At Milan, also, the conjoint power of Pope Pius IV., and of Philip

II. king of Spain, was found insufficient to introduce that execrable tribunal: the mob rose at the bare mention of the project, and flew to arms, exclaiming that it was an instrument of cruelty and oppression, and not of religion. Even the senate protested against it, as inimical to trade, repugnant to the free constitution of the cities of Italy, and incompatible with the Milanese forms of law; on which grounds they resisted its introduction.

Naples and Venice, also, successfully resisted the inquisitorial scheme; and as the populace in almost every part of Italy formed insurrections against the inquisitors, manifesting the most determined spirit of hostility against them, the states prudently availed themselves of this temper of mind, and pleaded that they were afraid of exasperating the people, should they introduce the inquisition. In Calabria, where, as mentioned in a preceding Lecture, a colony of Waldenses was established about the year 1370, an effort was made, about two hundred years afterwards, to bring them under the discipline of the "holy office." By their superior industry, these new colonists had managed to fertilize the country, and enrich the districts in which they had taken up their residence; and by their probity, peaceable manners, and punctuality in paying their rents, and indeed in all their dealings, they ingratiated themselves with their landlords and neighbours in general. The clergy of the church of Rome alone were dissatisfied. They found that they did not act like others in the concerns of religion; they paid tithes, indeed, according to a contract with their landlords, but they contributed nothing towards the maintenance of the hierarchy, by masses for the dead, or other popish innovations; and they were offended. In particular, they were chagrined at finding that certain schoolmasters, who educated the children of these strangers, were much respected, and preferred to themselves; and, concluding that they must be heretics, they determined to denounce them to the pope. The gentry, however, resisted this: "They are just and honest," said they, "and have enriched all the country. Even ye priests have received important advantages from their industry. The tithes alone which ye now receive are so much greater than those which were formerly produced from these lands, that you are more than compensated for any losses you may sustain on their account. Perhaps the

country from whence they came is not so devoted to the ceremonies of the Romish church; but, as these people fear God, are generous to the poor, just and beneficent to all men, it is illiberal on your parts to attempt to force their consciences. Are they not temperate, sober, discreet people, and remarkably decent in their speech? Does any one ever hear them utter a blasphemous expression?" This prudent counsel was not without its use: the priests, indeed, who felt, or imagined that their interests were undermined by these new settlers, murmured, and gave vent to their chagrin in private, but the lords of the country had sufficient discernment to estimate the value of their new tenants, and for many years they protected them from the indignation of the catholic clergy. The consequence was, that the Waldenses of Calabria enjoyed security and the benefits of toleration for more than a century, and in the year 1560 they united with Calvin's church of Geneva.

About the year 1400 a violent outrage was committed upon the Waldenses who inhabited the valley of Pragela, in Piedmont, by the catholic party resident in that neighbourhood. The attack, which seems to have been of the most furious kind, was made towards the end of the month of December, when the mountains were covered with snow, and thereby rendered so difficult of access, that the peaceable inhabitants of the valleys were wholly unapprised that any such attempt was meditated; and the persecutors were in actual possession of their caves ere the former seem to have been apprised of any hostile designs against them. In this pitiable plight they had recourse to the only alternative which remained for saving their lives—they fled to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, with their wives and children, the unhappy mothers carrying the cradle in one hand, and in the other leading such of their offspring as were able to walk. Their inhuman invaders, whose feet were swift to shed blood, pursued them in their flight until night came on, and slew great numbers of them before they could reach the mountains. Those that escaped were, however, reserved to experience a fate not more enviable. Overtaken by the shades of night, they wandered up and down the mountains covered with snow, destitute of the means of shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, or of sup-

porting themselves under it by any of the comforts which Providence has destined for that purpose; benumbed with cold, they fell an easy prey to the severity of the climate; and when the night had passed away, there were found in their cradles or lying upon the snow, fourscore of their infants, deprived of life, many of the mothers also lying dead by their sides, and others just upon the point of expiring. During the night their enemies were busily employed in plundering the houses of everything that was valuable, which they conveyed away to Susa. A poor woman belonging to the Waldenses, named Margaret Athode, was next morning found hanging upon a tree!

This seems to have been the first general attack that was made by the catholics on the Waldenses of Piedmont; for, though the former had repeatedly availed themselves of the edicts of emperors, the bulls of the popes, and the promptitude of inquisitorial zeal, to disturb their peace, and put many of them to death, during the three preceding centuries, yet such had been the protection afforded them by the dukes of Savoy, that the rage of their adversaries was happily restricted to the occasional apprehension of a few solitary heretics, for whose good they never failed to light up the fires as often as opportunity was afforded them. But the outrageous attack that was now made upon them was a novelty, and it made a lasting impression on their minds. They had experienced nothing like it, say their own historians, either in their own time or that of their forefathers; and, for more than a century afterwards, they were wont to speak of it as of a dreadful scene which was still present to their view; and from generation to generation they continued to relate, with deep impressions of horror, that sudden surprise which had occasioned so much affliction and calamity among them.*

From that period, until about the year 1487, the Waldenses of Piedmont appear to have remained, in a great measure, unmolested in the profession of their religion. But scenes of far more extensive cruelty were awaiting them, as will hereafter be

* Vignaux's *Memoirs of the Waldenses*—Perrin's *Hist. des Vaudois*, b. ii. ch. iii.—Pierre Gilles, *Hist. Eccles.* c. 4.—Morland's *Churches of Piedmont*, p. 194.

shewn : it is, however, necessary for us first to take a view of the proceedings against their brethren in other quarters.

The persecution which had so furiously raged against them in France, during the earlier part of the thirteenth century, as detailed in a former Lecture, and which may be said to have deluged the earth with their blood, had not wholly succeeded in extirpating the Waldenses from that country. The valleys of Fraissiniere, Argentiere, and Loyse,* seem to have abounded with them in the year 1460 ; at which time a Franciscan monk, armed with inquisitorial authority by the Archbishop of Ambrun, was sent on a mission of persecution, and to drive them from the neighbourhood. Such was the ardour with which this zealot proceeded in his measures, that scarcely any persons in those valleys escaped being apprehended either as heretics or as their abettors. Those of them who were not of the profession of the Waldenses, had recourse to the king of France, Louis XI., beseeching him to interfere, and, by his authority, put a stop to the persecution. The monarch listened to their application, and issued his royal letters, in which he pointedly condemns the conduct of the inquisitors, who, by measures the most vexatious, had molested the persons, and possessed themselves of the property of innocent subjects, whom they had, with that intent, falsely accused of heresy, and annoyed with process upon process, both in the parliament of Dauphiné and of several other countries.

Perrin has preserved a copy of these royal letters, in his History of the Waldenses ; and they are entitled to regard, from the disclosure which they make of the scandalous procedure of those agents of the court of Rome. A short extract will shew the complexion of the whole. Thus his Majesty proceeds :—" And whereas, in order to obtain the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the said crime [of heresy], several of the judges, and even of the inquisitors of the faith, are continuing to send out processes against several poor people, without any just or reasonable cause ; and *have put some upon the rack*, calling

* The reader must not forget the interesting picture which Thuanus has sketched of the inhabitants of these valleys, and which has been already quoted. See p. 471, &c., of this volume.

upon them to answer, without any previous informations lodged against them; and have condemned them for crimes of which they were not guilty, as hath afterwards been discovered; while from others they have exacted large sums of money to obtain their liberty, and molested and troubled them by divers unjust and illegal means, to the injury not only of the said supplicants, but also of us, and the whole republic of our country of Dauphiné, &c. &c.; the king, therefore, puts a stop to such disgraceful proceedings—orders that all suits commenced against such persons as can give proof of their innocence be dismissed—and that restitution be made for any injury they may have sustained.”*

But the zeal or avarice of the Archbishop of Ambrun, and his inquisitorial colleagues, was so far from being damped by his Majesty's letters, that they proceeded with more energy than ever. They dexterously contrived to convert a certain clause of the letters into an authority for their cruel proceedings, and found on it an entire justification of all their conduct; in consequence of which they resisted every application for redress or remuneration. Attempts were repeatedly made by some of these oppressed people to regain the property of which they had been despoiled; but though their cause was patronized both by this monarch and by his successor, Charles VIII., they never could obtain a remedy.

INNOCENT VIII. was raised to the pontifical chair in the year 1484, and soon after invested Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, with full powers to act as his legate and commissioner. According to the usual practice of the popes on their accession to office, this pontiff issued his bull for the extirpation of heresy, pointing it particularly against the Waldenses, and arming Albert with authority to carry his will into effect. Having recounted, in a long preamble, the titles which belonged to himself and to his “beloved son, Albert,” he thus proceeds:—“Our hearty desires chiefly tend to this, that as touching those, for the gaining of whom to the church the supreme Maker of all things was pleased to undergo human infirmities, we, to whom he hath

committed the care and government of his flock, may, with all watchful industry, endeavour to withdraw them from the precipices of error, that, providing for their salvation, as it shall please God to favour us with grace, we may continually labour, that the catholic faith may in our times be propagated, and the evil of heresy be rooted out from the borders of the faithful." After this precious specimen of dissimulation, his holiness condescends to be a little more explicit. "We have heard," says he, "and it is come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, called the Poor of Lyons, or Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured, in Piedmont and other places, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, to the perdition of their souls, having damnably risen up, under a feigned pretence of holiness—being given up to a reprobate sense, and made to err greatly from the way of truth—committing things contrary to the orthodox faith, offensive to the eyes of the Divine Majesty, and which occasion a great hazard of souls," &c. &c. "We, therefore, having determined to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect—that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the catholic church—have thought good to constitute you, at this time, for the cause of God and the faith, the Nuncio Commissioner of us and of the apostolic see, within the dominions of our beloved son, Charles, duke of Savoy—to the end that you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all others polluted with heretical pravity—to abjure their errors, &c. And, calling to your assistance all archbishops and bishops, seated in the said duchy [of Savoy] whom the Most High hath called to share with us in our cares—with the inquisitor, the ordinaries of the place, their vicars, &c.—you proceed to the execution thereof against the aforementioned Waldenses, and all other heretics whatever,—to rise up in arms against them, and, by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders; diligently providing that the people committed to their charge do persevere in the profession of the true faith—bending all your endeavours, and bestowing all your care

towards so holy and so necessary an extermination of the same heretics." In this style the pontiff proceeds through several succeeding pages, giving directions for the raising of an army of crusaders, appointing generals and officers to command it—issuing instructions how to seize the effects of all heretics, and dispose of the booty, &c. &c.; and at length he thus closes the address to Albert:—"Thou, therefore, beloved son, taking upon thee with a devout mind the burden of so meritorious a work, shew thyself, in the execution thereof, so careful in word and deed, and so diligent and studious, that the much-wished-for fruits may, through the grace of God, redound unto thee from thy labours, and that thou mayest not only obtain the crown of glory which is bestowed as a reward on those that prosecute pious causes, but that thou mayest also ensure the approbation of us and of the apostolic see.*—Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, 27 Apr. 1487, and 3rd of our popedom."

Albert was no sooner vested with his high commission, than he proceeded to the south of France, where he called to his aid the king's lieutenant in the province of Dauphiné, who lost no time in levying troops for his service, at the head of whom he himself marched, as directed by Albert, into the valley of Loyse. The inhabitants, apprised of their approach, fled into their caves at the tops of the mountains, carrying with them their children, and whatever valuables they had, as well as what was thought necessary for their support and nourishment. The lieutenant, finding the inhabitants all fled, and that not an individual appeared with whom he could converse, at length discovered their retreats, and causing quantities of wood to be placed at their entrances, ordered it to be set on fire. The consequence was, that four hundred children were suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers, while multitudes, to avoid death by suffocation, or being committed to the flames, precipitated themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they were dashed in pieces; if any escaped death by the fall, they were immediately slaughtered by the brutal soldiery. "It is held as unquestionably true," says Perrin, "amongst the Waldenses dwelling

* Morland's Churches of Piedmont, pp. 196—206.

in the adjacent valleys, that more than three thousand persons, men and women, belonging to the valley of Loyse, perished on this occasion. And, indeed, they were wholly exterminated, for that valley was afterwards peopled with new inhabitants, not one family of the Waldenses having subsequently resided in it; which proves beyond dispute, that all the inhabitants, and of both sexes, died at that time.”*

Having completed their work of extermination in the valley of Loyse, they next proceeded to that of Fraissiniere; but Albert's presence and that of the army being found necessary in another quarter, he appointed as his substitute in these valleys, a Franciscan monk, who, in the year 1489, began to exhibit fresh informations against the inhabitants of Fraissiniere. He cited them to appear before him at Ambrun; but, disregarding his citation, they were first excommunicated, then anathematized, and lastly condemned as contumacious heretics, to be delivered over to the secular power, and their goods confiscated. A counsellor, of the name of Ponce, attended on this occasion in behalf of the parliament of Dauphiné, the object of which was supposed to be that of precluding any appeal from being made from this mixed judgment. The sentence was pronounced at the great church of Ambrun, and afterwards fixed upon the door of the church—to which were appended thirty-two articles of the faith of the Waldenses, chiefly relating to the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, the observance of feasts, the distinction of meats on certain days, &c.—on all which subjects they were regarded as heretical. To these, indeed, were added some detestable charges, concerning incest and uncleanness, but which, as they never had the semblance of probability to support, or even render them plausible, I deem it unnecessary to particularize.

The persecution which ensued, is said to have been extremely severe: for the Waldenses being condemned as heretics by the inquisitor—Ponce, the counsellor, and Oronce, the judge, committed them to the flames as fast as they were apprehended, without permitting them to make any appeal. The number of

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. lii.

sufferers was also considerably augmented on another ground ; for, whoever presumed to intercede in their behalf, though it were the child for the parent, or the parent for the child, he was instantly committed to prison, and prosecuted as a favourer of heretics.*

While these merciless proceedings were going on against the Waldenses in France, Albert de Capitaneis had advanced, in the year 1488, at the head of eighteen thousand soldiers, against the valleys of Piedmont. The invading army was also joined by many of the Piedmontese Catholics, who hastened to it from all parts, allured by the specious promise of obtaining the remission of their sins, and the hope of sharing in the sweets of plunder. The more effectually to get possession of the country, the enemy's forces were divided into detachments, and marched in different directions against Angrogne, Lucerne, La Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglèrm, and Biolet, which is in the marquisate of Saluces ; thus, as it were, encompassing the whole of the valleys. They also raised troops in Dauphiné, to overrun the valley of Pragela. But the Waldenses, armed with wooden targets and cross-bows, availing themselves of the advantages of their situation, everywhere defended the passes of their mountains, and repulsed their invaders—"the women and children on their knees, during the conflict, entreating the Lord to protect his people."

When information of this affair was brought to the Duke of Savoy, his heart was touched with compassion towards his subjects. He was convinced they had always been a loyal and obedient people, and he candidly distinguished between the resistance which, on this occasion, his subjects had made, and a spirit of sedition and turbulence. They sent a deputation to wait upon him, and explain the motives of their conduct ; at the same time offering an apology for whatever might seem improper. The prince accepted their apology and forgave them what was past. But having been informed that their young children were born with black throats—that they were hairy, and had four rows of teeth, with only one eye, and that placed in the middle of their forehead, he commanded some of them to be brought before him to Pignerol, where, being satisfied by ocular demonstration,

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. iii.

that the Waldenses were not monsters, he blamed himself for being so easily imposed upon by the clergy of the catholic church, as to credit such idle reports; and, at the same time, declared his determination to protect them henceforward in the undisturbed possession of those privileges which had been allowed their ancestors, and which the rest of his subjects in Piedmont still enjoyed.*

But though this declaration sufficiently manifested the kind intentions of the prince towards his subjects, he seems to have wanted the power necessary for carrying them into effect. The inquisitors, who lay in ambush in a convent near Pignerol, issued their processes daily against the Waldenses, and as often as they could apprehend any of them, they were delivered over for punishment to the secular power. In this way they continued to harass them in that quarter until the year 1532; and it appears from their history, that by these means a visible impression was made upon their public church-meetings. The fear of the inquisitors had imperceptibly led them to study to avoid publicity; and in process of time they assembled for worship wholly in private. In the year last mentioned, however, they seem to have been sensibly struck with the impropriety of this mode of procedure; for upon reviewing the existing state of matters among them, they came to the determination no longer to conceal their meetings for worship, but resolved that their ministers should preach the Gospel openly and boldly, unawed by the apprehension of danger from their adversaries.

The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the archbishop and the inquisitor of Turin, seems to have taken umbrage at this re-appearance in public of the Waldenses; for, on being told of it, he so far yielded to the solicitations of the clergy, as to despatch one of his officers at the head of five hundred men, horse and foot, who, before the inhabitants were apprised, entered the valleys, pillaging, plundering, and laying waste whatever came in their way. The unsuspecting people were, at the time the army approached, industriously employed about the cultivation of their lands: but recovering from the panic into which they had been

* Perrin's Hist. b. ii. ch. iii. Morland's Hist. p. 223.

thrown by this unexpected attack, they took courage, and every man quitting his plough and his agricultural pursuits, they flew to the passes of their mountains, which they secured; and then arming themselves with slings and stones, encountered their invaders so manfully that they compelled them to flee, leaving their booty behind, and many of their men dead upon the field.

When the news of this reached the Duke of Savoy, he remarked that experience had sufficiently shewn it to be an improper plan to attempt to reclaim and subdue the inhabitants of Piedmont by military force; the strength of their country, and their intimate acquaintance with the defiles and passes of the mountains, giving them an infinite advantage over their assailants; and, therefore, while the skin of one of the Waldenses was to be purchased at the expense of the lives of a dozen of his other subjects, it was foolish to proceed in that way. He, consequently, declined employing his military force any more against them, and relinquished it to the inquisitors after heresy, to apprehend them two or three at a time, as they came in or went out of the valleys.*

In the year 1530, George Morell, one of the barbs, or pastors, among the Waldenses, published *Memoirs of the History of their Churches*, in which he states, that at the time of his writing, there were more than eight hundred thousand persons professing the religion of the Waldenses; nor will this appear an exaggerated statement, if we consider what has been lately stated of their dispersions throughout almost every country in Europe—the immense numbers that suffered martyrdom; and that in the year 1315, nearly two centuries before this time, there were eighty thousand of them in the small kingdom of Bohemia.

The schism, which took place in the Romish communion, through the preachings and writings of Luther and his associates, must have been a source of infinite satisfaction to the Waldensian brethren. For, independent of the labours of this intrepid reformer, the great cause for which they themselves were contending—to wit, the simplicity of the Gospel, and the purity and spirituality of the worship of God—was now powerfully advocated

* Morland's History, p. 224.

by a host of learned men, who rose up in rapid succession, and ranged themselves on the side of Luther. Among these were Philip Melancthon, John Oecolampadius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and many others, all advocates of reform, and men of eminent talents, who, by their various labours, both from the pulpit and the press, contributed greatly to disseminate the knowledge of divine truth, and free the minds of their contemporaries from the slavish shackles of ignorance and superstition.

But while I wish to award to the reformers all the praise that is due to them on the score of zeal, intrepidity, and human learning, I regard them, in general, as far inferior to the Waldenses in their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the spiritual and heavenly nature of Christ's kingdom—in particular, its institutions, laws, and worship, in general. Both Luther and Calvin were advocates for national Christianity: their object was, to draw a form of godliness over whole countries, instead of returning to first principles, and separating the disciples from an unbelieving world, and uniting them in fellowship among themselves, agreeable to the apostolic directions, 2 Cor. vi. 17. These reformers had been trained up in a bad school, and had many things to unlearn, some of which indeed stuck by them to their latest sands, and operated as so many blots and stains in their otherwise estimable characters. But this is not the place for expatiating on such ungracious topics as the chicanery and boisterousness of Martin Luther, or the persecuting principles of Calvin and Beza. Let us cease from men—the best of them are but men at best.

I may take this opportunity of briefly mentioning, as a wonderful interposition of Divine Providence, at this period, in favour of his church, the invention of the art of printing. Before this discovery, learning was accessible to none but persons of princely fortunes, but by this means it was brought within the reach of almost every one; and that information became generally diffused which was necessary to subvert the cause of tyranny and superstition: thus, through the over-ruling providence of God, the art of printing turned out to be one of the most important events that have happened since the first promulgation of the Gospel. Knowledge, which had indeed been gaining ground

for some centuries before, was now wonderfully accelerated in its progress. The light acquired by one was quickly diffused abroad, and communicated to multitudes. The facility of communication brought learning within the reach of the middle ranks—the dead languages became a general object of study—the Scriptures began to be consulted, not only in the Latin Vulgate, but also in the Greek: reading produced reflection, and thus diffused a light which it was no longer possible to conceal under a bushel. It would have been strange indeed, had the advocates of a system which was founded in ignorance expressed no apprehensions of alarm at the introduction of these novelties. The Faculty of Theology at Paris declared, before the assembled Parliament, that *religion was undone, if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted*. But the language of the monks of those days is still more amusing. We are informed by Conrad, of Heresbach, a very grave and respectable author of that period, that one of their number is said thus to have expressed himself:—"They have invented a new language, which they call Greek; you must be carefully on your guard against it,—it is the mother of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons a book written in that language, which they call the *New Testament*. It is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that all those who learn it immediately become Jews."*

The art of printing, which originated with John Gutenberg, a citizen of Mentz, was first attempted by him at Strasburg, from 1436 to 1440. His efforts, which were no doubt at first very rude and indigested, had been greatly matured by skill and experience in the course of a century; and, consequently, about the year 1535, we find the Waldenses of Piedmont anxious to avail themselves of it, with a view to a more general circulation of the word of life. Hitherto they had been obliged to confine themselves to manuscripts; and, *in the Waldensian tongue*, they seem not to have generally possessed an entire version of the whole Bible, but the New Testament only, and some particular books

* See Villers' Essay on the Reformation, by Luther, translated by Mill, p. 94, note.

of the Old. They now, however, contracted with a printer at Neufchatel, in Switzerland, for an entire impression of the whole Bible in French, for the sum of fifteen hundred crowns of gold. An elaborate preface, somewhat too declamatory for a publication of that kind, was prefixed by Robert Olivetan, who appears to have been one of their number, and who professes to have translated it for the use of the churches. Both Perrin and Sir Samuel Morland affirm this to have been the first French Bible that was printed and published; and on their authority I had so stated the fact in the first edition of this work. But on consulting Du Pin on the Canon, I am now convinced that this is a mistake. The words of the latter are, "The first edition of the French Bible [printed] in the year 1530, is to be seen in the French king's library; the second, of the year 1534, is larger, and extant in the libraries of St. Germain de Prez, and of St. Genevieve. These two editions are prior to that of Robert Olivetan, [which was] the first done by the protestants in the year 1535."*

The works of Luther, of Calvin, and others of the reformers, beginning about this time to be in general use, the Vaudois sent Martin Gonin, one of their number, to Geneva, to procure a supply of such books as he should think calculated to promote the instruction of the people. But on his journey he was unfortunately apprehended, under suspicion of being a spy; and a discovery being made that he was a Waldensian, he was sent for safety to Grenoble, and there thrown into prison. The inquisitors having been made acquainted with the case, he was, by their advice, cast into the river Lyzere, during the night, for this important reason, as given by the inquisitor, that *it was not expedient the world should hear him declare his faith, lest those who heard him should become worse than himself*.†

* Du Pin on the Canon, &c., vol. i. p. 217.

† Perrin's Waldenses, b. ii. ch. iv.

LECTURE LI.

View of the State of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century—Luther and the Reformation in Germany—Deputation from the Churches in Piedmont to visit the Reformers—consequent Proceedings in the Valleys—The Churches apply to Æcolampadius at Basle—his excellent Advice to the Waldenses—Thuanus's Narrative of the Persecution of the Waldenses in Provence, A.D. 1540.

THE history of modern Europe does not present us with a more interesting period than the commencement of the sixteenth century, the era at which we are now arrived. The sanguinary proceedings that had been carried on against the Waldenses in the southern provinces of France, towards the close of the former century, had apparently exhausted the malice of the court of Rome; the heretics, for the moment at least, were driven from public view; and the state of the catholic church was more than usually tranquil. The empire and the priesthood, which for several centuries had been constantly in arms against each other, had depopulated Italy, Germany, and almost every other country in Europe, but the contest ended in the triumph of the church. The Roman pontiffs, says a late writer, have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person; two engines which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear.

When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops so as effectually to carry on an offensive war; but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own government, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all Christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church. These characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage; and although some difficulties might occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet the world has been sufficiently indulgent to their situation; nor has even the shedding of Christian blood been thought an invincible objection to the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of adoration, and placing him in the highest order of sainthood conferred by the church.*

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the pontifical chair was filled by Alexander VI., who died in 1503, after a reign of eleven years, leaving behind him a memory, according to Voltaire, more odious than the Nero's or Caligula's, because a greater degree of guilt arose from the sanctity of his character. He was succeeded by Julius II., who, after a *military* but successful reign of a few years, gave place to the celebrated Leo X., in whose pontificate Luther commenced hostilities with the papacy, threw off his allegiance to the see of Rome, and entered upon his career of reform, A. D. 1517.

To enter upon any thing like a circumstantial detail of the History of the Reformation, would not only demand much more space than can be allotted to it in the present undertaking, but would also, in a great measure, be to depart from my leading object. Nor, indeed, is such a narrative called for by the public exigence. Any deficiency of that kind which may be experienced by the readers of the present volume may be readily supplied by consulting the authors mentioned below,† whose writings are in the hands of every scholar. Instead, therefore, of tread-

* Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. i. ch. i. The reference is to the case of *Saint Leo IX.*

† Sleidan's *History of the Reformation.* Robertson's *History of Charles V.* &c. &c.

ing this beaten track over again, I shall only remark upon it, that the flame which was kindled throughout Europe, at this time, by the preaching and writings of Luther and his associates, so completely occupied the attention of the catholic party for about a dozen years, namely—from 1517 to 1530—that the Waldenses, both in France and Piedmont, were happily, in a great measure, overlooked. But as the conflagration excited by Luther's hostility gradually subsided, they began again to attract the notice of their adversaries, and to come in for an equal share of their malice and malignity; of the truth of which the reader will soon have before him abundant proof.

One of their best historians informs us that when the barbs, or pastors, of the valleys, became acquainted with the reformation that was going on in Germany and Switzerland, they deputed persons to see and inquire into this work of God. Monsieur Martin, one of the barbs of the valley of Lucerne, returned from thence in 1526, bringing with him a quantity of *printed* religious books. Other barbs made the same excursion, and, on their return, reported that, having conferred with Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Bucer, and other eminent teachers, whose instrumentality God had seen fit to employ in promoting the great work of Church reform, the Waldensian churches had received great praise from these eminent men, who were highly comforted and delighted at hearing of the zeal and piety of their pastors, and of their great care to maintain the Christian profession in the same purity in which it had existed amongst them for so many centuries, and amidst so many dangers and difficulties. They at the same time informed them, that they had been exhorted, in the spirit of Christian love, to endeavour to remedy certain evils or defects which their friends in Germany perceived from this very conference to exist among them. These had respect more particularly to three things. First—To certain points of doctrine in which there was a want of congruity; Second—To their external church order; and, Thirdly—To the irregular conduct of some members of their churches, in occasionally mingling, under certain pretexts, with the papal superstitions; urging, that the priests of the Romish church ought in no

respect whatever to be recognised, nor their ministry resorted to for any purpose.

These matters were proposed and discussed in the valleys amongst the Waldensian pastors, and also in the adjoining parts, but for some time much diversity of sentiment prevailed. At length, on the 12th of September, 1532, a general assembly was convened in Angrogne, and the following points respecting their faith and practice were agreed upon:—1. That all that have been or that shall be saved, were chosen of God before the foundation of the world.—2. That any one seeking to establish the free-will of man entirely denies the doctrine of Divine predestination, and subverts the grace of God.—3. That no work can be good if God has not commanded it, nor bad if God has not forbidden it; and that men may, according to the occasion, do, or permit to be done, such as are indifferent or not forbidden.—4. That the Christian may lawfully swear by the name of God on solemn or necessary occasions, provided he take not the name of God in vain.—5. That auricular confession is not commanded of God.—6. That it is a duty to cease from secular avocations on the first day of the week, in order to attend to or wait on the spiritual service of God.—7. That it is not permitted to the Christian to avenge himself on his enemy.—8. That the Christian may lawfully act over other Christians, as exercising the office of magistrate.—9. That the Christian has no fixed time for fasting.—10. That marriage is not forbidden to any person, of whatever office, situation, or calling he may be. That whosoever has not the gift of continence is under obligation to marry, and that he who forbids marriage teaches the doctrine of devils.—11. That the ministers of God's word ought not to be moved from one place to another, unless it be necessary for the good of the church. And that a minister of the Gospel may lawfully possess something personally for the support of his family, without doing injury to the apostolical communion.—12. That Jesus Christ has enjoined upon his churches only two sacraments (ordinances); namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Such in substance were the leading articles then brought under discussion and decided by the word of God. Nor let the reader

be surprised at not finding amongst them other fundamental points of Christianity, seeing that there was no necessity for discussing or deciding any but such as had given rise to a diversity of sentiment, an infirmity from which the preachers of the Gospel, even in apostolic times, were not free; and which, on one remarkable occasion, rendered it necessary for the apostles to assemble at Jerusalem, in order to set matters to rights. See Acts, 15th chapter.

Some of the barbs, however, did not consent to all the conclusions of the above-mentioned assembly, and were of opinion that these new regulations were in a great measure uncalled for; that, in establishing them, dishonour was done to the memory of those by whom the churches had hitherto been so happily led on; and, moreover, that their adversaries, irritated by the additional publicity and assumed importance of their proceedings, would take occasion to make them the objects of renewed persecution.

These reasons of the dissentients were freely canvassed, but deemed insufficient, and the result was, that two of the principal non-contents—namely, Daniel of Valence, and John of Molines, both from without the valleys—being unable to prevent the adoption of the aforesaid resolutions, without taking any leave of the general assembly, went into Bohemia, in order to report what had taken place to the pastors in that kingdom, and to have their opinion respecting the late proceedings in the valleys, complaining, at the same time, of innovations which, said they, certain ministers arrived from Germany, and who had gained too ready access, and had too much influence in the assembly at home, had introduced. This issued in a letter from these Bohemian pastors to those of the general assembly that had been held in the valleys, in which, after announcing the visit made by the two brethren, Daniel and John, who, they said, had excused themselves for not having brought letters, but who left no doubt as to who they were, by being enabled to present the usual sign or token of brotherhood, as well as by mentioning the pastors of Bohemia by name, expressed their great concern at what they had heard from these brethren relative to the disunion caused by “certain Swiss teachers” that had been received among them, and their surprise that, in those churches which had for so long a period existed

independently, strange and unknown teachers should have been so readily listened to, whereas they should have considered previously amongst themselves whether there existed any defects, examining and weighing the whole by the sole rule of God's word, without attending to the glosses of men; and then, if it were found good to introduce any thing new, to have done it of their own accord without foreign interference. The letter concluded by an exhortation to charity and peace.

On the return of the two brethren with this letter from Bohemia, it was read and taken into consideration at the general assembly of the pastors and other leading men of the Alpine churches, convened at Vale St. Martin, 15th of August, 1533. At this meeting the assertion that the innovations before alluded to was the work of the Swiss teachers and pastors was denied; on the contrary, it was contended that, for a considerable time previously, the things in question had been the subjects of discussion: so that, ultimately, the conclusion that had been come to the previous year was ratified and confirmed, to the great disappointment of the two dissentients, Daniel and John, who retired from the field of controversy, leaving matters to take their course. The other pastors, together with the people under their charge, were well united, and set themselves to act on the conclusions they had come to, but the following out of which was greatly impeded by the wars that followed, as we shall presently see.*

In the year 1530, the Waldenses seem to have been entirely employed in paving the way for a more unreserved intercourse between them and the German reformers. Such of them as resided in the south of France had, at this time, been sustaining the fire of papal persecution, and it would seem that they had not encountered it with their usual fortitude. Many amongst them had been induced to shrink from the cross; and, to avoid its inconvenience, were fallen into the practice of feigning a complaisant kind of acquiescence with the national forms of worship. Some of the Waldensian churches of Provence appear to have been deeply affected at seeing this Laodicean conduct prevail; and to bring the matter to its proper bearing, they commissioned two of their

* Pierre Gilles, *Hist. des Eglises Reformées de Piedmont*, ch. v. p. 30—34.

pastors—viz., George Morell and Peter Burgoine—to confer with the other churches and with some of the reformers upon that subject. They first visited their sister churches in the neighbouring provinces of Dauphiné, and from thence proceeded on their journey towards Germany, to have a personal interview with John Œcolampadius, minister of Basle, in Switzerland; with Martin Bucer, at Strasburgh; and Richard Haller, at Berne. The churches sent letters by them, explaining their situation, and asking their advice. The following is an extract of their letter to Œcolampadius.*

Health to you, Mr. Œcolampadius.

“Whereas several persons have given us to understand, that He who is able to do all things hath replenished you with the blessings of his Holy Spirit, as conspicuously appears by its fruits, we have recourse to you from a far country, under the firm hope and confidence, that by your means the Holy Spirit will enlighten our minds into the knowledge of several things, concerning which we, at present, stand in doubt.” They then proceed to explain the immediate occasion of their writing:—“We, poor instructors of this small people,” say they, “have sustained *for above these four hundred years* most severe and cruel persecutions, not without signal marks of Christ’s favour, as all the faithful can testify; for he has often interposed for the deliverance of his people, when under the harrow of these cruel and severe persecutions; and we now come unto you for advice and consolation in this our state of distress,” &c. &c.

The particular subjects of difficulty and distress may be easily gathered from the letter which Œcolampadius wrote them in reply, and which is so excellent that I shall here insert it.

Œcolampadius wishes the grace of God, through Jesus Christ, his Son, and the Holy Spirit, to his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called WALDENSES.

* Œcolampadius was one of the reformers cotemporary with Luther; he was born in Franconia, in 1482. He was converted by reading Luther’s writings, on which he quitted his convent and repaired to Basle, in Switzerland; where he was made Professor of Divinity. His writings shew him to have possessed extensive learning, and were held in high estimation. He died in December, 1531, aged 49.

“ We understand that the fear of persecution hath caused you to conceal and dissemble your faith. Now, with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. But those who are afraid to confess Christ before the world, shall find no acceptance with God the Father ; for our God is truth, without any dissimulation ; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that any of his servants should take upon them the yoke of Antichrist. For there is no fellowship or communion between Christ and Belial ; and if you communicate with infidels, by going to their abominable masses, you will there hear blasphemies against the death and sufferings of Christ. For when they boast, that by means of such sacrifices they make satisfaction to God for the sins of both the living and the dead, what naturally follows from thence, but that Christ by his death hath not made sufficient expiation and satisfaction, and consequently Christ is not Jesus—that is, not a *Saviour*, and that he died for us in vain ! That if we partícipate of that impure table, we thereby declare ourselves to be of one and the same body with the wicked, however contrary we may pretend it to be to our wills and inclinations. And when we say AMEN to their prayers, do we not deny Christ ?

“ What death ought we not rather to undergo—what torture and torment ought we not rather to endure—nay, into what abyss of woe and misery ought we not rather to plunge ourselves, than by our presence to testify our consent to, and approbation of, the blasphemies of the wicked ? I know that your infirmity is great ; but those who have been taught that they were redeemed by the blood of Christ ought to be more courageous, and always to stand in awe of Him who can cast both body and soul into hell. And what ! is it enough for us to have preserved this life alone ? Shall this be more precious to us than that of Christ ? And are we satisfied with having enjoyed the delights and pleasures of this world ? Are there not crowns laid before us, and shall we flinch back and recoil ? Who will believe that our faith was true and sincere, if it want zeal and ardour in the time of persecution ? We beseech the Lord to increase your faith. But surely it is better for us to lose our lives than to be overcome by temptations. And, therefore, brethren, I beseech you thoroughly to consider

this matter ; for if it be lawful for us to conceal our faith under the tyranny of Antichrist, it must be lawful so to do under that of the Turk, and, with Diocletian, to worship a Jupiter or a Venus. It would then have been lawful for Tobit to worship the calf in Bethel—and what then will become of our faith towards God ? If we do not pay to God that honour which is due to him, and if our lives be nothing else than hypocrisy and dissimulation, he will spue us out of his mouth, like base and lukewarm wretches. And how shall we glorify the Lord in the midst of sufferings and tribulations, if we deny him ? We must not, brethren, look back, when once we have put our hand to the plough ; nor must we yield to the dictates and instigations of our flesh, which, by prompting us to sin, though it may endure many things that are distressing in this world—may, after all, suffer shipwreck in the haven.”

This excellent letter came very opportunely to the aid of the poor persecuted Waldenses, who were immediately called to carry its principles into effect. Peter Masson, one of their pastors, and a messenger of the churches on this occasion, returning home, was seized at Dijon, and condemned to death as a Lutheran. George Morell narrowly escaped, with his letters and papers, but arrived safe in Provence, where he laboured assiduously and with much success in re-establishing the Waldensian churches.

I had occasion, in the last Lecture, to mention some sanguinary proceedings against the Waldenses in France, in the year 1487 ; from which time till about the year 1540 they remained tolerably free from molestation. But at this period, a scene of devastation and slaughter was renewed, which I shall give in the words of the eminent and learned THUANUS ; and I the rather do this, that I may not be suspected of exaggerating the horrid catastrophe. Thus he writes :—

“ When the inhabitants of Merindole and Cabrieres,* at the report of those things which were done in Germany,” (referring probably to the Reformation by Luther,) “ lifted up their crests, and, hiring teachers out of Germany, discovered themselves more

* These places were situated in the Vaucluse, between the cities of Avignon and Cavaillon, on the river Durance.

manifestly than they had done before, they were brought to judgment by the parliament of Aix, at the instance of the King's procurator; but being admonished by their friends, and deterred by the danger which undoubtedly attended their trial, they failed to appear. Having been summoned for three market days together, they were condemned as contumacious, by a most horrible and immeasurably cruel sentence, on the 18th day of November, about the year 1540, Bartholomew la Chassagne, a lawyer of great reputation, being at that time president of the parliament. By that decree, the fathers of families were condemned to the flames, and the estates, wives, children, and servants of the condemned parties, confiscated to the use of the treasury. And because Merindole had hitherto been the usual den and receptacle of such sort of infected persons, it was ordered that all the houses should be laid level with the ground; that the subterraneous caves and vaults, where they might be concealed, should be demolished and filled up; that the wood round about it should be cut down, and even the very trees of the gardens; that the possessions of those who dwelt at Merindole should not be so much as let for the future to any of the same family, or even of the same name with the former owners. The execution of this cruel decree was committed to the ordinary judges of Aix, Tournes, St. Maximin, and Apt; but it was thought by most people very proper to be suspended, until in process of time the sentence issued against the absent and contumacious should pass by the laws and customs of the realm into a definite sentence. Others, on the contrary, judged it more fit to be precipitated, out of hatred to the crime, and regard to the danger which that contagion certainly threatened, if any delay were interposed. In the first place, the Bishops of Aix and Arles pressed Chassagne to proceed against the rebels with an armed force, promising, in their own and the name of the other ecclesiastics, a great sum of money towards the expenses of that war. Whilst they disputed on each side with great warmth, the matter was put off, by a method ridiculous enough in itself, but well accommodated to the person with whom it was used. There was at Aix one Nicholas Allens, a gentleman of Arles, of great respectability, and not unskilled in letters, an intimate friend of Chassagne's, who, shocked

at the injustice of the decree, and greatly desiring to have it respited, at a private conference, addressed himself to the wavering president in the following speech :—

“ You are not ignorant of the discourses which everywhere pass in relation to the sentence lately issued against the inhabitants of Merindole ; nor is it my business or inclination to give my opinion of them—well knowing how important it is to a well ordered commonwealth that judgments should be solemnly regarded, and not rashly called in question. But if we consider the magnitude of the affair, it seems worthy of inquiry, whether the execution ought not to be deferred, and the bitterness of the sentence mitigated by the advantage of a delay. As various and very considerable reasons may be alleged for that delay, I have determined to treat familiarly with you, by the help of your own arguments, agreeably to that intimacy which subsists between us. Do you not remember, whilst you were sitting only on the lower bench of justice at Autun, what you formerly thought in the case of the mice ? For you have even published a narrative of it ; and such is your modesty and candour, that I have observed you to call to mind the transactions of those times with pleasure. This is the account you give :—

“ When in the bailliage of Autun, a great multitude of mice had done much damage by eating the corn, the country people could think of no more immediate remedy for this new disaster than that the bishop or his vicar should excommunicate the mice. The affair then being laid before the bishop's vicar, he was of opinion, that the crier of the court should give them three citations ; which done, he was still unwilling to pronounce sentence, till the mice had an advocate assigned them, who should plead for them in their absence. You, therefore, undertook the patronage of the mice, and in that case, in pursuance of the character which you sustained, you, by many arguments, persuaded the judges that the mice had not been regularly summoned ; you obtained for them that a fresh day should be set them by the curates of the respective parishes, forasmuch as the lives of all the mice were concerned in the issue of that trial. And when you had gained that point, you again shewed, that too short a time had been given them, considering that the mice who were to ap-

pear were waylaid in every village by the cats. You then brought many things out of the holy Scriptures in defence of your clients, and prevailed at length to have a longer time assigned them, in which proceeding you acquired great reputation for equity and knowledge of the law.

“ ‘I now call you to your own book, and your own arguments. For what can sound harsher in the ears of mankind, than that you, who in the case of mice thought the due course of judgment proper to be observed, should think it fit to be perverted in a cause wherein the life, safety, and fortunes of men are concerned? Beware, therefore, lest you incur the fault of those fencing-masters, who, when they fight at blunts, observe the rules of the science, and often come off conquerors, but when they are to draw their sword against an enemy, are either so enraged or confounded that they forget their art, and generally suffer themselves to be stabbed. What you observed in that ludicrous process, when you were yet but a youth, and little better than a private person, will you neglect in so serious an affair, at that age, and in that station, wherein you have raised such an universal opinion of yourself? Are the lives of so many wretched men so cheap a thing, that they shall find a harder fate at your hands, now you are judge, than the mice formerly experienced under your patronage? I do not speak of their innocence; but you yourself know how many things they are maliciously and wrongfully charged with, and that in other respects they are diligent worshippers of God, and never refuse to pay their landlords their dues, nor to yield tribute or obedience to the prince or the magistrate. Therefore, by the friendship which is betwixt us, I conjure you again and again maturely to weigh these reasons, and to persuade yourself that in a cause which respects the life and death and fortunes of men, no delay can be too long.’

“ By this speech Allens prevailed with Chassagne to respite the business, and to dismiss the troops which had already rendezvoused in great numbers, until he could know the mind of the king—who, being informed of the decree by William du Bellay Sieur de Langey, lieutenant-general in Piedmont, commanded the latter to inform himself of the case, and to transmit him an account of it. Accordingly, after due inquiry, he made this dis-

covery—that the Vaudois, or Waldenses, were a people who, about three hundred years before, had hired of the owners a rocky and uncultivated part of the country, which, by dint of pains and constant tillage, they had rendered productive of fruits and fit for cattle; that they were extremely patient of labour and want; abhorring all contentions; kind to the poor; that they paid the prince's taxes, and their lord's dues with the greatest exactness and fidelity; that they kept up a shew of divine worship by daily prayer and innocence of manners, but seldom came to the churches of the saints, unless by chance when they went to the neighbouring towns for traffic or other business; and whenever they set their feet in them, they paid no adorations to the statues of God or the saints, nor brought them any tapers or other presents; nor ever intreated the priests to say mass for them, or the souls of their relations; nor crossed their foreheads, as is the manner of others; that when it thundered they never sprinkled themselves with holy water, but lifting up their eyes to heaven, implored the assistance of God; that they never made religious pilgrimages, nor uncovered their heads in the public ways before the crucifixes; that they performed their worship in a strange manner, and in the vulgar tongue; and, lastly, paid no honour to the pope or the bishops, but esteemed some select persons of their own number as priests and doctors.

“When this report was made to Francis, on the 8th day of February, he despatched an arrêt to the parliament of Aix, wherein, having pardoned all past crimes, he allowed the Waldenses the space of three months, within which time they were required publicly to revoke their opinions; and, that it might be known who they were that were willing to reap the benefit of the amnesty, it was ordered that chosen persons out of the towns and villages should appear at Aix, in the name of the rest of the multitude, and publicly abjure their error: if they persisted in it the parliament were empowered and commanded to punish them, after the example of former ages, and if need were, to call in the military officers to their aid. The arrêt being read in the senate, Francis Chais and William Armand came to Aix, in the name of the people of Merindole, and presented a petition to the parliament, that the cause might be reheard and examined

by a disputation of divines ; contending that it was unjust, that, before they were convicted, they should confess themselves heretics, or be condemned unheard.

“ La Chassagne, in whose breast his friend’s advice had made a deep impression, calling aside the deputies in the presence of the king’s advocate, admonished them to acknowledge their error, and not by their excessive obstinacy lay the judges under the necessity of dealing with them more harshly than agreed with their inclinations ; but as they still continued to press La Chassagne to take cognizance of their opinions, he at length obtained of those stubborn people, that they should present the heads of their doctrine to the parliament, who would transmit them to his majesty. The townsmen of Cabrieres, in the county of Venaissin, were attacked at the same time by those of Avignon ; and as they were all concerned in the common danger, they drew up a common profession of their religion,* resembling Luther’s in most points, and sent one copy to Francis, who put it into the hands of Chastellain to be examined by him, and another to Cardinal James Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras ; who, being of a pious and mild disposition, received the suppliants with great humanity, and ingenuously declared that whatever else they were charged with, beyond what was contained in that book, were mere slanders invented to create them ill-will ; for that, after a thorough inquiry, he had gained a perfect knowledge of that matter ; but that in the book which was offered there seemed to be many things which might be mended by a small alteration, and others reflecting upon the pope and the prelates, which might be corrected by a more temperate style ; that, however, he wished them well, and that it would never be with his good liking, if they were treated in an hostile manner ; and that he would repair, by the first opportunity, to his seat at Cabrieres, and examine the whole affair upon the spot. Besides these expressions, he shewed them real marks of a favourable and sincere regard, by repressing the deputy of Avignon, who was advancing with an armed force, and admonishing him to retire.

“ The confession of the people of Merindole being exhibited, by

* The reader will find this document in the APPENDIX to LECTURE XLIX.

a decree of parliament, John Durandi and the Bishop of Cavaillon, with some other divines, went to Merindole, to convince the poor villagers of their error, and to grant a pardon to such as should, upon oath, renounce it ; but although they continued in their obstinate spirit of opposition, yet, as long as Chassagne lived, no violence was employed against them, because the king had taken to himself the cognizance of the whole matter ; but when he was carried off by a sudden death, and succeeded by John Meinier, baron Oppede, (a vehement man, and one, who, for certain affronts received from the people of Cabrieres, to whom some of his farms were adjoining, was their bitter enemy,) the hatred against the Waldenses was renewed. This nobleman, in the absence of Lewis des Emars, count of Grignan, who had been sent by the king to the Diet of Worms, took upon himself the chief command in Provence, and assured Francis, by letters, that the Waldenses were met together to the number of sixteen thousand men, with a design to seize Marseilles, and to raise commotions in Provence. He also sent Philip Courtin, apparitor of the court, to demand, in the name of the king's advocate, that the judgment given against the rebels might be put in execution.

“ The king, exasperated by this information, and being further instigated by the Cardinal de Tournan, a kinsman to Grignan, and a bitter enemy to this sort of men, sent letters to the parliament, in the month of January, in the year 1545, whereby he permitted them to proceed against the Merindolians and the rest of the Waldenses, according to law : and when the states of the empire, by their letters from Ratisbon, and the protestant Swiss cantons were urgent, that not only the penalty, but the condition of acknowledging their error might be remitted, because thereby force was offered to resolution and conscience, he constantly denied their request ; and when afterwards he was pressed by them to be merciful to the dispersed remains of those people, he bluntly answered, that they ought not to trouble themselves with what he did in his own country, or how he punished delinquents, any more than he concerned himself with their affairs. Meinier, therefore, having received those orders, kept them by him for some time, in expectation of a fairer opportunity ; for in the meanwhile levies were made everywhere, under the pretence of

the English war, and he would not suffer the secret to be divulged, that so he might fall upon them unawares. But when things were in readiness, and he had under severe penalties summoned all those who were capable of bearing arms, at Aix, Arles, Marseilles, and other populous towns, to come into the field, and when six companies of foot, with a squadron of horse, commanded by Poullain, and other auxiliary troops from Piedmont and Avignon were already assembled, the royal letters, which had been hitherto suppressed, were read in parliament: whereupon the senators, upon the 12th of April, decreed the execution of the sentence passed upon the people of Merindole; and the business was committed to the president, Francis de la Fons, with the counsellors Honoré de Tributis and Bernard de Badet, to whom was joined, Nicholas Guerin, the king's advocate and principal incendiary of the war.

“Oppede, the day following, accompanied with a great body of nobles, repaired to the army at Cadenet, bringing with him four hundred pioneers. The first attack was made upon the country adjoining to the town of Pertuis—the villages of Pupin, La Mote, and St. Martin, near the Durance: these were taken, pillaged, and set on fire. On the following day the little towns of Ville-Laure, Lourmarin, Gensson, Trezeminis, and La Roque, from whence the multitude had fled, were cruelly burnt, and all the cattle driven away. Then Oppede consulted about attacking Merindole; but when the inhabitants saw the country round about in flames, they fled into the neighbouring woods, with their wives and children; which exhibited a most lamentable spectacle, for in those bye-ways were to be seen marching old men mixed with boys, and women carrying their crying infants in cradles, or in their arms or laps. They rested the first night at Sanfalaïse, where also the inhabitants were preparing all things for a flight, because they knew that the Bishop of Cavaillon, the pope's legate, had ordered his men to massacre them. The next day they advanced farther, under the security of the thick woods, full of fears from every other quarter; for Oppede had outlawed the Waldenses, and had ordered, under pain of death, that none should give them any relief, but that, wherever they were found, they should (without respect to age or sex) be all murdered. And now,

after an excessively long journey, they had reached their appointed station, the women being hardly able to stand under the burthen of their big bellies, or children ; and many others, who had left their habitations, had flocked together at the same place, when towards night they were informed that Meinier was at hand with all his forces. Hereupon they were obliged to take counsel on a sudden ; and leaving there the women and all the feeble part of their company, whom they imagined the enemy would spare, put themselves again on the way, whilst nothing could be heard but the most dismal groans, with the lamentations and screamings of the women, which were re-echoed by the mountains and woods, and all things were in the utmost hurry and confusion.

“ When they had spent the whole night in travelling, at last climbing over Mount Lubieres, and seeing the villages everywhere in flames and the farms deserted, they proceeded to the town of Mus : here Oppede divided his troops into two parts, one of which he sent to pursue the fugitives, for he had been informed of their flight by certain spies, and the other he took with him to Merindole. At that juncture one of Oppede’s men, touched with compassion, ran before, and from the top of the rock, where he guessed the Merindolians were settled, flung down two stones, and in the interval called out, with a miserable voice, to them, to save themselves by flight : immediately some persons went out of Mus, to order the pastor and the guides, who were left with the unarmed multitude, to escape, shewing them a bye-way through the brambles ; and not long after, Oppede’s men appeared, and full of rage, with drawn swords, demanded the slaughter of the whole company ; they were preparing to use the women in a still viler manner, but were hindered by a captain, who threatened them with death, if they did not forbear : so, after they had stripped them and drove away their cattle, they departed.

“ Oppede entered the town of Merindole, now destitute of inhabitants, and finding there only one youth, Maurice Blanc by name, wreaked upon him that fury, which he could not vent upon the whole body of the people ; and, tying him to an olive-tree, ordered him to be cruelly shot to death : then, burning and demolishing the town, he marched straightway to Cabrieres. When the townsmen, of whom no more than sixty, with about thirty

women, were left in the place, had at first shut their gates against him, some great guns were brought down, upon which they surrendered, on a promise, confirmed by Poulain and the lord of the place, of having their lives saved: but when the garrison was admitted they were all seized, even they who lay hid in the dungeons of the castle, or thought themselves secured by the sacredness of the church; and, being dragged out from thence into a hollow meadow, were put to death, without regard to age or the assurances given: the number of the slain, within and without the town, amounted to eight hundred: the women, by the command of Oppede, were thrust into a barn filled with straw, and fire being set to it, when they endeavoured to leap out of the window, they were pushed back by poles and pikes, and miserably suffocated and consumed in the flames. Thence they proceeded to La Coste, the lord of which place having passed his word to the townsmen for their safety, provided they carried their arms into the castle, and broke down their walls in four places—the credulous people did as they were commanded; notwithstanding which, on the arrival of Oppede, the suburbs being burnt and the town taken, all that were found left in the place were murdered to a man. The women, who, to avoid the first fury of the soldiers, had retired into a garden near the castle, were deflowered, and, after the rage of lust was extinguished, handled in so cruel a manner, that most of those who were with child, and even the virgins, died either of grief, or by hunger and torments. The men, who sheltered themselves at Mus, being at length discovered, underwent the same fate with the others; the remainder of them wandering here and there among the woods and solitary mountains, led a wretched life, deprived both of wives and children; some few escaped, partly to Geneva, and partly to the Swiss cantons. In all, there are twenty-two villages reckoned, which were punished with the last severity by Oppede; by whose authority judges were again selected, to make inquiry after the heretics; and these condemned the rest of those poor wretches either to the galleys, or to the payment of excessive fines. Some, indeed, were absolved; and among these the tenants of Cental, who solemnly abjured their error.

“When these things were done, Oppede and the committee of

judges, being terrified by their consciences, and justly apprehending that one time or other their heads might be endangered by those practices, deputed the president De la Fons to the king, to load the slaughtered and harassed people with the most execrable crimes, and to make it appear, that, considering the heinousness of their offence, they had been very gently treated. He, accordingly, on the 18th day of August, by the suggestions (as it is thought) of the Cardinal De Tournon, obtained an instrument from the king, wherein he seemed to approve the punishment which was taken of those guilty persons—of which however he afterwards repented. Many writers have reported, that, among the last commands which he gave to his son, Henry, he added this expressly, that he should make inquisition into the injuries done in that cause by the parliament of Aix to the Provençals; and, even before he died, he caused John Romano, a monk, to be apprehended, and commanded the parliament of Aix to punish him; for he, in the examination of heretics, invented a new kind of torture, ordering the tortured parties to put on boots full of boiling tallow, and after laughing at them, and clapping on a pair of spurs, he would ask them, whether they were not finely equipt for a journey. But this man, being well informed of the decree of the parliament, fled to Avignon; where, though secured, as he imagined, from men, he did not escape the Divine vengeance, being robbed of all his effects by his servants, and reduced to extreme poverty, whilst his body was so overrun with filthy boils, that he wished for death, which yet he did not obtain until very late, and after the most horrible torments.

“Upon the death, therefore, of Francis, when the Cardinal De Tournon and the Count De Grignan, who had long flourished in the king's favour, were violently hated by those who were placed about the new king—the Merindolians and Waldenses, who knew of their disgrace, gathering together their remains, into a body, formed a complaint of the injustice and cruelty of the parliament of Aix, and, out of spite to them, easily obtained to have their cause heard over again. The Duke of Guise was their principal encourager, who procured for himself the county of Grignan under the title of a gift or sale from Lewis des Emars, to exempt him from danger. For though all things had been acted in the

count's absence, as we mentioned, yet because they were said to be done by Oppede, his lieutenant, and by his order, he also himself was brought into a share of peril. The matter was first debated in the great council, as it is called: afterwards, when Oppede, De la Fons, De Tributis, Badet, and Guerin, being called upon to answer, they defended themselves by the plea of a sentence passed, against the execution whereof the royal advocate had not appealed: at length, by a new arrêt of the 17th day of March, the king took the cause into his own cognizance. And because the question concerned the force and authority of the supreme court of Aix, he committed the hearing, both of the matter itself and of the appeals, to the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris; where the cause was publicly managed, with great contention, and before a large concourse of people, for fifty days, by James Aubry, on the part of the Merindolians; Peter Robert, for the parliament of Aix; and Denys de Ryants, for the king's advocate. When, upon the mention of so many horrid facts, of which the defendants were accused, the minds of all men were in the utmost attention and expectation of the issue, they were entirely dissatisfied of their hopes—Guerin alone, who happened to be destitute of friends at court, suffering the punishment of death. Oppede, who, with De Grignon, escaped by the intercession of the Duke of Guise, was restored to his former post, together with his colleagues; but, in a little time, being grievously afflicted with pains in the bowels, he breathed out his sanguinary soul in the midst of the most cruel torments, and paid the deserved penalty, which his judges had not exacted, late indeed, but, therefore so much the heavier, to God.”*

* Thuani *Historia sui temporis*, lib. vi. See also Sleidan's *History of the Reformation*, book xvi., where the reader will find this appalling narrative, in a somewhat abridged form, but in no respect varying from the above.

LECTURE LII.

Persecution and eventual Extermination of the Waldenses in Calabria, A.D. 1560, &c.—Lewis Pascal conveyed to Rome to be burnt—Piedmont becomes Tributary to Francis I. king of France, who lends himself to the Pope, Paul III.—Inquisitors are admitted into the Valleys—Specimen of their Proceedings—Catalan Girard, Bartholomew Hector, Jeffry Varnigle, and others, committed to the Flames—The Waldenses petition for Toleration—their Letter to the Duchess of Savoy, who intercedes for them—Persecution renewed—The Protestant Princes of Germany interpose—Admirable Letter of the Elector Palatine—Remarks—Affecting Narrative of Bartholomew Copin.

IN a preceding Lecture I took occasion to mention that, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Waldenses resident in Calabria formed a union with the church at Geneva, then under the pastoral care of the celebrated John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The consequence of this was, that several ministers of learning and talents proceeded from the vicinity of Geneva to settle among the churches of Calabria; and this brought the latter much more prominently into notice than had hitherto been the case. An alarm was consequently raised among the catholics, and it presently reached the ears of his holiness, Pope Pius IV. Measures were, therefore, immediately taken for wholly exterminating the Waldenses in that quarter; and a scene of carnage ensued, which, in enormity, has seldom been exceeded. Two

monks were first sent to the inhabitants of St. Sist, who assembled the people, and, by a smooth harangue, endeavoured to persuade them to desist from hearing these new teachers, whom they knew they had lately received from Geneva; promising them, in case of compliance, every advantage they could wish; but, on the other hand, plainly intimating that they would subject themselves to be condemned as heretics, and to forfeit their lives and fortunes, if they refused to return to the church of Rome. And at once to bring matters to the test, they caused a bell to be immediately tolled for mass, commanding the people to attend. Instead of complying, however, the Waldenses forsook their houses, and as many as were able fled to the woods, with their wives and children. Two companies of soldiers were instantly ordered out to pursue them, who hunted them like wild beasts, crying *Amassa, Amassa!* that is, kill, kill! and numbers were put to death. Such as reached the tops of the mountains, procured the privilege of being heard in their own defence. They stated, that they and their forefathers had now for several ages been residents of that country,—that during all that period their lives and conversation had been irreproachable,—that they ardently wished to remain there, if they should be allowed to continue unmolested in the profession of their faith; but that, if this were denied them, they implored their pursuers to have pity on their wives and children, and to permit them to retire, under the providence of God, either by sea or land, wherever it should please the Lord to conduct them,—that they would very cheerfully sacrifice all their worldly possessions rather than fall into idolatry. They therefore entreated, in the name of all that was sacred, that they might not be reduced to the necessity of defending themselves, which, if they were compelled to do, must be at the peril of those who forced them to such extremities. This expostulation only exasperated the soldiers, who immediately rushing upon them in the most impetuous manner, a terrible affray ensued, in which several lives were lost, and the military at last put to flight.

The inquisitors, on this, wrote to the Viceroy of Naples, urging him to send them some companies of soldiers, to apprehend certain heretics of St. Sist and de la Garde, who had fled

into the woods; at the same time apprising him that, by ridding the church of such a plague, he would perform what was acceptable to the pope and meritorious to himself. The viceroy cheerfully obeyed the summons, and marched at the head of his troops to the city of St. Sist, where, on his arrival, he caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that the place was condemned to fire and sword. Proclamation was at the same time made throughout all the kingdom of Naples, inviting persons to come to the war against the heretics of St. Sist, and promising as a recompense the customary advantages. Numbers consequently flocked to his standard, and were conducted to the woods and mountains whither the Waldenses had sought an asylum. Here they chased them so furiously, that the greater part were slain by the sword, and the rest, wounded and destitute, retired into caverns upon the tops of the rocks, where they perished by famine.

Having accomplished their wishes on the fugitives from St. Sist, they next proceeded to La Garde, and apprehended seventy persons, who were brought before the inquisitor, Penza, at Montauld. This merciless bigot caused them to be stretched upon the rack, with the view of extorting from them a confession of adultery, and other abominable practices too filthy to be mentioned; in no one instance of which did he succeed, though their tortures in many instances were so violent as to extinguish life. A person of the name of Marson was stripped naked and beat with rods, then drawn through the streets and burnt with fire-brands. One of his sons was assassinated, and another led to the top of a tower, where a crucifix was presented to him, with a promise that, if he would salute it, his life should be spared. The youth replied, that he would rather die than commit idolatry, and as to their threats of casting him headlong from the tower, he preferred that his body should be dashed in pieces on the earth, to having his soul cast into hell for denying Christ and his truth. The inquisitor, enraged at his answer, commanded him instantly to be precipitated, "that we may see," said he, "whether his God will preserve him."

Bernardine Conde was condemned to be burnt alive. As they led him to the stake, a crucifix was put into his hands, which he

threw to the ground. The enraged inquisitor sent him back to prison, and, to aggravate his torture, he was first smeared over with pitch, and then committed to the flames. The same inquisitor, Penza, caused the throats of eighty of them to be cut, just as butchers slaughter their sheep; their bodies were afterwards divided into four quarters, and the public way between Montauld and Castle Villar, for the space of thirty miles, was planted with stakes, and a quarter of the human frame stuck upon each of them. Four of the principal inhabitants of La Garde—viz., James Fermar, Anthony Palomb, Peter Jacio, and John Morglia, were, by his order, hanged in a place called Moran; but they met their deaths with surprising fortitude. A young man, of the name of Samson, defended himself dexterously for a length of time against those who came to apprehend him; but, being wounded, he was seized and led to the top of a tower, where he was commanded to confess himself to a priest then present, before he was cast down. This, however, he refused, adding, that he had already confessed himself to God—on which he was cast headlong from the tower. The following day the viceroy, walking at the foot of the tower, saw the unhappy youth still alive, but languishing in tortures, having nearly all his bones broken. The monster kicked him on the head, and said, "Is the dog yet alive?—give him to the hogs."

This is merely a specimen of the brutal outrages that were carried on at this time against the Waldenses in Calabria; but the reader will probably think it quite sufficient. Pope Pius IV. was so resolutely bent upon ridding the country of them, that he afterwards sent the Marquis of Butiane to perfect what was left undone—with a promise that, if he succeeded in clearing Calabria of the Waldenses, he would give his son a cardinal's hat. He indeed found but little difficulty in effecting it; for the inquisitorial monks and the Viceroy of Naples had already put to death so many, transporting others to the Spanish galleys, and banishing all fugitives, selling or slaying their wives and children, that not much remained for the marquis to accomplish.

It would be easy to amplify the detail of atrocities which were perpetrated on the Waldenses of Calabria at this period; but many of the cases are of a complexion too indelicate for exposure

in print, and, rather than dwell upon them, I shall cut short the narrative, by submitting to the reader's reflection an account of these appalling cruelties, as given, not by a prejudiced protestant, but by a Roman catholic, who was a spectator of the tragical scene. The following letter, dated June 11th, 1560, was addressed to Ascanio Caracciolo, on the very day of the butchery, by one of his friends or domestics, and soon after found its way into print:—

“ *Most illustrious Sir!*—Having written you from time to time what has been doing here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans* early this morning, being the 11th June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing so fitly as the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house, as in a sheep-fold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, led him out to a field near the house, and having made him kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death were incredible. Some of them, at their death, professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one after another, just as a butcher does his sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, waggons were already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the

* *Lutherans* was at this time a common nickname for the Waldenses—a mere term of obloquy and reproach.

public roads, from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his holiness, and the Viceroy of Naples, command the Marquis of Butiane, the governor of this province, to stay his hand and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture, and multiply the executions, until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day a decree has passed, that a hundred grown-up women shall be put to the question [process of the *inquisition*], and afterwards executed, so that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well-sounding phrase, that so many persons were punished, partly men and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of *justice* (!) It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people, as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stubbornness as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest, and they are to be burnt alive. The heretics taken in Calabria amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned, but only eighty-eight have as yet been put to death. This people came originally from the valley of Angrogne, near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontane. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race, but I do not think that they behave ill, for they are a simple, unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, shew themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death."*

This letter speaks volumes, and renders all comment unnecessary. Its statements are corroborated by a Neapolitan writer of that age, who, having given some account of the Waldenses in Calabria, is pleased to say,—“Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff; all were cruelly, *but deservedly put to death*! It was strange to hear of their obstinacy, for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only gave no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them.”

* Pantaleon *Rerum in Eccles. Gest. Hist.* 337, *et seq.* De Porta, *Hist. Reform. Roet. Eccles. ii.* pp. 309—312, in Dr. M'Crie's *Italy*, pp. 263—265.

Of their pastors, Stephen Negrin was imprisoned at Cosenza, and literally starved to death. Lewis Pascal was conveyed to Rome, and there condemned to be burnt alive. As this man had been remarkable for his zeal, and the confidence with which he had maintained the pope to be Antichrist, he was reserved as a gratifying spectacle for his holiness and the conclave of cardinals, who were present at his death. But such was the address which Pascal delivered to the people, from the word of God, that the pope would gladly have wished himself elsewhere, or that Pascal had been dumb and the people deaf! The account that is given us of his dying behaviour, can scarcely fail to remind one of the case of the martyr Stephen; and his ardent zeal in the cause of Christ, added to his fervent supplications to the throne of grace, deeply affected the spectators, while the pope and cardinals gnashed their teeth through rage.

Such was the end of the Waldenses of Calabria, who were wholly exterminated: for if any of the fugitives returned, it was upon the express condition that they would in all things conform themselves to the laws of the church of Rome.*

About this time, Francis I., king of France, obtained possession of the whole country of Piedmont by conquest, and regulated its affairs by means of its parliament at Turin. The pontifical chair was then filled by Paul III., who plied the parliament so sedulously to proceed against these pernicious heretics, the Waldenses, that the recent scenes of France were now re-acted in Piedmont; numbers of the Waldenses being committed to the flames. Happily these things were, in a great measure, new among them. They, therefore, presented an address to the king, humbly supplicating that they might be indulged with the same privileges under his government which they and their forefathers had so long enjoyed under the house of Savoy. But Francis turned a deaf ear to their prayer, commanding them to be regulated in the concerns of religion by the laws of the Roman church, or they should be punished as heretics; adding, that he did not burn the followers of Luther in every part of France, to permit a nest of heretics to rest secure in the bosom of the Alps. They were, therefore, commanded by the parliament to send away their

* Perrin's History of the Waldenses, b. ii. ch. 7.

pastors, on pain of death ; and in their room to receive priests belonging to the Catholic church, to conduct their worship and sing masses for them. The Waldenses replied that, in what regarded their religious worship, they could obey no commands which interfered with the laws of God, to whom they rather chose to be obedient, in every thing that concerned his service, than to follow the fancies and inclinations of men.*

But the multiplicity of important concerns which, at that critical juncture, engaged the king's attention, not permitting him to prosecute his measures against the Waldenses, the parliament relinquished the matter to the court of inquisition, who committed to the flames as many as they could apprehend. Among the victims to papal intolerance, at this period, was Catalan Girard, of St. John, in the valley of Lucerne. Information was given against him by some of his neighbours, that he had persuaded them to accompany him to the preaching of several of the barbs, or pastors, of the valleys. Of the number of these deponents, was Bernardin Fea, from the vicinity of Pignerol, who testified, on the 13th of October, 1535, before the commissioners, that, five or six years previous, the said Girard and another of his friends took him to a place where he heard a sermon from one of the barbs, and that he was afterwards interrogated by Girard, and instructed in various points of the religion of the Waldenses. The result was, that Girard was seized, taken to Reuel, and condemned to be burnt to death. He behaved with admirable fortitude ; for, having reached the place of execution, as he sat upon the funeral pile, he requested the bystanders to hand him two stones, which being done, he took them in his hands, and rubbing them one against the other, thus addressed his executioners :—" You imagine that by your persecutions you will be able to root out our religion ; but it will be no more possible for you to effect that, than it would be for me with my hands to annihilate these stones, or even to eat them." Having uttered these words, he cast the stones from him, and ended his life by a glorious martyrdom.† In the year 1555, several were burnt in the castle yard, at Turin ; and among others, Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller, who, by

* Sir Samuel Morland's Churches of Piedmont, p. 224.

† Pierre Gilles, Hist. des Eglises Reformees, ch. vi. p. 40.

his admirable fortitude under his sufferings, his holy conversation, and fervent prayers to God, so deeply affected the spectators, that he drew tears from their eyes, and the language of compassionate sympathy from their lips.

Not long after this, the parliament of Turin, resolving to second, by every means in their power, the efforts of the inquisitors, appointed a person of the name of St. Julian, president, and sent him throughout the valleys, armed with the king's authority, and accompanied by an assessor, to compel the Waldenses either to conform to the church of Rome, or to put them to death; promising to render their agents every assistance they might require, either to reduce to obedience, or exterminate them.

On their arrival at Prouse, they issued a proclamation in the name of the king, commanding every one of the inhabitants to attend mass, on pain of death. From thence they proceeded to Pignerol, where they summoned several persons to appear before them, and drew up indictments, probably with the view of terrifying the Waldenses; but not finding these methods to succeed to their expectations, they next had recourse to a new and more alluring expedient. St. Julian had brought with him several monks from the valley of Angrogne, one of whom he caused to preach before a large concourse of the people. The zealous ecclesiastic laboured indefatigably to persuade them to return to the church of Rome, the praises of which he extolled to the skies. The people heard him patiently to the end of his harangue; and then rising up, requested that one of their pastors, who happened to be present, might be indulged with the privilege of making some remarks on the sermon; but the president very prudently declined the proposal. His refusal, however, occasioned such murmuring throughout the auditory, that the president and his monks were petrified with astonishment, and took the first opportunity that was afforded them of decently retiring, and returning to Turin.

The monks informed the parliament of their proceedings, intimating how difficult it would be to subdue these people by coercive measures; and giving it as their opinion, that, even if attempted, the country afforded such facilities of defending themselves, that, either to reduce them to the obedience of the

church of Rome, or to rid the country of them, must be an Herculean task, and performed at the expense of so much blood, that to exterminate them must be the work of a king, and of a king of France too: they, therefore, submitted it to consideration, that it would be prudent to transmit a report of this matter to his majesty, and leave the further prosecution of the Waldenses to his own discretion. This advice was adopted, and a year elapsed before the parliament took any further measures relative to them.

His majesty, however, at length reported his pleasure upon the message of the parliament; and it was, that all his subjects in Piedmont should be compelled to attend mass, on pain of corporal punishment and the confiscation of their goods; and St. Julian was again sent to Angrogne to enforce obedience: but the people were still as averse to compliance as ever they had been. They answered, that they were not bound to obey such decrees as were inconsistent with their duty to God. He then commanded twelve of the principal persons among them, with all the pastors and all the schoolmasters in the valleys, to surrender themselves prisoners at Turin, there to receive such sentences as should be passed upon them. They returned for answer, that such commands came from man only, and not from God, and that, as they could not appear at Turin but at the risk of their lives, and of being troubled on account of their religious profession, they declined compliance.

This contumacious behaviour inflamed the parliament to the highest pitch. They proceeded against them in the most summary manner, causing all that could be apprehended in Piedmont, and on the confines of the valleys, to be committed to the flames at Turin; and among others, Mr. Jeffery Varnigle was burnt, in the year 1557, in the castle yard. He was attended by an immense concourse of spectators, upon whom his death made a strong and lasting impression; his fervent piety and resignation to the will of God tending greatly to confirm and establish their own minds.

While these things were in progress, Francis was removed from the stage of life, and his son, Henry II. raised to the throne. The protestant princes of Germany, now moved with compassion for the poor persecuted Waldenses, interceded for them with

Henry, entreating him to permit them the same religious privileges which their forefathers had enjoyed from generation to generation ; and their application was not without success.

The war between France, Spain, and his Highness of Savoy, after a period of more than twenty-three years continuance, was at length terminated. Peace was concluded by their deputies on the 3rd of April, 1559, on condition that the Kings of France and Spain should mutually deliver up what they had taken from each other during these last wars, and that the King of France should also restore to the Duke of Savoy what he had taken from him, with the exception of the towns of Turin, Quiers, Chivas, and Villeneuve d'Ast, with their territories. Thus the valleys in which the reformed churches existed, returned under the government of their ancient and natural princes.

Along with the treaty of peace, was also concluded the happy marriage between the Duke Emanuel Philibert, above mentioned, and Margaret of France, sister to King Henry II. This duke and duchess have been recognised by the results, and characterized by history as among the most prudent princes of their time. Immediately after the ratification of peace, it was rumoured that, in making it, each of the above-named contracting princes had promised to employ his best efforts for the purpose of exterminating all who in his estates should be recognised as being of a religion opposed to that of the church of Rome. The churches of the valleys, and other reformed inhabitants of Piedmont, were not, however, molested during the remainder of the year 1559. Their prince, to whom their fidelity and probity were well known, had no wish to trouble them ; and as for the duchess, she was even desirous of their repose and preservation, having a knowledge of the truth of their religion, which she acquired during a long intimacy with the Queen of Navarre, Margaret, her paternal aunt, and also with Renee, of France, her maternal aunt, daughter of King Louis XII. : they both had a pretty intimate knowledge of it, and favoured it, wherever they were, by every means in their power. All this gave hope of repose to the faithful in Piedmont ; but the importunities which the pope was incessantly receiving from his nuncios and others, his consequent efforts, together with those of the King of Spain, of certain

princes of Italy, and of prelates in Piedmont, excited by the catholic party there, wrought so powerfully together in perverting this otherwise well-disposed prince, that he was prevailed upon to consent to the persecution demanded against those of the reformed religion dwelling in his estates. It commenced accordingly by an edict, issued at Nice, where the duke at that time resided, with his court, on the 15th of February, 1560. By this edict, the subjects of his Highness, of every rank and condition, were forbidden to hear the Lutheran ministers, preaching in the valley of Lucerne, or in any other place, under the penalty of one hundred crowns each for the first offence, and of being made perpetual galley-slaves for the second. At the same time, all officers of justice were ordered, as well as all syndics of towns and districts, to imprison or give in the names of such as went to hear such discourses, as aforesaid, with a promise of one-half the pecuniary penalties imposed.

The repose of the reformed having suffered this interruption, their enemies by continual importunities obtained the renewal of other edicts and rigorous penalties, with the means necessary for enforcing them : and the Waldenses, to counteract it, presented a humble petition to their sovereign, in which they informed him they were not ignorant of the many accusations laid against them, nor of the various calumnies that were cast upon them, with the view of rendering them odious to all the princes and monarchs of the Christian world. They then make a bold avowal of their principles as these respected the Christian faith—their readiness to yield obedience to their civil rulers in every thing that did not infringe upon the rights of conscience—their anxious wish to live peaceably with their neighbours ; boldly affirming that, though often provoked to it, they had done violence to no man ; and in this respect, they challenged any complaint that could be brought against them. They appealed to their published confessions of faith, that they were not obstinate in their opinions, but, on the contrary, ready to receive all holy and pious admonitions that were sanctioned by the word of God ; and that they were so far from evading discussion that, on the contrary, they anxiously desired it. They implored his highness to consider that their religious profession was not a thing of yesterday, as their adversaries falsely

reported—but had been the profession of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers—yea, of their predecessors of still more ancient times, even of the martyrs, confessors, apostles, and prophets; and they called upon their adversaries to prove the contrary, if they were able. Persuaded, therefore, as they were that their religion was not a human invention, but founded upon the word of God, which shall remain for ever, they were confident that no human force should be able to extinguish it.

They called to the mind of their prince, the grievous persecutions that for many ages past had been carried on against their brethren, and which had been so far from destroying the sect, that their numbers were increasing daily—an argument, as they remarked, that the work and counsel was not of men, but of God, and consequently not to be destroyed by violence. They remind him that it is no trifling thing to fight against God; and beseech him to consider well what he is about to undertake, before he embroils his hands in innocent blood. “We shall religiously obey all your Highness’s edicts,” say they, “so far as conscience will permit—but JESUS IS OUR SAVIOUR—and when conscience says NAY, your Highness knows that it is our duty to obey God rather than man. While we frankly acknowledge the right of Cæsar to demand from us what belongs to Cæsar, we must also render to God what is due to HIM.”

But whether this petition did not arrive in time, or that the duke actually turned a deaf ear to it, it seems that, in the year 1561, the inhabitants of the valleys were considerably harassed by the military; in consequence of which they came to the resolution of sending deputies to Turin, to prevail upon the duchess, who was reported to be favourably disposed towards their cause, to intercede for them. In this instance they were more successful. An edict was issued in favour of the Waldenses, bearing date the 5th of June, 1561, granting them the privilege of holding the public assemblies in all the usual places, free from molestation; and that such of them as had been injured by the seizure and confiscation of their property, should have it restored, or receive a compensation for the same.

The transactions of 1560 and 1561, in the valleys of Piedmont, are narrated by Peter Gilles, in his “History of the Reformed

Churches," with much circumstantiality. In fact, they occupy chapters xiii. to xxx. inclusive, of his work—at least, a hundred closely-printed pages in quarto. But though the whole will amply repay the curious reader, whose time and patience will enable him to make his way through the historian's obsolete French, its entire insertion is incompatible with my circumscribed limits, nor would the reader thank me for detaining him so long on the affairs of these two eventful years. After not only wading through them, but actually translating them, I feel compelled to substitute in their place the abridged account of SLEIDAN'S Continuator, which is as follows:—

"There was in Piedmont," says he, "a valley called by the name of Perouse, and St. Martin, inhabited by about 15,000 souls, whose ancestors, about four hundred years since, had, upon the preaching of Waldo, Esperon, and Arnold of Brescia, made a defection from the church of Rome, and had, at times, been severely treated for it, by the French, under whom they had been, but by the last treaty they were assigned to the Duke of Savoy. This people, about the year 1555, had embraced the Reformation, and had suffered it to be publicly preached, though it was forbidden by the council at Turin, which, the year following, sent one of its own members, to inquire after the offenders, and to punish them; to whom the inhabitants delivered the confession of their faith:—'Declaring that they professed the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament, and comprehended in the Apostles' Creed; and admitted the sacraments instituted by Christ, and the ten commandments, &c. That they believed the supreme civil magistrates were instituted by God, and they were to be obeyed, and that whosoever resisted them fought against God. They said they had received this doctrine from their ancestors, and that if they were in any error they were ready to receive instruction from the word of God, and would presently renounce any heretical or erroneous doctrine which should be so shewn to them.'

"On this a solemn disputation was appointed, concerning the sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, tradition, prayers and oblations for the dead, and the ceremonies of the church and her censures; all which they rejected, alleging that they were

human inventions, and contrary to the word of God. This confession was sent by the Duke of Savoy to the King of France, who, about a year after, returned an answer, that he had caused it to be examined by his learned divines, who had all condemned it as erroneous and contrary to true religion; and, therefore, the king commanded them to reject the confession, and to submit to the holy church of Rome; and if they did not do so, their persons and estates should be confiscated. But they, on the contrary, were resolved to stand by their former confession. They were, therefore, commanded not to admit any teacher who was not sent by the Archbishop of Turin, or the council there; and that if any teachers came among them from Geneva, they should discover or apprehend them, upon pain of death, and loss of all they had. For three years after this the Waldenses were let alone, and no way molested; but this year, 1560, the Duke of Savoy, much against his will and inclination, was drawn by the pope to make war upon them. In the beginning of March, Jean de Carpuignan, and one Mathurim and his wife were apprehended and burnt, and several of the neighbouring valleys were plundered, and many of the inhabitants put to death; about sixty were sent to the galleys; and some recanted and professed the Roman catholic religion. After this, Thomas Jacomel, a Dominican, was sent, with one Turbis for his assistant, who was a bloody man, to inquire diligently and severely into all that were suspected; but the nobility interposing, there was no great severity shewn. The monks of the abbey of Pignerol, which was seated in the entrance of the valley on the other side, kept a parcel of soldiers in pay; and, entrapping as many of these poor people as they could, as they passed to and fro, they used them very cruelly; and some others of the nobility did the same thing; and a sedition following upon it, they fined the poor inhabitants one thousand six hundred crowns. Upon this a sharp war ensued, which ended in the ruin of the aggressors of the church of Rome.

“The pastor of Perouse was taken and burnt with a slow fire, together with many of his flock, and the inhabitants were despoiled of all they had, and forced to flee to the mountains. Being thus enraged with hard usage, in the month of July, fifty of them set

upon one hundred and twenty soldiers belonging to the abbey of Pignerol, put them to flight, and slew the greatest part of them; and about four hundred more of their party coming up, they took the abbey of Pignerol, and delivered all their people which were imprisoned there. In October following, news being brought that the Duke of Savoy was sending an army to destroy them, they resolved that it was not lawful to take arms against their prince, but that they would take what they could carry away, and betake themselves to the mountains, and there await the good pleasure of God, who never forsakes his own, and can turn the hearts of princes which way he pleaseth. There was not one man amongst them who repined against this decree. In after-times they had pastors who taught them otherwise, and told them it was not their prince, but the pope that they resisted, and that they fought not for their religion, but for their wives and children. The 2nd of November the forces of the Duke of Savoy entered their borders, and the soldiers attempting to get above them, they betook themselves to their slings, and maintained a fight against them (though they were but few in number) the space of a whole day, with no great loss. At last the General, finding they were not to be forced, gave them leave to petition the Duke of Savoy, 'that they might live in peace, assuring him that nothing but utter ruin could have forced them to take arms against him—for which they humbly implored his highness's pardon; and begging the liberty of their consciences, and that they might not be forced to submit to the traditions of the church of Rome, but might, with his leave, enjoy the religion they had learned from their ancestors.'

"This petition was seconded by the Duchess of Savoy, to whom they addressed a well-written letter.* She was a merciful prin-

* The letter to the duchess displays so much *tact* in the composition, and reflects so much honour on all the parties, that the reader cannot but be pleased with it, and I therefore subjoin a translation of it:—

"*Madam!*—The lamentable state in which the poor faithful [brethren] in your territories and country of Piedmont at present are, and also the excellent graces which it has pleased our God to put within you, constrain us to address to you these presents, most humbly beseeching your benign Grace to take them in good part. Madam, we think that your Excellence cannot be aware of the great persecution

cess, and had great power over the affections of the duke. It being ever her judgment that this people were not to be so severely used, who had not changed their religion a few days ago, but had been in possession of it from their ancestors so many ages. Upon this they were to be received to mercy; but the soldiery fell upon them when they suspected nothing, and plundered them three days together. The General seemed to be much concerned at this breach of faith: yet after this they were fined eight thousand crowns, which they were forced to borrow on great usury; and they were also commanded to bring all their arms into the castles which the duke had garrisoned in their country. And at last they were commanded to eject all their pastors (which was submitted to with the tears of their people), that they might avoid the fury of the soldiers. The General pretended not to be satisfied that their pastors were in reality gone; and when they suffered them to search their houses, the soldiers

raised against the poor flock of the Lord Jesus in your country of Piedmont; which persecution is such, that whoever will persevere in the pure confession of the Lord Jesus, he is in three or four days committed to the flames, which has been done within these few days past to three or four pious persons in the town of Carignan. The consequence of this has been, that many have fled, having abandoned their houses, wives, and children; poor infirm persons have been constrained to make abjuration; grievous edicts are daily issued, prohibiting the hearing of the preaching of the holy Gospel, and enjoining every one to attend the mass and other ceremonies of the church of Rome, with threatenings of the most terrible penalties in case of disobedience. It is confidently stated that we are to be ruined by force of arms, which our enemies, in fact, having already taken up against us, they plunder our houses, root up our vineyards, and miserably outrage our poor people; and all this solely on account of our religion; for we have no apprehension of their being able justly to bring any thing else to our charge; and we have this confidence, that, if his highness the duke were correctly informed of our religion and manner of living, he would not suffer such injuries to be done to us.

"Now, most excellent lady, amongst the fine gifts and graces which it has pleased God to invest you with, he has given you the great treasure of his holy truth in keeping—not to conceal, but to maintain and defend it. He has lighted the lamp of life within you—not to be put under a bushel, but on a candlestick; it has pleased him also to give you great authority and power wherewith to aid his poor people; has brought you to them even at the time and in the place where it is required, and he now calls you to the work. Wherefore, Madam, forget not the duty which you owe to the Lord your God, and to his children. Your benign Grace is not unacquainted with the fine examples of those good and excellent ladies [mentioned in Scripture]; to wit, Deborah, Esther, and Judith, who, in similar cases, to serve God

plundered them again, and then burnt their town. There was one town called Angrogne, in a valley of the same name, where the General pretended to shew them more favour, and agreed that they should have one pastor left them; but they forced him also to flee into the mountains afterwards, and plundered his house, and all his neighbours, and then enjoined the syndics (or chief magistrates) to bring in the pastor—threatening that otherwise they would burn and destroy the whole territory; and when they had so done they withdrew.

“In the meantime their messengers were gone with their petition, mentioned above, to the duke at Vercelli, where they attended forty days before they could get an audience, and then they were forced to promise they would admit the mass; and when the prince had, upon these terms, forgiven their taking arms against him, they were commanded to ask pardon, too, of the pope’s nuncio, which at last they did. During their absence, the inhabitants of Angrogne had permitted no sermons but in

and his people, spared not their lives; and the Lord did then, by their means, great things for the deliverance of his poor people, and has placed those pious women for ever in a high degree of glory and honour, as well in heaven as on earth.

“Now, Madam, a gracious God calls you to be on the same list and rank with them. Will you allow that the Lord Jesus be thus indignantly treated in his members—miserably chased, and banished from your territories—and that the land in which you live and have so much power, be defiled with his blood, and that before your eyes? Your Grace knows, that all the good or evil which is done to the least of his little ones is done to himself, and that which is done to him is done to God, his Father. If, then, Madam, you have this good affection and desire to do an excellent work before the Lord Jesus, the great King of Kings, and before God your Father, and to make a sacrifice to him, the sweet odour of which shall ascend to heaven, employ yourself in defending his holy truth and the cause of his children, which is his own.

“The good Prince Abdias is much praised in the holy Scriptures, for having protected a hundred prophets of the Lord in the time of the persecution of King Ahab;—and you, Madam, may protect many thousands of his children. The Lord Jesus has not spared for you his precious body, his life, his blood, or ought besides; be not afraid, Madam, to do the like for him and his. And we all, your poor and humble subjects, will pray, without ceasing, our gracious God and Father to maintain you in all prosperity, and to have you always in his holy keeping.

“Of, your Excellence, the poor and faithful subjects, the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, Prouse, St. Martin, and all those of the plain, who call purely on the name of the Lord Jesus.”—(*Pierre Gilles, Hist. des Eglises Reformees, ch. xi. p. 81, &c.*)

private, that they might not exasperate the prince, or make the affairs of their deputies more difficult. But they resolved, when these were returned, to exercise their religion openly, and not to give any thing to the maintaining of the soldiers, whether their request was granted or denied.

“In the beginning of January the deputies returned, and when their principals understood what had been done, they wrote to the rest of the valleys to give them an account of it, and desired a public consultation or diet; at which it was resolved that they should all join in a league to defend their religion, which they believed was agreeable to the word of God, professing in the meantime to obey their prince, according to the command of God, and that they would, for the future, make no agreement or peace, but by common consent, in which the freedom of their religion should be saved. Upon this they became more confident, refused the conditions offered by the Duke of Savoy, and the promises made by their deputies. And the next day they entered into the church of Bobbio, and broke down all the images and altars, and then marching to Villare, where they intended to do the like, they met the soldiers, who had heard what was done, going to plunder Bobbio, stopped them, and with their slings so pelted them, that they were glad to shift for their lives, and left these reformers to do the same thing at Villare. The captain of Turin, attempting to quell this outrage, was beaten, and the duke’s officers were glad to seek to their pastors for a passport. After this they beat the captain of Turin in a second fight. By this time the whole army drew into the field, and the inhabitants of these valleys not being able to resist them, the soldiers burnt all their towns and houses, and destroyed all the people they took. In these broils, Monteil, one of the Duke of Savoy’s chief officers, was slain by a lad of eighteen years of age; and Truchet, another of them, by a dwarf. The Duke of Savoy had sent seven thousand soldiers to destroy this handful of men; and yet such was their desperation, and the advantages of their country, that they beat his soldiers wheresoever they met them. And in all these fights their enemies observed that they had slain only fourteen of the inhabitants, and thence concluded that God fought for them. So the Savoyards began to treat for

a peace, which at last was concluded to the advantage of these poor despicable people. The duke remitted the eight thousand crowns they were to pay by the former treaty, and suffered them to enjoy their religious liberty ; so that he got nothing by this war but loss and shame, the ruin of his people on both sides, and the desolation of his country.”*

When peace was in some degree restored, towards the end of the year 1561, the murders, imprisonments, burnings, plunders, levies of ransom-money, and other acts of hostility, had reduced so great a number of families to extreme poverty, that the pastors and other leading persons belonging to the churches found it would be impossible to relieve them, in any tolerable degree, by the mere dint of charity which their brethren could exercise. For, independent of their own miserable plight, brethren and sisters were every day arriving in the valleys who had escaped the massacre of Calabria, lately mentioned, and the greater part of them stripped of all their effects—so that it was necessary to soothe them on their arrival, and administer to them all the assistance in their power ; and this greatly increased the solicitude of the pastors and principal men among them. Calvin and Beza, pastors of the church of Geneva, being made acquainted with this distressing posture of their affairs, with their wonted liberality, not only procured a considerable supply from the members of their own church, but also took the necessary steps to make the churches in Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere, acquainted with their wants, and implored their charity in the behalf of the Waldenses, on so necessary and legitimate an occasion. They procured suitable persons from the valleys to be sent, and furnished them with the necessary letters of recommendation ; and in this benevolent work Calvin took an active part, so that the deputies who were sent on this special errand collected considerable sums, of which the greater part, however, was a munificent offering from the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Marquis of Baden, the evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, and the French Church at Strasburg. Those of Provence, and other places, also contributed liberally ;

* Sleidan's *History of the Reformation*, Continuation, pp. 52—54.

so that a very seasonable and efficient relief was thereby furnished to these victims of papal cruelty. The pastors in the valleys had also the gratification of learning, by letters from the Italian minister of the church of Turin, that considerable collections were making for them at several other places, and which would be speedily forthcoming; but this last piece of intelligence was only partially realized, owing to the troubles which soon after took place throughout all France.*

This calm, however, lasted only about four years; for, in 1565, at the importunate request of the catholic party, an edict was issued, enjoining every subject throughout the dominions of the Duke of Savoy not conforming to the church of Rome, to appear before the magistrates of their several districts, within ten days after its publication, and there either declare their readiness to go to mass, or quit the country in two months. The magistrates were at the same time directed to take particular cognizance of such as refused compliance, and to transmit information thereof to his highness.

The protestant princes of Germany, having received information of this tremendous blow which now threatened the Waldenses, very humanely interposed with the duke, for the purpose of warding it off. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in particular, addressed a letter to him, which he transmitted by the hands of one of his counsellors. I regret that its length (for it occupies seven pages in folio,) renders its entire insertion here impracticable; but some judgment may be formed of the noble sentiments that it breathes throughout from the following extracts:—

——“I plainly see,” says the Elector Palatine, “whither the designs of your highness’s counsels tend. It is to drag these poor people to prison, and there, by means of torment, to constrain them to confess some treason, that so a pretext may be afforded for destroying all the churches of the valleys, as seditious, and to condemn them as disturbers of the public peace. But let your highness recollect that there is a God in heaven, who not only beholds the actions of men, but who also tries their hearts and

* Pierre Gilles, *Hist. Eglises Reformees*, ch. xxx.

reins, and to whom all things are naked and open. Let your highness beware of wilfully fighting against God, and of persecuting Christ in his members; for though he may bear it for a while, to try the patience of his saints, he will, nevertheless, in the end, chastise the persecutors of his churches and people with horrible punishments. Let not your highness suffer yourself to be abused by the persuasions of the papists, who may possibly promise you the kingdom of heaven, and eternal life, as a reward, in case you banish, imprison, and exterminate your subjects. But the infliction of cruelties, and inhuman actions, are not the highway to the kingdom of heaven—there must be some other found out. Your highness may see what success has attended the last forty years of persecution. What advantage have those, who called themselves catholics, derived from all the fires, swords, gibbets, prisons, tortures, and banishments, which they have exercised in Germany, England, France, and Scotland? No; the history of both the Jews and the primitive Christians abundantly shews that, in the concerns of religion, the power, authority, or severity of men avail nothing. Do we not find, that those who have persecuted, banished, or delivered up unto death, the Christians, have been so far from gaining any thing thereby, that, on the contrary, they have increased their number?—insomuch that it has become a proverb—‘The ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the Christian church.’ In this respect the church resembles the palm tree, which, the more it is weighed down, the loftier it rises.—Be assured, that true religion is nothing else than a firm and settled persuasion of the existence of God, and of his will, as revealed in his word, imprinted on the mind by the Holy Spirit, which, having once taken root, cannot easily be eradicated by tortures and torments—for those who are the subjects of it will sooner endure the worst that can befall them, than embrace any thing which appears to them contrary to religion and godliness.

“By the grace of God, evangelical truth now shines in such splendour, that the errors and deceits of the Bishop of Rome, and all his clergy, are sufficiently known, in a manner, by all men; nor must the pope think, henceforward, to abuse the world as he has done in former times. I therefore beseech your highness,

whom I understand to be of a sweet and gentle disposition, that you would lay these things to heart, and not further molest these poor people for the sake of their religion, nor refuse them the free exercise of it, but rather allow them the liberty of assembling in public for the worship and service of God; in doing which you will readily discover the falsehood of the charges brought against them by their adversaries, and have a proof of their loyalty and obedience. Your highness is not ignorant what evils were brought upon France by their violence, in banishing and persecuting [the Christians there]; what a flame was raised, which in a manner consumed the whole kingdom, and what ruin ensued, —*all which has been appeased by one single edict, granting liberty of conscience*; the result of which is, that the most entire peace and tranquillity reigns among them, though they profess different forms of religion. And indeed the plain truth is, that if your highness, out of complaisance to the Bishop of Rome, the cardinals, prelates, and others who are interested in the Roman religion, is resolved still to continue to persecute these poor people, you will unquestionably experience the same evils that have come upon other kingdoms. Nothing that is violent is of long duration; and we must not always follow the wolf into the wood. Poverty and hunger are no inconsiderable torments, nor is it an easy thing to lead so long and miserable a life in exile, when deprived of one's goods and estates. It is the height of injustice and misery to be compelled to submit to the tyrannical yoke of the Bishop of Rome, and to be prohibited worshipping God according to his word. And it is wholly intolerable for good and faithful subjects to be accused as rebels or seditious persons.

“ I learn, not without much grief, that scarcely any thing has yet been done in regard to the things which your highness promised my JUNIUS* by word of mouth, and that those poor wretches *who are kept in the galleys on account of their religion*, whose names he delivered in to your highness, are yet detained: from which I plainly perceive that these are the doings of your highness's counsellors, who are carried away with deadly hatred

* An accredited envoy from the Elector Palatine.

against our religion, of which I have proof, not merely by hearsay, but in the actual case of two who have been lately banished. But let me tell you, in a word, that this severity is neither well-pleasing to God nor man, nor is it the way to bring men to the true knowledge of God, which must be done by persuasion and an appeal to the Scriptures—not by persecution. Your highness may probably tell me, that our religion has been long condemned—but I ask, by whom, and how? By him who has violated and corrupted all rights, human and divine, making himself both party and judge, and who has lately, at the council of Trent, confirmed all his idolatries, and all the superstitions and abuses that have been introduced into the church. Let your highness carefully examine the holy Scriptures, and you will find this to be the case. Never suffer yourself to be deluded by those deceivers, who maintain their idolatries and superstitions merely to serve their own bellies, and that they may lead the lives of epicures. Let your highness well consider, that you must one day appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of the souls of your subjects, and where it will avail you nothing to say, “I thought so,” or, “I esteemed it to be so.” God has revealed his will in his word, and it is his pleasure that we should follow the same without turning either to the right hand or to the left. The word of God is also clear and plain; let your highness only hear and embrace it, and you will easily find out the truth. I say all this, as one who wishes well to your highness’s soul, as much so indeed as I do to that of my own; and I pray the Lord incessantly, that it may please him to enlighten your understanding, and call you home to his true light, that you may discern truth from falsehood, and that thus having a knowledge of the horrible abuses of the church of Rome, you may serve God in sincerity and truth.

“I therefore beseech your highness to give us a pledge of that esteem which you have for us, by delivering those poor people which are now in the galleys, and recalling those that have been recently banished by the senate of Savoy, as you promised my JUNIUS and myself, by your letters. Have compassion upon so many wandering exiles, deprived of all their property and effects. Call them home, and restore them to their houses and habita-

tions; and grant both to them, and to the other inhabitants of your highness's country, the public exercise of their religious worship, which *they esteem more necessary than their daily food*. Absolve such of these poor people of the valleys as have been falsely accused, that so they may all live in peace and tranquillity under your highness's government. Make such articles of peace with them as may be preserved inviolate; support them in the quiet exercise of that religion which you have permitted them, and defend them in the same—bridling and restraining the bitter hatred which their governor, Castrocaro, exercises towards them; and warn him to molest them no more for the future, as he has hitherto done; enjoin upon him that he refrain from falsely imputing to them crimes and accusations, by means of which he thinks to varnish over his tyranny; for such things are altogether unsuitable to the office of a magistrate and a governor, who ought to be a father to those that are committed to his charge. Do not render yourself an instrument to the pope and his creatures, of gratifying their insatiable desires to spill the blood of Christians. Countenance not their cruelty and inhumanity against those who are in no wise perverse, but real Christians, and who have nothing more at heart than to serve God purely and uprightly under your highness's government, to whom they are ready to yield all that obedience and fidelity which is your due, and to lay themselves out (their property, their persons, and their lives, if necessity calls for them,) for your service. The great and all-powerful God guide and govern your highness by his Holy Spirit, and preserve and defend you long in health and safety.”*

This letter, which breathes throughout the spirit of genuine Christianity, will be found by those who bestow proper attention upon it, to throw much light upon the state of the Waldenses in Piedmont, at the middle of the sixteenth century. For while it gives us the most favourable view of their peaceable, prudent, and exemplary conduct, it unmasks the perfidious and cruel proceedings of the Catholic party towards them, and the distresses and afflictions with which they were perpetually harassed, on account of their profession. It appears to have had the happiest

* Morland's Churches of Piedmont, pp. 243—249.

effects upon the duke; and, supported as it was, by the personal application of the duchess, who is said to have been "a pious and virtuous princess," it bridled the fury of the governor, Castrocaro, and averted the dreadful storm which hung over them. They appear to have enjoyed peace until the year 1571, at which time the rage of this inhuman governor again burst forth. The duke, at that instant, had been drawn in to join several of the princes of Europe in a league offensive against the Protestants; which he had no sooner done than he began to molest his Protestant subjects in the valleys. He first of all forbade them to hold any correspondence with the Waldenses of Dauphiny, on pain of death. And next they were forbidden to assemble in any synod or council, unless it were in the presence of the intolerant Castrocaro. These things sufficiently indicated the gathering of another storm; but the duchess again humanely interposed, and with effect; for she procured the continuance of their privileges, and, indeed, during her life, she remained as it were a sanctuary and place of refuge for the members of the churches of Piedmont, whenever they found themselves assailed by their adversaries.

In the following year, 1572, the dreadful massacre of the Hugonots, on St. Bartholomew's day, took place at Paris, and several of the other cities of France. No sooner had the news of this reached Castrocaro, than he prepared himself for similar exploits in Piedmont; and so terrific was the attitude in which he placed himself, that the Waldensian brethren thought it necessary to retire, with their wives, children, and moveable effects, to the tops of the mountains and other places of real or fancied security. But God, who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and who, at his pleasure, restrains the wrath of man, on this occasion disposed the heart of the duke to befriend them. The massacres that had taken place in France filled him with disgust and horror; and so far was he from allowing the governor to act a similar part towards *his* subjects, that he caused a proclamation to be issued, commanding those who had left their habitations to return to their own houses, promising that they should sustain neither danger nor injury thereby; and they found him true to his word—for, from that time to the death of the duchess,

which took place on the 19th of October, 1574, they suffered but little inconvenience.

After the death of this amiable lady, however, the popish party came forth, like lions out of their dens, and sought, by all possible means, to destroy the Waldenses; but the kind providence of God raised them up friends, from time to time, who interceded on their behalf with the duke, whose heart seems to have been gradually and increasingly inclined towards them; for he continued to treat them with much gentleness and moderation, from that time until the period of his own death, which happened on the 30th of August, 1580.

The late duke was succeeded in the government of the country by his son, Charles Emanuel; upon whose accession to the throne a trifling contest about territory arose, between him and a French prince, which was near involving the Waldenses in a dilemma. The young duke had seized upon the marquise of Saluces, on which Monsieur de l'Esdiguieres, by way of retaliation, marched his army, and seized the valleys of Piedmont. When the *fracas* was over, a rumour was spread abroad that the Waldenses had taken the oath of fidelity to the King of France, and that the duke, displeased with that part of their conduct, had formed the resolution of extirpating all the protestant churches in his dominions. There does appear to have been some truth in the latter part of this representation; for some members of the duke's council actually proposed the thing, but it was overruled by the wiser and greater part of the members, and it met with a stern repulse from the duke himself. The Waldenses, however, thought it expedient to appoint their deputies to wait upon him, which they did at Villaro, assuring his highness of their loyalty and fidelity to his government, and supplicating a continuance of his favour and protection. His answer, which was made in the presence of a great number of his lords and courtiers, was calculated to revive their drooping spirits. "Only be faithful to me," said the duke, "and I shall not fail to be a good prince, nay, a father to you. And as to your liberty of conscience and the free exercise of your religion, I shall be so far from introducing any innovations into those liberties which you have enjoyed to the present time, that *if any offer to molest you, have*

your recourse to myself, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you."

This certainly was a very remarkable declaration, especially when we consider that it came from one who professed himself a member of the church of Rome. But it was spoken in the presence of many persons of high consideration, and in the most condescending manner; and it proved eminently conducive to the Waldenses. It countervailed the threats of their implacable adversaries, and kept them in check; and such, with occasional interruptions indeed, from the Catholic party, sometimes by secret stratagems, and at others by open force, continued their condition until the end of the century. About that time, the scene greatly changed, and the years 1601 and 1602 were prolific of mischief to the churches, both in the valley of Lucerne and the marquisate of Saluces, of which some mention will be made in the next Lecture: I shall close the present with a short but interesting article of biography, which may serve as an introduction to the history of the Waldenses during the seventeenth century.

In the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin, a Waldensian, of the valley of Lucerne, had occasion to attend a public fair at Ast, a city in Piedmont, to which he had brought for sale some articles of merchandize. Sitting at table one evening in company with several other merchants, one of them started a discourse upon the subject of the diversity of religious professions, and took occasion to speak reproachfully of the Waldenses of Angrogne and the neighbouring valleys. Copin undertook their defence, conceiving that if he permitted such calumnies to pass uncontradicted, he should appear to be acquiescing in their justice, and of course should partake in the guilt that attached to them. "And what," said the stranger to Copin, "are you one of the Waldenses?" "Yes," said he, "I am." "And what, do you not believe the real presence of God in the host?" "No," said Copin. "See," replied the other, "what a false religion yours is." "Of the truth of my religion," said Copin, "I have no more doubt than I have of the existence of God himself, or that I myself shall die." On the following day, Copin was summoned to appear before the Bishop of Ast, who told him that he

had been informed of certain scandalous opinions and discourses which he had held the preceding evening at his lodgings; and that unless he confessed his fault, and asked pardon, he should certainly have him punished. Copin acknowledged that he had been stimulated to say what he did; but that, nevertheless, he had said nothing that was untrue, or which he would not maintain at the peril of his life. He owned that he had some property in the world, and a wife and children, but that his affections were not so rivetted to those objects as to prefer them to the testimony of a good conscience. And as to his life and conversation, if the bishop thought proper to inquire of the merchants of Ast, all of whom knew him, he might be fully satisfied of his uprightness and integrity.

This, however, did not satisfy his lordship, who instantly sent him to prison; and on the following day, the bishop's secretary paid Copin a visit, when he expressed great regard for him, but thought it necessary to apprise him that, unless he acknowledged his fault, he was in danger of losing his life. Copin replied, that his life was in the hands of God—that he had no wish to preserve it to the prejudice of *His* glory—and that as there were but two or three steps between him and heaven, he trusted he would support him by his grace, and not leave him to turn aside. He was next brought before the inquisitor, who examined him in the presence of the bishop; but Copin always repulsed them with the word of God, telling them that were he to be ashamed of and deny Christ, he would be ashamed of and deny him before his heavenly Father. The inquisitor, finding he was not be moved by either his fair speeches or terrific frowns, then thus addressed him:—"Out upon thee, thou cursed Lutheran; thou shalt go to the devils in hell, and when tormented by those foul spirits, thou wilt call to mind the holy instructions we have given thee, to bring thee to salvation—but thou chusest rather to go to hell, than reconcile thyself to thy holy mother, the church." Copin only answered, that he had long been reconciled to the holy church.

Copin, foreseeing that his death was resolved on, and that his time here would probably be short, was one day greatly surprised by a visit from his wife and son, who seem to have been enticed

to the prison by the Catholic party for sinister purposes, and who were permitted to sup with him in the prison. He improved the time, however, in exhorting his wife to submission to the will of God; telling her she would soon be deprived of her husband, and the child, of its father: he reminded her that it was not his duty to love wife or children more than Christ—that she ought to esteem him happy in that it pleased God to confer upon him the honour of bearing witness to his truth at the expense of his life; and that he hoped God would grant him grace to suffer any torments for his sake. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the parting scene, which the reader's own reflections will enable him to realize. The affecting lamentations of the wife and child were sufficient to melt the most obdurate heart into pity and compassion: but having received his last benediction, they were dismissed the prison, and Copin was locked up as before. On the next day he wrote the following letter:—

“ To my well-beloved consort, Susanna Copin.

“ My dearest Consort!—I derived much consolation from your late visit—and indeed so much the more, by how much the less it was expected. I believe, also, it was no little satisfaction to yourself, to have the opportunity of supping with me, as it fell out on Saturday, the 15th of September, 1601. I know not how it came about that we were permitted so to do; but all things are in the hands of God, and be the cause what it may, I do not think we shall eat together any more. And, therefore, beseech God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised never to forsake those that depend upon him. You want not prudence, and therefore so manage and govern your house, that you may have Samuel and Martha in proper subjection to you; and I command them, by the authority that God hath given me, that they honour and obey you, and in so doing they will be blessed of God. As to the rest, be neither troubled nor concerned about me; for if Divine Providence hath decreed to put a period to my life, and if it please him to demand a restitution of that soul which he hath a long time lent me, my confidence is in him, that out of his immense mercy and divine goodness, he will receive it into heaven, for the sake of his Son

Christ Jesus, who, I believe, hath made expiation for our sins by his sufferings and death. Be constant in prayer to God, and serve him fully—for thus you will be happy. You need not send me anything for three weeks to come; but at the expiration of that time, you may, if you please, send me some money, to pay the gaoler, and my own support, *if I live so long*. Recollect what I have often told you, that God added fifteen years to the life of king Hezekiah, but that he had prolonged my term much more, for you have seen me, as it were, dead a long time ago, and yet I still survive; and I hope and trust that he will preserve my life until my death be more for his glory and my own happiness, through his goodness and mercy towards me.

“*From the prison of Ast, Sept. 16th, 1601.*”

Poor Copin was soon afterwards found dead in his cell, not without symptoms of having been strangled! After his death he was condemned to be burnt; and the body having been brought out of prison, sentence was read over it, and it was committed to the flames.*

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. iv.

LECTURE LIII.

History of the Waldenses continued, A.D. 1600 to 1655—Description of the Marquisate of Saluces—Duke of Savoy's Letter to the Inhabitants—Five hundred Families driven into Exile—Renewal of the Persecution throughout the other Valleys—Order of Gastaldo—Narrative of the Atrocities in April, 1655—Sieur du Petit Bourg's Vindication of his own Conduct—Defection and subsequent Restoration of two Pastors, Gros and Aguit—Proceedings in Switzerland in favour of the Waldenses—also in England—Milton's Sonnet, and Letters to Louis XIV.—The Protector sends Sir Samuel Morland to Piedmont to remonstrate with the Duke of Savoy.

On the southern side of the Piedmontese territory lies a considerable tract of extremely fertile country, including extensive valleys and plain lands, with several large cities, all passing under the name of the MARQUISATE OF SALUCES, or, according to the orthography of our old writers, "Saluzzes." Its most northern valley is that of Po, so named from the river Po taking its rise there; and it is separated only by a single mountain on the north side from the valley of Lucerne, in Piedmont.

Previous to the year 1588, the Marquisate of Saluces was subject to the jurisdiction of the kings of France; but at that period an exchange of territory was made between the French monarch and the Duke of Savoy—in consequence of which the latter gave up La Bresse to France, and the marquisate of Saluces was annexed to the dominions of the Duke of Savoy.

The contiguity of Saluces to the valleys of Piedmont, together

with its great similarity in regard to territorial surface, had entitled it, for several centuries, to participate of the light of divine truth, which shone in the neighbouring valleys; and in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were eight flourishing churches in the marquisate, of which Pravillelm, Biolets, Bietoné, and Dronier, were the chief; but they had all maintained the purity of the Christian profession for ages, living in great harmony, and holding fellowship with the neighbouring churches of the same faith and order. Their external peace had, indeed, been frequently invaded by the kings of France, and their constancy and patience under sufferings put severely to the test—but if the French monarchs had chastised them with whips, it was reserved for their new sovereign, Charles Emanuel, to do it with scorpions.* The latter, in the year 1597, made his pleasure known to his new subjects, by a letter issued from Turin, dated 27th of March of that year, of which the following is a copy:—

“ Well-beloved Friends, &c.—It being our desire that all our subjects in the marquisate of Saluces should live under obedience to our mother, the catholic apostolic Roman church—and knowing how much our exhortations have prevailed upon others, hoping also that they will have the same effect upon you, and that you are willing to adhere to the truth—we have thought it proper, upon these grounds, to address you in this letter, to the end that, laying aside that heretical obstinacy, you may embrace the true religion, both out of respect to God’s glory, and love to your own selves. In which religion we, for our parts, are resolved to live and die; which conduct of your’s, on account of so good an example, will undoubtedly lead you to eternal life. Only dispose yourselves to do this, and we shall preserve the remembrance of it for your benefit, as the *Sieur de la Monte* will more particularly certify you on our part, to whom we refer ourselves in this regard, praying the Lord to assist you by his holy grace.”†

* *Morland's History of the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 258. *Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois*, b. ii. ch. v. *Boyer's History of the Waldenses*, ch. ix.

† *Morland*, p. 263.

The publication of this letter occasioned a general consultation among the churches of the marquisate, and they returned an answer to it, in the form of a petition to the Duke of Savoy, in which they first of all tender their thanks to his highness for having permitted them so long to enjoy their religious privileges free from molestation, in the same manner as he had found them when he took possession of the marquisate, in 1588. They then proceed humbly to entreat him that he will be pleased to indulge them with a continuance of the same privileges, inasmuch as they were persuaded that their religious profession was founded on the holy Scriptures, by which standard they laboured so to regulate their lives and conversations as to give no just cause of offence to any one. And when they reflected that even the Jews and other enemies of Christ were there allowed to live in peace, and the enjoyment of their religious worship, they confidently hoped that those who were found to be Christians, and faithful to God and their prince, would not be debarred the same privilege.

This answer was not wholly without effect. They remained undisturbed till the year 1601, when, in the month of July, an edict was issued, commanding all the inhabitants of the marquisate of Saluces, who dissented from the church of Rome, to appear individually before the magistrates, within the space of fifteen days, and there declare whether or not they would renounce their religious profession and go to mass. In the former case, it was promised them that they should remain peaceably in their houses, and be entitled to peculiar advantages; while, in the latter, they were peremptorily ordered to depart out of his highness's dominions, within the space of two months, and never to return, without permission, under pain of death and the confiscation of their property.

The Waldenses appear to have had considerable difficulty in persuading themselves that this was anything more than a threat; in which unfounded supposition they were encouraged by some persons of note among themselves. They therefore made no preparation for a departure, by the settlement of their affairs; but appointed deputies to wait on the duke to obtain a revocation, or, if that could not be effected, at any rate, a modification of this rigorous edict. But Clement VIII., who was then pope,

had got complete possession of the duke's ear, and rendered him deaf to every entreaty. To carry the edict into full effect, a great number of inquisitorial monks were despatched into the marquisate, who, on their arrival, went from house to house, examining the inhabitants concerning their religious profession—and just at the expiration of the term allowed by the edict, their deputies returned, but to their surprise and amazement, informed them that every hope of redress had vanished. The consequence was, that more than *five hundred families were driven into exile*. Some crossed the Alps, and retired into Dauphiny, in France; others to Geneva, and its neighbourhood; while many sought refuge among their friends in the valleys of Piedmont; where, for a while, they remained undisturbed, notwithstanding the edict had expressly mentioned that they should depart out of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy.*

Whether their catholic persecutors, not content with this too gentle mode of punishment, endeavoured, by loading them with reproaches and false accusations, to steel the hearts of the inhabitants of other countries against them, and thereby prevent their finding an asylum,—or whatever was their particular inducement thereto,—it is certain that they considered it necessary, in the year 1603, to publish a declaration explanatory of the cause of their banishment. Perrin has given us a copy of it, and the following is the substance:—

It begins by stating that, from time immemorial, and from generation to generation, the same doctrines and religious profession had been maintained by their predecessors in the marquisate of Saluces; and that, while under the jurisdiction of the kings of France, they had been permitted to profess their faith without molestation, just as their brethren of the valleys of Lucerne, La Perouse, &c. (in Piedmont) had done; but that his highness, instigated by the evil counsels of persons swayed by prejudice and passion, rather than of his own free will, had issued an edict to disturb and molest them. “To the end, therefore,” say they, “that all men may know that it is not for any crime or misdemeanour, perpetrated against the person of

* Perrin, b. ii. ch. v. Morland, p. 265.

our prince, or for rebellion, or opposition to his edicts, or for murder, or theft, that we are thus persecuted, and spoiled of our goods—**WE PROTEST AND DECLARE** that the doctrine maintained by the reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Germany, Geneva, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other kingdoms, is the only Christian doctrine approved of God, and which brings salvation to men. We are, therefore, determined to adhere to it to the end of our lives, and at the risk of every thing that is dear to us. If any presume to think us in an error, we desire to be shewn wherein, ~~promising to~~ **abjure** and turn from it, and to ~~follow the better way~~ that shall be shewn us; for we have nothing more at heart than, with a good conscience, to worship God, agreeably to his own will, and attain the salvation of our souls. But as attempts have been made, by mere force, to compel us to forsake the way of salvation, and to follow after the erroneous doctrines and superstitions invented by men, we chuse to lose our houses and properties—nay, and our very lives, also, rather than comply.”

They, therefore, implore the reformed churches, in the midst of their exile and calamity, to receive them into their fellowship; being prepared, if it should please God so to order it, to seal their testimony with their blood. They return thanks to God, for the honour conferred upon them, by calling them to suffer afflictions and persecutions for his name's sake, committing the issue of their affairs and the righteousness of their cause unto the Divine Providence, trusting that he will effect their deliverance when and how he pleases. And they conclude with a prayer to God, that he, who hath the hearts of kings and princes in his hands, would be graciously pleased to soften the heart of his highness, and incline him to pity those who never did, and who are resolved that they never will, offend him; and that it may be given him to perceive that *they* are more loyal and faithful to him than those are who have instigated him to such persecutions. And, finally, that the Lord will be pleased to support them in the midst of their trials, and fortify them with patience and constancy, that they and their posterity may persevere in the profession of truth to the end of their lives.

It does not appear that this affecting address produced any

amelioration of the condition of the poor exiles. All the churches in the marquisate of Saluces were completely dispersed; and the pope, with the assistance of his inquisitorial band, took special care to keep the country clear of them, as they had formerly done that of Calabria. During this persecution, MONSIEUR VIGNAUX, pastor of the church of Villaro, in the valley of Lucerne, whose history of the Waldenses I have frequently adverted to, was indefatigable in his exertions to serve his afflicted brethren. He was then far advanced in life; his years had given him the advantage of much experience in the Christian profession; and he was remarkable for his gravity and other excellent qualities. Deeply feeling for their distresses, he employed himself in writing long letters to his poor persecuted brethren in every quarter, exhorting them to patience and perseverance, and encouraging them, by all the consolatory considerations which the Gospel affords, not to faint nor be discouraged, but to bear up under their troubles. He also wrote to several of the nobility, to whom he was known, either personally or by report, particularly to the governor of the marquisate, with whom he was intimately acquainted, stating the injustice and cruelty that was done to his friends, and urging all the motives and reasons that he could devise, to induce him to mitigate their sufferings; but, so far as appears, without the least effect.

From this period, the Waldenses appear to have been tolerably free from very severe persecution for half a century. But, in the month of January, 1655, the tragedy of Saluces was re-acted over almost all the valleys of Piedmont, and with tenfold cruelty. On the 25th of that month, a public document appeared, which has since been but too well known by the title of "The Order of Gastaldo." Thus runs the preamble:—

"ANDREW GASTALDO, Doctor of the Civil Law, Master Auditor Ordinary, sitting in the most illustrious chamber of accounts of his royal highness, and *Conservator General of the holy faith*, for the observation of the orders published against the pretended reformed religion of the valley of Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martino, and upon this account especially deputed by his said royal highness."

After stating the authority which had been vested in him by

the duke, on the 13th of the same month, it proceeds "to command and enjoin every head of a family, with its members, of the reformed religion, of whatever rank, degree, or condition soever, without exception, inhabiting or possessing estates in the places of Lucerne, Lucernetta, S. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherassio, and S. Secondo, *within three days after the publication of those presents, to withdraw and depart, and to be, with their families, withdrawn out of the said places, and transported into the places allowed by his royal highness, during his good pleasure, &c.—under pain of death and confiscation of houses and goods—Provided always that they do not make it appear to us within twenty days following, that they are become Catholics, or that they have sold their goods to the Catholics. Furthermore, his royal highness intends and wills that in the places (to which they were to transport themselves) the holy mass shall be celebrated in every one of them, and that for any person of the said reformed religion to molest, either in deed or word, the missionary fathers and those that attend them, much less to divert or dissuade any one of the said religion from turning Catholic, he shall do it on pain of death," &c.*

It is not difficult to conjecture what must have been the distress and misery consequent upon a compliance with such an order as this, and more especially in such a country as Piedmont, at such a season of the year. Thousands of families, comprehending the aged and infirm, the sick and afflicted, the mother advanced in pregnancy, and the one scarcely raised up from her confinement—the delicate female and the helpless infant—all compelled to abandon their homes in the very depth of winter, in a country where the snow is visible upon the tops of the mountains throughout every month in the year. All this surely presents a picture of distress sufficient to rend the heart.

On the first issuing of the edict, the Waldenses sent deputies to the governor of the province, humbly representing to him the unreasonableness and the cruelty of this command. They stated the absolute impossibility of so many souls finding subsistence in the places to which they were ordered to transport themselves; the countries scarcely affording adequate supply for their present inhabitants. They added, that this command was expressly con-

trary to all their rights as the peaceable subjects of his highness, and the concessions which had been uniformly granted them, of maintaining, without molestation, their religious profession: but the inhuman governor refused to pay the least attention to their application. Disappointed in this, they next begged time to present their humble supplication to his royal highness. But even this boon was refused them, unless they would allow him to draw up their petition and prescribe the form of it. Finding that what he proposed was equally inimical to their rights and consciences, they declined his proposal. They now found that the only alternative which remained for them was, to abandon their houses and properties, and to retire, with their families, their wives and children, aged parents, and helpless infants,—the halt, the lame, and the blind,—to traverse the country, through the rain, snow, and ice, encompassed with a thousand difficulties.

But these things were only the beginnings of sorrow to this afflicted people. For no sooner had they quitted their houses, than a banditti broke into them, pillaging and plundering whatever they had left behind. They next proceeded to raze their habitations to the ground, to cut down the trees, and turn the neighbourhood into a desolate wilderness; and all this without the least remonstrance or prohibition from Gastaldo. These things, however, were only a trifle in comparison of what followed. But the reader will best learn this sad story from the parties who were interested in this melancholy catastrophe; and the following is a copy of the letter which some of the survivors wrote to their Christian friends, in distant countries, as soon as the tragedy was over.

A brief Narrative of those horrible Cruelties which were exercised against the Waldenses, in the late Massacre, in April, 1655.

“BRETHREN AND FATHERS!—Our tears are no more tears of water, but of blood, which not only obscure our sight, but oppress our very hearts. Our pen is guided by a trembling hand, and our minds distracted by such unexpected alarms, that we are incapable of framing a letter which shall correspond with our wishes, or the strangeness of our desolations. In this respect, therefore,

we plead your excuse, and that you would endeavour to collect our meaning from what we would impart to you.

“Whatever reports may have been circulated concerning our obstinacy in refusing to have recourse to his royal highness for a redress of our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we have never desisted from writing supplicatory letters, or presenting our humble requests, by the hands of our deputies, and that they were sent and referred, sometimes to the council *de propaganda fide*, at other times to the Marquis of Pionessa; and that the three last times they were positively rejected, and refused so much as an audience, under the pretext that they had no credentials nor instructions which should authorize them to promise or accept, on the behalf of their respective churches, whatever it might please his highness to grant or bestow upon them. And by the instigation and contrivance of the Roman clergy, there was secretly placed in ambush an army of six thousand men, who, animated and encouraged thereto by the personal presence and active exertions of the Marquis of Pionessa, fell suddenly, and in the most violent manner, upon the inhabitants of S. Giovanni and La Torre.

“This army, having once entered and got a footing, was soon augmented by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants throughout all Piedmont, who, hearing that we were given up as a prey to the plunderers, fell upon the poor people with impetuous fury. To all those were added an incalculable number of persons that had been outlawed, prisoners, and other offenders, who expected thereby to have saved their souls and filled their purses. And the better to effect their purposes, the inhabitants were compelled to receive *five or six regiments of the French army*, besides some Irish, to whom, it is reported, our country was promised, with several troops of vagabond persons, under the pretext of coming into the valleys for fresh quarters.

“This great multitude, by virtue of a licence from the Marquis of Pionessa, instigated by the monks, and enticed and conducted by our wicked and unnatural neighbours, attacked us with such violence on every side, especially in Angrogne, Villaro, and Bobbio, and in a manner so horribly treacherous, that in an instant all was one entire scene of confusion; and the inhabitants, after a

fruitless skirmish to defend themselves, were compelled to flee for their lives, with their wives and children; and that not merely the inhabitants of the plain, but those of the mountains also. Nor was all their diligence sufficient to prevent the destruction of a very considerable number of them. For, in many places, such as Villaro and Bobbio, they were so hemmed in on every side, the army having seized on the fort of Mareburg, and by that means blocked up the avenue, that there remained no possibility of escape, and nothing remained for them but to be massacred and put to death. In one place they mercilessly tortured not less than an hundred and fifty women and their children, chopping off the heads of some, and dashing the brains of others against the rocks. And in regard to those whom they took prisoners, from fifteen years old and upwards, who refused to go to mass, they hanged some, and nailed others to the trees by the feet, with their heads downwards. It is reported that they carried some persons of note prisoners to Turin, viz.—our poor brother and pastor, M. Gros, with some part of his family. In short, there is neither cattle nor provisions of any kind left in the valley of Lucerne. It is but too evident that all is lost, since there are some whole districts, especially S. Giovanni and La Torre, where the business of setting fire to our houses and churches was so dexterously managed, by a Franciscan friar, and a certain priest, that they left not so much as one of either unburnt. In these desolations, the mother has been bereft of her dear child—the husband of his affectionate wife! Those who were once the richest amongst us are reduced to the necessity of begging their bread, while others still remain weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of life. And as to the churches in S. Martino and other places, who, on all former occasions, have been a sanctuary to the persecuted, they have themselves now been summoned to quit their dwellings, and every soul of them to depart, and that instantaneously and without respite, under pain of being put to death. Nor is there any mercy to be expected by any of them who are found within the dominions of his royal highness.

“The pretext which is alleged for justifying these horrid proceedings is, that we are rebels against the orders of his highness, for not having brought the whole city of Geneva within the walls

of Mary Magdalene church—or, in plainer terms, for not having performed an utter impossibility, in departing, in a moment, from our houses and homes in Bubbiana, Lucerne, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, S. Giovanni, and S. Secondo; and also, for having renewed our repeated supplications to his royal highness, to commiserate our situation, who, while on the one hand he promised us to make no innovations in our lot, on the other refused us permission to depart peaceably out of his dominions, which we have often entreated him for, in case he would not allow us to continue and enjoy the liberty of our consciences, as his predecessors had always done. True it is, that the Marquis of Pionessa adduced another reason—and we have the original copy of his writing in our possession—which is, that it was his royal highness's pleasure to abase us and humble our pride, for endeavouring to shroud ourselves, and take sanctuary, under the protection of foreign princes and states.

“To conclude, our beautiful and flourishing churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless our God work miracles for us. Their time is come, and our measure is full! O, have pity upon the desolations of Jerusalem, and be grieved for the afflictions of Joseph! Shew forth your compassions, and let your bowels yearn in behalf of so many thousands of poor souls, who are reduced to a morsel of bread, for following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. We recommend our pastors, with their scattered and dispersed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers, and rest in haste,

“Your brethren in the Lord.

“*April 27, 1655.*”

The reader may collect from this letter some general notion of the tenor of the proceedings that were at this time carried on against the Waldenses in Piedmont; and they appear to have been extended progressively throughout almost the whole country. But if credit is to be given to the statements of our countryman, Sir Samuel Morland, who, in the very same year was sent by the English government to administer pecuniary assistance to these afflicted people,—if any regard is due to the attestations which he has produced from persons who were spectators of the dreadful

work of carnage,—it is but a faint impression of the scene which can be derived from that letter. The representation given us by Sir Samuel, and further corroborated by Leger, in his “General History of the Churches of Piedmont,” beggars all description, for atrocity. Nor, if the infernal regions had been disembowelled of their inhabitants, and the whole let loose among the valleys of Piedmont, could we have expected the perpetration of greater enormities. The bare report of them spread amazement throughout all the protestant states of Europe, as we shall presently see ; and the principal actors in this deep tragedy found it necessary to aim at extricating their characters from the odium which attached to it. In particular, the Marquis of Pionessa laboured to cast the blame upon certain officers of his army, which induced one of them, not only to give up the command of the regiment, but actually to draw up an affidavit, which he attested with his own hand, and got it further corroborated by the testimony of two of his brother officers, in vindication of his conduct in that affair. Sir Samuel Morland obtained possession of the original document, which he deposited in the University of Cambridge, along with a number of other interesting manuscripts relating to this subject ; and it appears of sufficient importance to be submitted to the reader's consideration.

“I, SIEUR DU PETIT BOURG, first captain of the regiment of Groncy, who also commanded the same, having received direction from Prince Thomas, to join the Marquis of Pionessa, who was then at La Torre, and to receive his orders—when I was upon the eve of departure, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. de Pionessa, and to use my endeavours to accommodate the troubles which had happened among those of the religion [of the Waldenses] in the valleys of Piedmont. In order to which I addressed myself to the marquis, earnestly entreating him that he would give way, and allow me to undertake an accommodation, which I supposed I might have been able to effect. But he repeatedly refused my request, in defiance of all the endeavours I could possibly use to persuade him. And instead of the least mitigation of matters, which could be produced by any consideration that I could lay before him, I was witness to many acts of violence and extreme cruelties exercised by the

banditti and soldiers of Piedmont, upon all sorts of persons, of every age, sex, and condition, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hung up—females violated, and numerous other horrid atrocities committed. And so far is it from being true that the whole was done by virtue of the orders that were issued by me, as falsely stated in a certain relation printed in French and Italian, that *I beheld the same with horror and regret*. And whereas it is said in the same relation, that the Marquis of Pionessa commanded me to treat them peaceably, without hostility, and in the best manner I possibly could, the event clearly demonstrated that the orders he gave were altogether of a contrary tendency, since it is most certain that without distinction of those who resisted from those who made no resistance, they were used with all sorts of inhumanity—their houses burnt, their goods plundered; and when prisoners were brought before the Marquis of Pionessa, I was a witness to his issuing orders to give them no quarter at all, assigning as a reason, that his highness was resolved to have none of that religion in any of his dominions.

“And as to what *he protests* in the same declaration, namely, that no hurt was done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any unoffending and helpless persons, I do assert, and will maintain that such is not the truth—having seen with my own eyes several men killed in cold blood, and also women, aged persons, and children, miserably murdered.

“And with regard to the manner in which they put themselves in possession of the valley of Angrogne, to pillage, and entirely burn the same, it was done with great ease. For, excepting six or seven persons, who, seeing there would be no mercy shewn them, made some shew of resistance, the rest were dispersed without difficulty—the peasants consulting how to flee, rather than how to fight the enemy. In short, I absolutely deny and protest, as in the presence of God, that none of those cruelties were executed by my order; but, on the contrary, seeing that I could not procure a remedy, I was constrained to retire and quit the command of the regiment, not liking to be present at such wicked transactions.

“*Done at Pignerol, November 27th, 1655.*

“**DU PETIT BOURG.**”

Now whatever may be thought of this defence, or upon whomsoever the *onus* of guilt may devolve, it seems a fair inference from these documents, that cruelties of the most enormous kinds were at this time inflicted by the catholic party upon the Waldenses, throughout the whole country of Piedmont,—upon a class of men whose sole crime was, that they dissented from the communion of the church of Rome, and refused to countenance her idolatry and superstition. And that their sufferings were of no ordinary cast, may be inferred from the single consideration, that they excited the commiseration of, and at the same time, extorted remonstrances from, almost every Protestant court in Europe, who raised large contributions to relieve their poverty, and sent their ministers to the court of Savoy, to intercede with the duke for a mitigation of the sufferings of his subjects. In this benevolent work, it is a gratifying reflection that our own country took the lead, as I shall presently shew.

While the fire of persecution was, as we have seen, so fiercely raging against the Waldenses, in the early part of the year 1655, two persons who sustained the pastoral office, in the valley of Lucerne, were seized and sent as prisoners to the city of Turin, probably with a multitude of others who escaped the edge of the enemy's sword. Their names were PETER GROS and FRANCIS AGUIT. These men were unhappily entrapped by the monks of the inquisition, and they fell from their profession. The renunciation of their principles ensured their liberation from prison: the chains were taken from their bodies, and they recovered their liberty; but in a short time the burden was transferred from the body to the mind, and their own consciences rendered them miserable. In this state of things they applied for readmission into the churches; and the following declaration of the state of their minds was publicly made by them, before a full assembly of their brethren, convened at Pinache, in the valley of Perouse, on the 28th and 29th of August, 1655, for the purpose of taking their case into consideration:—

“Most honoured Fathers and Brethren in the Lord—We could have wished that a less mournful occasion had caused our present appearance in public, and that a more favourable opportunity had made us known to the world, by some notable action, the

remembrance of which might have been as a blessing in the churches; but as our names can only be famous by the horrible scandal which we have brought upon the church of God, we now come forth out of the dark dungeons of our own shame and confusion, and present ourselves before men, to testify to all the world our conversion and repentance, and to give indubitable proofs of our grief, for that we have been so base as to forsake our former profession.

“When we reflect upon those advantages with which, above others, the Lord was pleased to bless us, in granting us a religious education, and the knowledge of his saving grace,—thus teaching us where true happiness is to be found; and finally to have been called to the highest employment that men can have in this world,—viz. to be the heralds of God’s justice, and the preachers of his truth, we cannot, without horror, speak of our offence, and are constrained to confess that our sin is rendered much more odious in that, having known our Master’s will, we nevertheless withdrew our shoulders from his service, and have acted in opposition to his command.

“It was in these last calamities which have overrun our country, that we thus made shipwreck—after having lost our liberty and our goods—when the enemies of the truth, having resolved upon extirpating our religion in the valleys of Piedmont, exercised the most barbarous cruelties upon our countrymen. And we, having fallen into their hands, after they had shewn us how far their inhumanity could reach, to give us a proof of the utmost degree of it, they caused us to be thrown into prison, when they proceeded against us, and sentenced us to death as guilty of high treason, and the ringleaders of rebellion, incessantly setting before our eyes the torments and punishments to which we were condemned; and to render us more flexible to the enticements of the Jesuits, who, without ceasing, solicited us to accept of a pardon, which they would obtain for us on our embracing popery, and abjuring our religion.

“At their first onsets, we were confident that, so far from yielding to them, we had strength and fortitude enough to despise whatever superstition could present before our eyes as terrible or dreadful—and that the dark and dismal shades of

death itself, with which they threatened us, were insufficient to extinguish that heavenly light which then shined in our souls. But to our extreme grief, we have learned how frail our nature is, and how deceitful the wisdom of the flesh, which, for the enjoyment of a frail and transitory life, prevailed upon us to forego those unspeakably good things which God hath prepared for his children, and that everlasting joy, of which those are made partakers who endure to the end. It was this fleshly wisdom, which, from a desire to preserve this house of clay, this earthly tabernacle, and to avoid a shameful death, and a punishment ignominious in the eyes of the world, that induced us to a shameful falling away, turning our backs upon Him who is the fountain of life. We have lent our ears to this deceitful *Deilah*, and although there were not offered to us any reasons so strong as in the least degree to obscure the truth that we did profess, yet we freely acknowledge that the fear of death and the horror of torments, shook our courage, and beat down our strength; and we have decayed and dried up like water, not resisting to blood, as the profession, not only of Christians, but more especially of Christian ministers, obliged us to do.

“Having been persuaded, by deceitful reasoning, that life is preferable to death—that we might be further profitable to the church, to our country, and to our families—that there was no glory in dying as rebels—and that one day we might get out of captivity, and manifest to the world that, if the confession had been wanting in our mouths, yet the faith had not been wanting in our hearts:—thus we accepted of pardon on these miserable conditions, and have not hesitated to enter into the temple of idols, and employ our mouths and tongues in uttering blasphemies against the truth of heaven, in denying and abjuring the same—and our sacrilegious hands also in subscribing the acts and events of this infamous apostacy, which has drawn many others into the same perdition. Our light has become darkness, and our salt has lost its savour—we have fallen from heaven to the earth—from the spirit to the flesh—and from life to death. We have made ourselves obnoxious to the curse which the Lord hath pronounced on those by whom offences come. And having

made light of the threatenings of the Son of God against those who shall deny him before men, we have deserved to be denied by him before his heavenly Father. Finally, we have rendered ourselves unworthy of Divine favours and mercy, and have drawn upon our guilty heads whatever is most dreadful in the wrath of God and his indignations—and have deserved to be rejected of the church, as stumbling-blocks or rocks of offence, and that the faithful should even abhor our company.

“ But as we have learned in the school of the prophets, that the mercies of God are infinite, and that the Lord hath no pleasure in the destruction of his poor creatures, but calleth the sinner to repentance, that he may give him life, we presume to appear before his face, to humble ourselves in his holy presence, to bewail the greatness of our sin, and to make before him a free confession of our iniquity. O, that our heads might melt into waters of bitterness, and our eyes were turned into fountains of tears, to express the grief wherewith our souls are pressed down ! As our sin is of no ordinary measure, so it calls for extraordinary repentance ; and as we acknowledge it to be one of the greatest that can be committed, so do we wish that our repentance should reach the lowest degree of humiliation, and that the acts of our contrition may be known to the world. If David, for lighter faults, was willing that his complaints and his deep sorrow and repentance should be left, as it were, for a memorial in the church, well may we not be ashamed to publish among men the inconsolable regret which we feel for having offended God, and giving an occasion of scandal to the assemblies of the saints ; and we deserve to have imprinted upon our foreheads a mark of perpetual infamy for our miserable fall, to make the memory thereof continue for ever. And if we can make it apparent that the sorrow it hath begotten in us is extreme, and that we now disclaim whatever fear formerly forced us to do contrary to the dictates of our consciences, we trust that He who forgave Peter when he denied Christ in the court of Caiaphas, will grant us the same grace, since we are come to ask forgiveness in all humility, with tears in our eyes, confession in our mouths, and contrition in our hearts ; and that, as there is joy in heaven over one sinner that

repenteth, so there may be joy in the congregation of the faithful when they shall behold our conversion to the Lord.

“GREAT GOD! ALMIGHTY FATHER!—dreadful in thine anger—in whose presence no sinner can subsist a moment—we prostrate ourselves at the feet of thy Majesty, as poor miserable offenders, confessing that we have justly provoked thee to anger by our transgressions and iniquities, and drawn upon ourselves thy righteous judgments, in that we have forsaken thy heavenly truth, and bowed the knee before the idol! But how shall we now appear before thee, O thou Judge of the quick and dead!—since by so doing we have deserved to feel, not only in this life thy most severe rod and punishment, but that thou shouldst also cut us off from the number of the living, and cast us headlong into the lake of fire and brimstone, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. O God! rich in compassions and infinite in mercies! which thou multiplieth even in judgment—turn us, and we shall be turned! be merciful to us, forgive us our offence! blot out our iniquity! and impute not our sin unto us! Open unto us the door of thy grace, that we may be partakers of this thy salvation. O Lord Jesus, Redeemer of souls, who camest into this world for the sake of poor sinners, look upon our affliction! Receive us to mercy! and grant that, our sins being washed away in thy most precious blood, we may draw near to the throne of thy grace with confidence, to obtain mercy. Raise us up from our fall! strengthen us in our weakness! and although Satan hath sought to sift us, suffer not our faith [utterly] to fail! Work in us effectually both to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. It is thou who hast stretched out thine hand around us! it is thy strong hand which hath helped us! Thou hast taken us out of captivity both of body and soul, in which we lay languishing, and hast afforded us the liberty to call upon thy name! Thou hast heard our cries out of the deep, and hast given us fresh cause to rejoice in thy goodness, and to bless thy holy name—to whom be everlasting glory ascribed, at all times, and in all ages! AMEN.

“And you, faithful souls, who witness our contrite heart and broken spirit before the Lord, O commiserate our lamentable state! Learn, by our example, how great is human frailty, and

what a precipice we fall into whenever God withdraws his supporting hand from us ! Consider, that as it hath been to us an extreme infelicity to have fallen into so great a sin, so have you an argument to rejoice in God, through whose grace you have been given to stand ! Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation ! Hold fast that which you have, that no man take your crown ! Be faithful to the Lord Jesus even unto death, that so ye may obtain the crown of life ! And be assured that, aside from the profession of his truth, which you make to the exclusion of all other sorts of religion whatsoever, there is nothing but death, horror, and astonishment. This is a thing which we are enabled to assure you of from our own experience, because from the very first moment we gave our consent to this unhappy apostacy, our consciences have given us no rest at all ; and through their continual harassings and agitations, they have not suffered us to enjoy any of that comfort which a Christian soul experiences in tribulation, until it pleased God to draw us out of the filthy quagmire of Babylon, and caused us to return to his ways. And do you, Christians, lend your helping hand ; let your arms be opened to embrace us ; do not count us unworthy of your holy communion, although we have been an occasion of offence. Suffer us to pour into your bosom a torrent of tears, to deplore our condition, and to assure you, in the anguish of our souls, that our grief is greater than we can express. Help us by your holy prayers to the Lord, and publish our repentance in all places where you conceive our sin has been or shall be known, that so it may be evident to all the world that, from the very bottom of our souls, we grieve and are full of sorrow for it ; and that, in the presence of God and of his holy angels, as well as of those who now witness our contrition, we do abjure and detest the pretended sacrifice of the mass, the authority of the pope, and, in general, all the worship that is dependent on them. We recant whatsoever we have pronounced to the prejudice of evangelical truth, and promise, for the future, through Divine assistance, to persevere in the profession of the reformed religion to the last moment of our lives, and rather to suffer death and torments, than to renounce that holy doctrine which is taught in our churches, and which we believe to be agreeable to the word of

God; all which we protest and promise, with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the Eternal, our Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and as we desire his aid, to enable us to do this, even so may he help us, even our God. AMEN."

The Council of Zurich, in Switzerland, were, by reason of their proximity to the valleys of Piedmont, the first to receive intimation of the horrid massacre which had recently taken place there. The news reached them on the Lord's day, April 29;—and such was the impression which it made upon them, that the town council immediately assembled, and issued a proclamation for a day of fasting and humiliation throughout all their territories; at the same time recommending that collections should everywhere be made for relieving the wants of the poor sufferers. On the next day they drew up a letter, addressed to the States-General of Holland, of which the following is a copy:—

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORDS, &c.—Having this instant received the dismal news of the lamentable state of our brethren of the faith in Piedmont, as you may see by the copy of a letter now sent, we thought ourselves obliged, by the sacred rights of faith, union, and communion, to acquaint you therewith; being fully assured that you will be pleased, according to your wonted piety and Christian charity, thoroughly to consider and lay to heart this 'affliction of Joseph.' This persecution is smoothed over with a very fair pretext by the opposite party, but there is no one who loves the church of Christ, that will not easily be persuaded of the subtleties and treacheries to which their adversaries alternately have recourse.

"Moved by an ardent sympathy, we earnestly beseech you, most mighty and illustrious lords, that you would lay to heart the case of these afflicted people, and administer those means of relief which you may think conducive thereunto—not only by prayer to the Father of Mercies for them, and by granting them that pecuniary assistance which their miseries loudly call for, but also by pacifying their prince towards them; or, at least, obtaining for them the liberty to emigrate, which we also shall, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to do. May the Sovereign Lord

of all have mercy upon his church in every place—own their cause—and his Almighty arm avert their misery and adversities; to whose protection we heartily recommend you. Given, in haste, the 30th April, 1655.

“ The Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland—viz., Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel.”

About the 20th of May an account of the Duke of Savoy's proceedings against the Waldenses reached England; and, to use the words of Sir Samuel Morland, it no sooner came to the ears of the Protector, Cromwell, than “ he arose like a lion out of his place,” and by the most pathetic appeals to the protestant princes upon the Continent, awoke the whole Christian world, exciting their hearts to pity and commiseration. Our great poet, MILTON, filled the office of Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell at this critical juncture. Never was there a more decided enemy to persecution on account of religion than Milton. He appears to have been the first of our countrymen who understood the principles of toleration, and his prose writings abound with the most enlightened and liberal sentiments. The sufferings of the Waldenses touched his heart, and drew from his pen the following exquisite sonnet:—

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones—
Forget not! in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese—that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learn'd thy way
Early, may fly the Babylonian woe.*

* Dr. Warton, in his edition of Milton's minor poems, remarks upon the Sonnet, that “ Milton's mind, busied with this affecting subject, here broke forth in a strain

But this was a small portion of the interest which Milton took upon this affecting occasion. It devolved upon him by office to address the heads of the different protestant states in Europe, with the view of interesting them in the affairs of the Waldenses; and his letters deserve to be handed down to the remotest ages of the world, as a noble instance of a benevolent and feeling mind, worthy of the author of *PARADISE LOST*.*

One of the first of Cromwell's measures was to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, to seek the Lord in behalf of the melancholy condition of this afflicted people: a public declaration of their state was also issued, calling upon the inhabitants throughout the land to join in free and liberal contributions towards their succour and support, in which the Protector himself set them a noble example, by commencing the subscription with a donation of TWO THOUSAND POUNDS, from his own private purse; and that no time might be lost, in testifying his good-will towards the Waldenses, on the 23rd of May, Sir S. Morland received orders to prepare for setting off with a message from the English government to the Duke of Savoy, beseeching the latter to recal the merciless edict of Gastaldo, and to restore the remnant of his poor distressed subjects to their homes and the enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

On the 26th of May, Sir S. Morland took his departure for the Continent, being charged, on his way to Piedmont, with a

of poetry, where his feelings were not fettered by ceremony or formality." He adds, that "the protestants availed themselves of an opportunity of exposing the horrors of popery, by publishing many sets of prints of this *unparalleled scene of religious butchery*, which operated like Fox's Book of Martyrs. Sir S. Morland, Cromwell's agent for the valleys of Piedmont, published a minute account of this whole transaction, in 'The History of the Valleys of Piedmont,' with numerous cuts, in folio, Lond. 1658." Among the latter, there is a print emblematical of the seventh and eighth lines of this Sonnet. Morland relates, that "a mother was hurled down a mighty rock, with a little infant in her arms—and three days after was found dead, with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the arms of the dead mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those who found them had much ado to get the young child out."—*Morland's History*, p. 363. See Warton's edition of Milton's Poems and Translations, with Notes and Illustrations. 2nd Edit. Lond. 1791.

* The office which Milton filled under the Protectorate was much the same as that which, in our day, is called "SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS." See Dr. Symmons's Life of Milton, p. 319.

letter from the Protector to the French king, relating to the Waldenses, in whose recent murder, as the reader will have already noticed, some French troops had been employed. The following is a copy of the letter which, on the 1st of June, the English envoy delivered at La Fere, where the king and court of France were then residing :—

“ **MOST SERENE KING**—The lamentable complaints which have been conveyed to us from those poor and afflicted people who profess the reformed religion, and inhabit the valleys within the dominions of the Duke of Savoy—and who have of late been most cruelly massacred—together with the melancholy tidings we have received concerning the plundering and banishing of others—have extorted from us these letters to your majesty; and the rather, as we have been informed, how truly we know not, that this massacre has been carried on, *partly by some troops of your's*, which had joined themselves to other forces belonging to the Duke of Savoy.

“ We were very unwilling to give any credit to these things, because it cannot be thought consonant to the purposes and proceedings either of good princes, or of your majesty's most prudent ancestors, who conceived it to be their interest, and not less conducive to the peace of Christendom, that their protestant subjects should live in safety, and enjoy protection under their government, for which they have always been grateful, and rendered eminent services to their sovereigns, in times both of peace and war. Similar considerations have hitherto induced the Dukes of Savoy to treat their subjects with equal kindness. Now we doubt not but that your majesty has so much influence with the Duke of Savoy, that, by your intercession, a peace may be procured for those poor people, with liberty to return to their native country. The performance of this would be an act worthy of your majesty, and conformable to the example set you by your predecessors, while it would, at the same time, set the minds of your own subjects at rest, by assuring them that *they need not fear a repetition of such evils among them*; and also confirm your confederates and allies, who profess the same

religion, in greater respect and affection for your majesty. With respect to ourselves, any favour of this kind which you shall grant to your own subjects, or which you may obtain for the subjects of others, will not be less acceptable to us; indeed it will be more so than any other profit or advantage, among the many which we promise ourselves from the friendship of your majesty.

“OLIVER P.”

“*Westminster, May 25, 1655.*”

The King of France lost no time in returning a very complaisant and satisfactory answer to this letter, in which he assures the Protector that the manner in which his troops had been employed by the Duke of Savoy or his ministers was very far from meeting with his approbation—that they had been sent by him into Italy, to assist the Duke of Modena against the invasion which the Spaniards had made upon his country—that he had already expostulated with the court of Savoy for having employed them in an affair of that nature without his authority or command—and that he had sent to the governor of his province of Dauphiny, requesting him to collect as many of the poor exiled Waldenses as he could, to treat them with gentleness, and afford them every protection they might stand in need of. He tells his highness that, knowing, as he now does, how much he is affected by the distress of these Waldenses, it gives him pleasure to think he has already anticipated his wishes, and that he shall continue to use his influence with the prince for their relief and comfort; and indeed that he had already proceeded so far as to pledge himself for their obedience and fidelity, in case the Duke of Savoy would re-establish them in his dominions, and that he had grounds to hope his mediation would not be rejected. “As to what remains,” continues his majesty, “you were perfectly right in believing that I had given no orders to my troops to execute such a business as this—nor was there the least ground to suppose that I should contribute to the chastisement of the subjects of the Duke of Savoy who professed the reformed religion, while I was giving so many proofs of my good-will to those of my own subjects of the same profession; whose fidelity and zeal for my service I

have great reason to applaud, since they omit no opportunity of evincing their loyalty, *even beyond all that can be imagined*, and in everything contributing to the prosperity and advantage of my affairs. So much in answer to your letter; but I cannot conclude without requesting you to be assured that, upon every occasion you shall find how much I esteem your person, and that, from the bottom of my heart, I pray the Divine Majesty that he have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

Having delivered the Protector's letter to the King of France, and received the preceding reply to it, Sir Samuel Morland proceeded on his journey towards Savoy, and upon the 21st of June arrived at Rivoli, a city about two miles from Turin, where the duke, who seems to have been a minor, then was with his royal mother and the court. Two days afterwards he obtained an audience, and introduced himself in an elaborate Latin oration, which he delivered in the presence of the duke, Madame Royal, and all the court, and in which he painted in strong colours the accounts that had been received in England concerning the dreadful atrocities that had been recently perpetrated upon the Waldenses by means of the soldiery—describing “the houses on fire, which,” says he, “are yet smoking—the mangled carcasses, and the ground defiled with blood—virgins violated, and, after being treated with brutal outrage too indecent to be mentioned, left to breathe out their last—men an hundred years old, helpless through age and bedridden, burnt in their beds—infants dashed against the rocks,” &c. “Were all the tyrants,” says he, “of all times and ages alive again, they might blush to find that, in comparison of these things, they had contrived nothing that deserved to be called barbarous and inhuman! The very angels are seized with horror at them! Men are amazed! Heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the gore of so many innocent persons,” &c. Having finished his harangue, Sir Samuel presented to the duke the following letter, with which he had been charged by his master, the Lord Protector:—

"MOST SERENE PRINCE—We have received letters from several places near your dominions, informing us that the subjects of your royal highness, professing the reformed religion, have of late, by your express order and command, been required, under pain of death and confiscation of their estates, to abandon their houses, possessions, and dwellings, within three days after the publication of that order, unless they would pledge themselves to relinquish their religious profession and become catholics within twenty days. And that, when, with all becoming humility, they addressed themselves to your royal highness, petitioning for a revocation of that order, and a reception to former favour, with a continuance of such liberties as were granted them by your most serene predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly massacred many, imprisoned others, banishing the rest into desert places and mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that it is to be feared they will all miserably perish, in a short time, with hunger and cold.

"When intelligence was first brought us that a calamity so awful had befallen those most miserable people, it was impossible for us not to feel the deepest sorrow and compassion. For, as we are, not only by the ties of humanity, but also by religious fellowship and fraternal relation, united to them, we conceived we could neither satisfy our own minds, nor discharge our duty to God, nor the obligations of brotherly kindness and charity, as professors of the same faith, if, while deeply sympathizing with our afflicted brethren, we should fail to use every endeavour that was within our reach to succour them under so many unexpected miseries.

"We, in the first place, therefore, most earnestly desire and entreat your highness that you would re-consider the acts and ordinances of your most serene predecessors, and the indulgences which were by them granted from time immemorial, and ratified to their subjects of the valleys. In granting and confirming which, as, on the one hand, they unquestionably did that which in itself was well pleasing to God, who intends that the law and liberty of conscience shall remain wholly in his power—so, on the other, it cannot be doubted but that they had a respect

also to the merit of their subjects, whom they had always found faithful in war, and obedient in time of peace. And as your serene highness has imitated the example of your predecessors in all other things that have been so graciously and gloriously achieved by them, so we beseech you again and again that you would abrogate this edict, and any other that has been issued for the disquieting of your subjects on account of their religion; that you would restore them to their native homes and the possession of their properties; that you would confirm to them their ancient rights and liberties, cause reparation to be made to them for the injuries they have sustained, and adopt such means as may put an effectual stop to these vexatious proceedings. In doing this, your royal highness will perform what is acceptable to God, comfort and revive these miserable and distressed people, and give satisfaction to all your neighbours professing the reformed religion, and especially to ourself, who shall regard your favour and clemency towards them as the effect and fruit of our mediation, which we shall consider ourself bound to requite by a return of every good office, while it will also be the means of not only laying a foundation for our good correspondence and friendship, but also of increasing it between this commonwealth and your dominions. And this we promise ourself from your justice and clemency, whereunto we desire God to incline your heart and mind, and so we sincerely pray that he would confer on you and on your people peace and truth, and that he would prosper you in all your affairs.

“Given at our Palace at Westminster, May 25, 1655.

“OLIVER P.”

As soon as the duke and his mother had made themselves acquainted with the contents of this letter, Madame Royal addressed herself to the English minister, and told him, that “as, on the one hand, she could not but extremely applaud the singular charity and goodness of his highness, the Lord Protector, towards their subjects, whose situation had been represented to him so exceedingly lamentable, as she perceived by his discourse had been done—so, on the other, she could not but extremely

wonder that the malice of men should ever proceed so far as to clothe *such paternal and tender chastisements of their most rebellious and insolent subjects* in characters so black and deformed, thereby to render them odious to all the neighbouring princes and states, with whom they were so anxious to keep up a good understanding and friendship—especially with so great and powerful a prince as the Lord Protector.” She, at the same time, gave him to understand that “she was persuaded, when he came to be more particularly informed of the truth of all that had passed, he would be so perfectly satisfied with the duke’s proceedings, that *he would not give the least countenance to his disobedient subjects*. However, for his highness’s sake, they would not only freely pardon their rebellious subjects for *the very heinous crimes they had committed*, but would also grant them such privileges and favours as could not fail to give the Protector full proof of the great respect which they entertained for his person and mediation.”

These plausible professions, while they no doubt display the usual finesse of politicians, yet certainly evince no ordinary measure of respect for the head of the English government, and are much more complaisant than was the style in which the same lady had previously addressed Major Weis, the deputy from the Swiss cantons; for when this latter gentleman delivered to the duke a letter from the six protestant cantons of Switzerland upon the same melancholy occasion, Madame Royal promptly replied, *that they were not obliged to give an account of their actions to any prince in the world*; nevertheless, out of the respect which they bore to his masters of the cantons, they had given orders to the Marquis of Pionessa to acquaint him with the truth of all these affairs.

The Marquis, in consequence, waited upon Major Weis, and endeavoured to justify all his proceedings, by casting the whole blame upon the Waldenses, repeatedly protesting that he never had the least design to force their consciences, and that all the reports which had been circulated respecting the massacre and other cruelties were mere forgeries. To all which the major replied that, “with regard to the massacre, it was a thing so demonstrably evident, that it was impossible either to conceal or

deny it. And as to the people's right of habitation in the places from whence they were ordered to depart, it was founded upon justice and equity, inasmuch as it had not only been conceded to them by Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, *but also purchased of his royal highness for six thousand ducatoons, which were actually paid by them on that very account.*" The marquis told him, that he did not at all deny the authenticity of the charters which the Waldenses held, but *they were all conditional*, and that the catholic religion ought to have been freely exercised in all those places, which they would never allow: in short, that their continual residence in all those places for the last ninety years, could be called no better than a ninety years' rebellion and disobedience. Such were the miserable pleas of this intolerant and blood-thirsty man.

It is obvious from all that can be collected of the temper and influence of the Marquis of Pionessa, the bigoted attachment of the duke and his mother to the court of Rome, and the firm hold which the catholic clergy had then got of their minds, that there was not the smallest disposition in the court of Savoy to mitigate their sufferings, or abate the rigorous proceedings which had hitherto been going on against the Waldenses; and that, had it not been for the seasonable interference of the English envoy, the Swiss deputy would have made no impression whatever upon them.

LECTURE LIV.

The subject continued—Further Proceedings on the part of the English Government to relieve the Waldenses—Letter to the Consuls and Senators of Geneva—and to Charles X., King of Sweden—Noble Contribution made throughout England and Wales, in aid of the Waldenses—English Government publish a Narrative of their Proceedings—Letter from the Landgrave of Hesse to the Duke of Savoy—Interposition of the Swiss Cantons in behalf of the Waldenses—Grievances of the Treaty of Pignerol—Return of Sir Samuel Morland from his mission to Piedmont—Letter of Cromwell to the King of France—another to the Swiss Cantons, A.D. 1658.

It must ever be a gratifying consideration to such of our countrymen as prefer the claims of humanity to the mad projects of ambition and the lust of power, by which the potentates of this world are commonly actuated, to be able to look back to the kind interposition and lively interest which the English government took in the affairs of the Waldenses of Piedmont at this fearful crisis. Doubtless it was wisely arranged in the inscrutable purposes of Heaven, that the office of Foreign Secretary should at the moment be filled by the immortal MILTON, a man who well understood the character and principles of the Waldenses, was capable of appreciating the severity of their sufferings, and by the powers of his eloquence and the magic of his pen, could bring their case home to the hearts of all true protestants. It may be fairly doubted if Europe could at that instant have produced another individual in all respects so competent to the arduous undertaking as he was. Learning was then at a low ebb among

us, except among mere theologians; and the correspondence with the governments abroad, must necessarily be carried on in a dead language. But to the capability of corresponding in Latin must also be added, the glow of eloquence resulting from religious feeling, in order to carry home the appeal to the heart; and, in drawing up these state papers, Milton did not confine himself to the cold forms of office—he threw his whole soul into them, and happily roused all Europe to the conflict. There was not a protestant government upon the Continent that he did not memorialize, —calling upon them one and all to shake off their lethargy, rouse themselves from their apathy, and take up the cause of the poor persecuted Waldenses, with heart and hand making it their own.

As the subject-matter of all his letters is one, a sameness of sentiment must of course pervade the whole; but the language is beautifully diversified throughout, and will amply repay the time and labour of those who bestow attention upon them. My present limits will only allow me to make a selection from them, and it must be of those that bear the closest affinity to the transactions of our government in behalf of these persecuted people. Milton wrote letters to the courts of Sweden—Denmark—the United Provinces (Holland)—the Swiss Cantons—the Prince of Transylvania—Elector Palatine—Landgrave of Hesse Cassel—Consuls of Geneva, &c. &c. &c.; but to give place to them all would occupy more space than can be afforded in these Lectures; and, indeed, it is the less necessary to do it, inasmuch as I have given a translated copy of the whole in a former work, well known to the religious public.

As a considerable intercourse had lately been established between the churches in the valleys of Piedmont, and the church of Geneva, proof of which has already been adduced—the collection in England had no sooner commenced, than the English government caused the following letter to be transmitted to the CONSULS AND SENATORS OF GENEVA.

“ We should ere this, have communicated to your lordships our excessive sorrow for the severe and unheard of calamities which have befallen the protestants inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, whom the Duke of Savoy persecutes with so much cruelty, had

we not made it our business that you should, at the same time, understand that we are not only affected by the enormity of their sufferings, but are exerting our utmost efforts to relieve and comfort them under their distresses. For this purpose we have taken measures to have a general collection throughout the whole of this republic, which, upon good grounds, we expect will be such as shall demonstate the affection of this nation towards their brethren labouring under the burden of such inhuman proceedings; and that, as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their calamities is no less the same. In the meantime, while the collections of the money are going forwards, which it may require some time to finish, and as the wants and necessities of those distressed people will not well admit of delay, we have thought it proper to remit you before-hand two thousand pounds sterling, with all possible speed, to be distributed among such as shall be considered most necessitous, and that more particularly require present succour and relief.

“And as we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those very harmless people have affected yourselves, and that you will not grudge any labour or pains which may contribute to their relief, we make no scruple to commit the distribution of this sum of money to your care, and to give you this further trouble, that, according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care that the said money be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that, though the sum be small, there may, nevertheless, be something to refresh and revive the most indigent and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful supply.

“And thus, not doubting but that you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon you, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox faith, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and their mutual assistance of each other, against their inveterate and most implacable enemies! in doing which we should rejoice that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church.

“June 8, 1655.

Farewell.

“P. S. £1,500 of the aforesaid £2,000 will be remitted by Gerard Hench, from Paris, and the other £500 will be taken care of by letters from the Lord Stoup.”

It appears that, at this critical conjuncture of public affairs, a misunderstanding had arisen between the King of Sweden, Charles Gustavus, and the States-General of Holland, which threatened a war between the parties. Aware how fatal an event of this kind would be to the carrying into complete effect the liberal measures which the English government contemplated for the relief of the Waldenses, the Protector, through his foreign secretary, interposed his good graces with the King of Sweden, in the following admirable letter :—

“ Most Serene King, our dearest friend and confederate—

“As we are fully assured of your majesty’s concurrence both in thoughts and councils for the defence of the protestant faith against its enemies, which never was more dangerously assailed than at present—though we cannot but rejoice at your successful enterprizes and the daily tidings of your victories, yet we cannot, on the other hand, but be as deeply concerned at one thing which disturbs and interrupts our joy : we refer to the sad news which is intermingled with so much welcome tidings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces presents a gloomy aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that pitch, particularly in the Baltic Sea, as seems to forbode an unhappy rupture. We acknowledge ourselves ignorant of the causes ; but we too easily foresee that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the protestants. And, therefore, both out of regard to that most intimate alliance now subsisting between us and your majesty, and also from that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we ought all of us chiefly to be swayed, we consider it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, so now to persuade your majesty to the same. The protestants have enemies everywhere enough and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge—nor were they ever known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction—witness the valleys of Piedmont, still reeking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable—witness Austria, lately embroiled with the emperor’s edicts and proscriptions—witness Switzerland. But it is needless to expatiate at large, in recalling the bitter lamen-

tations and recollections of so many calamities ! Who so ignorant as not to know that the councils of the Spaniards and of the Roman pontiff, for these two years past, have filled all these places with conflagrations, murders, and persecutions of the orthodox ? But, if to these mischiefs there should happen the still greater evil of dissention among the protestants themselves, who are brethren, and more especially between two powerful states, on whose courage, wealth, and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied on, the support and hope of all the reformed churches depend, the protestant religion must necessarily be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other hand, if the whole protestant name would but preserve perpetual peace among themselves, cultivating that brotherly union which becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the artifices and power of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And, therefore, we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty to foster in your bosom propitious thoughts of peace, and a disposition of mind to repair the breaches of your ancient friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes and misconstructions.

“ If there be any thing on which our labour, our fidelity, and diligence, may be useful towards effecting a compromise, we tender and shall cheerfully devote all to your service. And may the God of heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which, together with all felicity and a course of perpetual victory, we cordially wish to your majesty.

“ Your majesty’s most affectionate,

“ OLIVER, Protector, &c. &c.”

“ *From our Palace, Westminster, August, 1656.*”

It has been already noticed that, upon the very first annunciation of the distresses of the Waldenses, the Protector issued a proclamation for a day of national humiliation throughout all England and Wales ; commanding, at the same time, that collections should be made in all the churches and chapels for their relief ; and a committee, consisting of about forty of the first of

the nobility, gentry, and clergy, was formed for conducting it, Sir Thomas Viner, and Sir Christopher Pack, aldermen of London, being appointed treasurers. In no long time the sum total of the collections amounted to THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND, TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE POUNDS, TEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE,* which, if we take into account the relative value of money between that and the present time, must certainly give us a very favourable impression of the liberality of our forefathers. Nor is it less gratifying to witness such a proof of the humane and benevolent spirit which, as protestants, our countrymen evinced on an occasion that so justly called for it.

For the satisfaction of the community at large, the Protector and his council ordered a narrative to be published, explanatory of their proceedings, with a very minute and circumstantial account of the sums contributed, specifying the counties, the number of parishes in each, with the precise amount of their contributions, as well as of the application that was made of the same, through the medium of Sir Samuel Morland, who, to carry into effect the liberality of the English people, was ordered to take up his residence at Geneva, a city contiguous to the valleys of Piedmont, where he continued about three years.

The whole of the document referred to is interesting—but occupying, as it does, twelve pages in folio, its entire insertion in this place is impracticable. I shall, however, gratify the reader with the introductory paragraph:—

“ His highness, the Lord Protector, having received intelligence about the month of May, 1655, that many hundreds of the poor protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, (otherwise known by the name of Waldenses,) within the territories of the Duke of Savoy, were most cruelly massacred by a popish party—and having upon his spirit a deep sense of their calamities, which were occasioned by their faithful adherence to the profession of the reformed religion,—was pleased, not only to mediate, by most pathetic letters in their behalf, to the King of France and Duke of Savoy, but did also graciously invite the people of this nation

* Of this amount the cities of London and Westminster contributed the sum of 9,384*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*, exclusive of the 2,000*l.* given by the Protector.

to seek the Lord by prayer and humiliation, in reference to their then sad condition and future relief; and from a confidence that the good people of this nation would be sensibly touched "with the afflictions of Joseph," and in that day of their brethren's trouble manifest a sensible resentment of, and sympathy with, the sufferings of their fellow-members, professors of the same faith, did forthwith publish a DECLARATION, expressing his earnest desire that the people might be stirred up to a free and liberal contribution towards their succour and support: for the management of which collection certain instructions were also agreed upon, and annexed to the said declaration; and for the more effectually promoting of the work, his highness appointed a committee, consisting of persons of known honour, fidelity, and integrity, to consider and advise, from time to time, how the money that should be thereupon raised might be employed most advantageously, for the certain supply of those poor distressed members of Christ, corresponding with the real intentions of the givers; amongst whom likewise there were two select persons of very considerable estate and reputation, appointed to be treasurers for the receiving in of the said monies, whose names, together with the number and names of the aforesaid committee, for the reader's better satisfaction, are here inserted," &c.

It must afford pleasure to every benevolent mind to reflect upon the interest that was now taken in the fate of the Walldenses by all the protestant states of Europe; at the same time that it gives us a satisfactory pledge of the high estimation in which that particular class of Christians was universally held. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and almost every protestant prince and state upon the Continent, wrote letters to the Duke of Savoy, declaring their abhorrence of that sanguinary massacre, and interceding for his persecuted subjects. Sir Samuel Morland has preserved faithful copies of most of these letters; but none of them is more pointed or deserving of the reader's attention than that of the LANDGRAVE OF HESSE; and, as it is concise, I here subjoin it:—

"SIR!—Having lately received the news of that cruel massacre committed upon the protestants, who are commonly known

by the name of Waldenses, inhabiting your valleys of Angrogne and Pragela, in Piedmont, I could not easily be brought at first to give credit to such a dismal story, as not being once able to imagine, that even their adversaries had been so audacious as to exercise such barbarous cruelties upon poor innocent people, who lived peaceably under the government of your highness, and in entire obedience, without giving the least offence to any, and who, for so long a time together, have obtained protection and security from both you and your ancestors. And, indeed, I so much the less imagined this, from the persuasion I had, that their enemies had learned, by the experience of so many ages, that persecutions and butcheries are not the means to suppress our religion, but rather to preserve and spread the same abroad. But this news having been written and confirmed to me from so many places, and that with circumstances so wholly deplorable, as that I could no longer remain in doubt, it has seized me with horror; and, consequently, being moved with pity and compassion towards *so many thousands of souls in such extreme distress*, who have been most cruelly robbed and spoiled of their lives and estates, by the cruelty of their furious and sworn enemies, and this without distinction either of sex or age, I have thought it my duty, as a Christian prince, interested in the preservation of those of my religion, to write this present letter to your highness, and to beseech you, not only to command and allow that the remainder of those poor innocent people who have escaped the violence of their persecutors, be established in their lands, goods, and possessions, which are yet left them after this great desolation, but also that they may find the effects of this powerful protection; and that you will be pleased, for that purpose, henceforward to favour them, by patiently hearing their complaints, and taking cognizance of them yourself, as a good and righteous prince, from whom they ought to expect all the effects of justice, clemency, and bounty: whereas those who term themselves ‘of the congregation for the propagation of the faith, and for the extirpation of heretics,’ are their declared enemies; and instead of turning souls to righteousness by ‘the sword of the word,’ have employed the temporal sword, the fire, and the rope, and all the barbarous cruelties which outrageous men could possibly invent for (tormenting) the bodies of those poor creatures, and to

destroy them from off the face of the earth. I most earnestly beseech your highness to grant the aforesaid requests, and to be assured of my inviolable affection for your interests and service, and that I shall account it an happiness to have an opportunity of giving you real testimonies of the same ; as being, &c.

" *July 23, 1655.* WILLIAM, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel."

I know not that the annals of Europe afford an instance of such a state of cordial harmony and mutual consent, among the different states and nations, in any affair of religion, as at this juncture appeared in behalf of the poor Waldenses. Their case was clearly understood, and generally and deeply felt. It was purely a case of persecution for conscience' sake ; and taking all the circumstances into account, it was an instance of such atrocious and brutal outrage as the world had rarely seen paralleled. It came home to the breasts of all the protestants in Europe, and they took a lively interest in it. Men's expectations were raised to a very high pitch, and their attention fixed upon the protestant princes, anxiously waiting to see whether they would tamely put up with such an open and diabolical attack upon their general cause, for such they regarded this ; or whether, by a joint co-operation of power and influence, they would at once relieve and re-establish their distressed friends.

At this eventful moment the Swiss Cantons, who certainly lay the most contiguous to the valleys of Piedmont, finding that they were ably supported by all the protestant states of Europe, undertook to mediate with the Duke of Savoy in behalf of the exiled Waldenses, and sent four of their leading men as commissioners to the court of the latter, authorized with powers to negotiate a treaty of accommodation ; and the rest of the European princes had such confidence in them, that they unanimously agreed to relinquish the affair into their hands. The names of these commissioners were, Solomon Hirtzel, Charles Von Bonstetten, Benedict Socin, and James Stockar.

It would be uninteresting and tiresome to the reader to trace minutely the progress of this negotiation. And it but too plainly appears from the result, that the Swiss commissioners were by no means a match for the jesuitical casuistry of the court of Savoy.

A treaty, however, was at length agreed upon and ratified between the parties; but "when it came to be published to the world," says Sir S. Morland, "and accurately examined by wise and sober men, it was found to resemble a leper arrayed in rich clothing and gay attire! It was a treaty as full of grievances as poor Lazarus was of sores! The greater part of the articles of which it consisted clashing with the people's interests and ancient privileges, and the remainder made up of expressions which looked as many ways as the mariner's compass: in short, it cannot be more fitly compared to any thing than to Ezekiel's roll, which, though it were as sweet as honey in the people's mouths, yet there was written within nothing but lamentation, and mourning, and woe." And such it proved in the issue; for no sooner had the Swiss commissioners taken their departure for their own country, than an infinite number of difficulties and grievances came crawling out of the said treaty, like so many hornets out of a hollow tree, and they continued to sting the poor Waldenses to death.

An effort was certainly made by those that were in exile, to avail themselves of the conditions of this treaty, of which, as it was intended for their benefit, they were disposed at first to think very favourably. But a little experience convinced them that it was not in reality what their friends wished for them. On the 29th of March, 1656, a general meeting of the churches of the valleys of Piedmont took place, at which they drew up a paper, intituled, "THE GRIEVANCES OF THE TREATY MADE AT PIGNEROL." It is truly an affecting document, and, that the reader may form some judgment of it, I shall subjoin the first paragraph. They complain that, in the preamble to the treaty, they are recognised as *rebels* and disobedient persons, who had taken arms against his royal highness, their natural prince and sovereign, and thereby, as persons who were *guilty* and *deserving of his indignation*, they are described as asking pardon for those outrages which, it was pretended, they had committed; and thus, say they, "we are plainly involved in the crime of rebellion, against which we do now, and always have protested—having never done any one act that can justly subject us to that imputation,—no, not even when the whole state was in an uproar,—nor

even when they came to destroy us, as they did last year ; for although we had very great cause of suspicion, as is but too manifest from the event—having granted, for the most part, to the squadron of Savoy, their winter quarters—yet no sooner had the Marquis of Pionessa charged us, in the name of his royal highness, to receive his forces, than, without making the least resistance, we permitted them to enter and do whatever they chose.” This is the first of fifteen articles of grievance which they enumerate.

This melancholy catalogue of their grievances was drawn up with a view of making an appeal concerning them to the King of France, and imploring his interposition to get them redressed. Accordingly, having specified these defects in the articles, they subjoin a list of thirteen other particulars, which had been refused to their deputies, on which they humbly pray that due reflection may be made. Among other matters, they plead, that “having been always faithful to the service of his royal highness, their sovereign, and yet cruelly massacred, burned, and pillaged, contrary to his intention, he would be pleased to give orders that justice might be done upon those that had been the chief authors and agents against them—that his royal highness would be pleased to repeal the Order of Gastaldo, as being contrary to all their ancient concessions, and likewise all the orders which the Marquis of Pionessa had caused to be published during the late contest, and to command that every one might be restored to his own property and possession—that they might no longer be subject to the quartering of soldiers upon them—a thing with which they had been harassed ever since the year 1624, and which had been made a pretext for the readier method of destroying them,—but that in lieu of it they might be allowed, in common with others, to contribute their proportion in money—that no more (catholic) missionaries might be sent into the valleys, because, *partly by their rapes*, and partly by seditious and false reports, these missionaries had always been fomenters of all the disorders that came to pass—that, in short, they might not be subject to the council *de propaganda fide*, nor to any of its members, nor to the inquisition ; but that every thing might be re-established in the condition it was before the late troubles, with liberty of

conscience and the free exercise of their religion, with licence to their ministers to go and visit the sick wherever they lived, as well as the liberty of preaching the Gospel, &c. &c.; and the whole terminates with the following affecting appeal:—

“We hope from the equity and clemency of his royal highness, that he will the more readily grant us these privileges, as there is nothing in them but what we have quietly enjoyed under the happy government of his most serene predecessors, of glorious memory, according to their concessions, and nothing but what may tend to satisfy us in the clearing of those points, which, as experience hath shewed us, have been wrested to a wrong sense, and to represent the true meaning and the equity of the particulars therein contained, that so we may, once for all, take away from the disturbers of our peace all occasion of troubling the public tranquillity, and be enabled, in peace and security, to render to God that which belongs to God, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar’s; as we do protest before God and his holy angels, that we ever have had, and will ever have the same for our aim. And to the end that those things before expressed may stand firm and inviolable, we humbly supplicate his most Christian majesty, that he will be pleased to procure unto us this favour from our prince—that all may be put into the form of a transaction, and confirmed not only by the chamber of Turin, but also in that of Chambery, and that many original copies may be drawn, and delivered into the hands of those to whom it shall appertain.”

This affecting document was delivered into the hands of Monsieur de Bais, the French minister, and by him transmitted to his royal master, who, upon receipt of it, expressed great concern for the deplorable condition of the poor Waldenses; but his kind intentions towards them were entirely frustrated by some malignant spirits near the throne. “But, so it happened,” says Sir Samuel Morland, “that, from this time forward, the leading men in the court of Savoy have used their best endeavours to lay heavier loads on their backs than ever they had hitherto done. For, in their orders of April 20, and October 6, 1656, and August 24, 1657, they summoned the poor people to pay their taxes for the year 1655, contrary to the treaty, while they exempted the

catholics from the said taxes: and when they appealed to the duke, October 6, 1657, on the hardship of their case, they were, among other things, absolutely prohibited the exercise of their public worship in San Giovanni. It would be endless to repeat all the edicts, orders, and injunctions that were issued against them after the cruel patent in 1655, with all their consequent grievances; and it is painful to dwell upon so melancholy a subject." Our countryman, Sir Samuel Morland, remained among them until the summer of 1658, at which time he thus affectingly closes his narrative:—"It is my misfortune that I am compelled to leave these people where I found them, among the pottsherds, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them, and lifting up their voice with weeping, in the words of Job—'Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our friends, for the hand of God hath touched us.' To this very day they labour under most heavy burdens, which are laid upon them by their rigid task-masters of the church of Rome—forbidding them all kind of traffic for their subsistence—robbing them of their goods and estates—banishing the pastors of their flocks, that the wolves may the more readily devour the sheep—violating the young women and maidens—murdering the most innocent as they peaceably pass along the highways—by cruel mockings and revilings—by continual threats of another massacre, sevenfold more bloody, if possible, than the former. To all which, I must add that, notwithstanding the liberal supplies that have been sent them from England and other places, yet so great is the number of these hungry creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their popish enemies, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatever is given them, snatching at almost every morsel that goes into their mouths, that even to this day some of them are almost ready to eat their own flesh for want of bread. Their miseries are more grievous than words can express—they have 'no grapes in their vineyards—no cattle in their fields—no herds in their stalls—no corn in their granaries—no meal in their barrel—no oil in their cruse.' The stock that was gathered for them by the people of this and other countries is fast consuming; and when that is spent, they must inevitably perish, unless God, 'who turns the

hearts of princes as the rivers of water,' incline the heart of their prince to take pity on his poor, harmless, and faithful subjects."*

The return of Sir Samuel Morland from his mission to the court of Turin, gave him an opportunity of laying before the English government a minute and circumstantial explanation of the state of the Waldenses in Piedmont, at the time of his departure in 1658. The substance of this account, the reader has already seen in the close of the last Lecture, and its truth and accuracy are further ascertained by a letter, bearing date 30th of November, 1657, from the four Swiss commissioners, who, two years before, had been engaged in negotiating the treaty of Pignerol. This letter is addressed to Monsieur de Servient, ambassador of the French king, who was present at the ratification of the treaty, and, as it would seem, had taken a considerable interest therein. The Swiss commissioners complain that the conditions of the treaty were grossly violated by the adversaries of the Waldenses; that interpretations were put upon various clauses contained in it the reverse of what they were intended to bear; and, in short, that the situation in which these poor people were now placed, called loudly for the cognizance and interference of the court of France, which stood pledged to see the conditions of the treaty punctually fulfilled. They in particular notice the lawless procedure of the military towards the Waldenses, in plundering them of their fruits, which they carried away without the least ceremony, committing robberies in their houses, and spoiling them of their goods: that "they were laden with reproaches and injuries, beaten and wounded; the virtue of their females attempted, with numerous other outrages, altogether inexcusable. That several persons who had been sent to settle among them in the capacity of pastors and teachers, from their sister churches in Dauphiny, had been seized and banished out of the country, on the ground that they were not natives, and that therefore the conditions of the treaty did not extend to them—and that, in particular, one of their pastors who had exercised the holy ministry among them for thirty years,

* Morland's Churches of Piedmont, pp. 682—708.

together with one M. Arnold, a physician, had been turned out and banished; so that by these and similar means many churches and congregations were at once deprived of the food of their souls and comfort of their bodies." After enumerating a long catalogue of similar grievances, they say, "Now as these things have happened to our friends and associates in religion, *so palpably contrary to our expectation*, our hearts are so much the more sensibly affected by it, both because we were present in the name of our lords and superiors at the negotiating of the treaty, and because we are personally interested therein." They, therefore, supplicate his excellency to interpose his mediation for the good of their friends, and for his own interest and honour's sake; and to insist that the spirit and meaning of the treaty be in future fully and absolutely observed. The subject was also taken up by the English government, as appears by the following letters, both of which bear date May 26, 1658.

His Highness the Lord Protector to the King of France.

"MOST SERENE AND MOST POTENT KING—Your majesty may remember, that while the treaty was going on about remedying the alliance between us—an alliance that has now happily commenced, as the many advantages resulting to both nations, and the numerous inconveniences which arise from it to our common enemies, abundantly shew—the dreadful slaughter of the Waldenses took place; and that, with the utmost affection and humanity, we recommended the case of those afflicted and destitute people to your clemency and protection.

"We are far from thinking that your majesty has been wanting in the exercise of your influence and authority with the Duke of Savoy to promote so pious and humane an object; and as for our part, we, and many other princes and states, have not failed to interpose by embassies, letters, and entreaties. After a most inhuman slaughter of persons of both sexes and of every age, a peace was at last concluded, or rather, *a more concealed course of hostility under the disguise of peace.** The conditions of the

* It may not be improper in this place to correct a very inaccurate statement of this matter which appears in Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. iii., under

treaty were agreed upon in your town of Pignerol—hard ones indeed—but such as those poor people, after having undergone every species of outrage and cruelty, would cheerfully acquiesce in, hard and unjust as they are, were they only observed, but they are not observed. For, by a false interpretation of every article, and by one subterfuge or other, their real meaning is eluded, and faith violated. Multitudes are ejected from their ancient possessions; many prohibited the exercise of their religion; new payments are exacted; a new fort is built for the purpose of placing a yoke upon them, out of which the soldiers sally forth, plundering and putting to death all they meet. Besides which, new forces are of late privately prepared against them; and those who profess the Romish religion among them are directed to withdraw for a time: so that every thing seems again to portend the slaughtering of those miserable creatures who escaped the former butchery—a thing which I entreat and beseech your majesty that you will not suffer to be done; nor permit, I do not say any prince—for such enormous cruelty cannot enter into the heart of any prince, much less can it befall the tender age of that prince, or the mind of his mother—but those most savage murderers, to exercise such a licence of outrageous tyranny: men who, while they profess themselves the servants of Christ, and followers of him who came into the world to save sinners, at the the same time abuse his merciful name and meek precepts, to perpetrate the most cruel massacres on innocent persons. Oh, that your majesty, who are able, and advanced as you are to such exalted dignity, who are worthy of the power you possess, would rescue so many of your poor petitioners out of the hands of bloody men, who, having been lately drunk with blood, are again thirsting after it, exulting when they are enabled to fix the invidious charge of cruelty upon princes themselves; but let not

the year 1655. Referring to the interference of the Protector with the Duke of Savoy, it is said, upon the authority of Bishop Burnet, "Upon this the persecution immediately ceased; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and restored their goods; the poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges." How far this representation corresponds with the truth of things, let the impartial reader judge, after carefully perusing the preceding pages, and the representation that Milton has given of the real state of matters, in this and the following letter.

your majesty allow the borders of your kingdom to be defiled by such cruelty. Recollect that those very people threw themselves under the protection of King Henry, your grandfather, a firm friend of the protestants, when the Duke of l'Esdiquire, passing through their country, which affords the most convenient entrance into Italy, prosecuted his victory against the Duke of Savoy, who retreated beyond the Alps. The instrument of their submission remains among the public records of your realm to this day; in which, among other things, it is excepted and provided, that the people of the valleys should not, at any future time, be transferred to the jurisdiction of any other prince, but upon the same conditions on which they were received into the protection of your majesty's victorious grandfather. The same protection they once more implore, and submissively entreat from his grandchild. Their anxious wish is, that, in some way of exchange, if it can be effected, they may become your subjects, rather than remain his under whom they now are; but if that cannot be effected, that they may, at any rate, obtain from you patronage, protection, and refuge. There are also reasons of state which should induce your majesty not to abandon the Waldenses—but I am not willing that so great a king should be stimulated to the relief of men whose circumstances are so pitiable, by any other reasons than the obligations of fidelity given by your ancestors and your own piety, added to your royal benignity and the greatness of your own mind. Thus the honour and renown of an act so truly glorious will be wholly your own, and thereby your majesty, as long as you live, may expect to find prosperity and blessings from the Father of mercies himself, and from his Son Christ the King, whose name and doctrine you will be the means of vindicating from detestable villainy.

“Given at our Court at Westminster, May 26th, 1658.”

The Protector to the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland.

“MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST MAGNIFICENT LORDS.—Although it is impossible for us to contemplate the monstrous cruelties which have been inflicted upon your poor distressed neighbours of the valleys, without astonishment, or the grievous

and intolerable things to which they have been subjected by their prince, on account of their religion, we thought it needless to write to you, to whom those things must be better known than to us. We have seen copies of the letters which your ambassadors, who were parties and witnesses to the peace lately made at Pignerol, wrote to the Duke of Savoy, and the president of his council at Turin; in which they particularly shew that all the articles of the peace have been broken, and that they have been made use of for the purpose of deceiving, rather than of affording protection to these miserable people. But must they patiently bear this violation of the articles, which began the instant peace was concluded, and has been persevered in to the present moment, and which grows more intolerable every day? Are they to submit basely, and give themselves up to be trodden under foot and utterly ruined? The same calamity hangs over their heads, and another massacre similar to that which wasted and destroyed them, with their wives and children, in so shocking a manner about three years ago, which, should it take place, must inevitably extirpate them. What can these poor distressed creatures do, who have no door opened for petitioning, no space for breathing, nor any place of security to which they can flee? They have to do with wild beasts, or rather with furies, in whom the recollection of former slaughters has effected no repentance, nor any compassion towards their own countrymen—no sense of humanity—no satiety with the shedding of blood! In plain terms, these things are not to be endured, whether we regard the safety of our brethren, of the valleys—those most ancient professors of the orthodox faith—or of religion itself.

“As to our part, remote as we are in situation from them, we have done every thing that was in our power, nor shall we cease to perform whatever is yet possible for them. But as to you, who are so near, not only to the miseries and lamentations of our brethren, but exposed also to the fury of the same enemies, we beseech you, by every thing that is sacred, to consider, and that without delay, what it behoves you to do at this moment—consult your own prudence, your piety, and even your fortitude, what assistance or relief you can or ought to extend to your neighbours and brethren, who otherwise are ready to perish. It is the very

same cause of religion for which the same enemies would have destroyed you also—yea, on account of which they would, in the preceding year, during the civil war among your confederates, have effected your destruction. Next to the help of God, it seems to devolve on you to provide that *the most ancient stock of pure religion* may not be destroyed in this remnant of its ancient faithful professors, whose safety, reduced as it now is to the extremity of hazard, if you neglect, beware that the next lot do not speedily fall upon yourselves!

“While, in this free and fraternal manner we thus exhort you, we, in the meantime, do not faint or grow weary. Whatever was in our power, at this remote distance, we have done. We have contributed our utmost endeavours, and shall continue so to do, both for procuring the safety of those that are in danger, and relieving the necessities of those that want. May God grant to both of us such tranquillity and peace at home, and so prosperous a state of affairs and of opportunities, that we may employ all our power, strength, and means, for the defence of the church against the rage and fury of its enemies.

“*Westminster, May 26, 1658.*”

The letter addressed to the King of France was transmitted to Lord Lockhart, who then filled the office of English ambassador at the French court, to whom the Protector at the same time wrote, giving him instructions to present the letter to his majesty, and pointing out eight principal topics of grievance which he was to adduce in his conversation with that monarch, and to use his utmost endeavours to make his majesty sensible of them, and to persuade him to give immediate and positive instructions to his ambassador, then resident at the duke's court, to act vigorously in behalf of the oppressed Waldenses. He was also to urge the obligations the French king lay under to fulfil the engagement of his royal predecessor, Henry IV., with the ancestors of these very people, and to press the King of France to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy for the valleys of Piedmont, resigning some part of his own dominions to the latter in lieu thereof.

LECTURE LV.

The Papal party follow up their destructive Proceedings against the Waldenses in Poland—the latter apply to the English Government for Succour and Relief—Declaration of the Protector, Cromwell, who sets on foot a Collection for their Relief—a Committee formed to carry it into effect—Narrative of the Polish Delegates, A.D. 1658—Affairs of the Waldenses in Piedmont resumed, and continued to the year 1658—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, October 22nd, and its effects on the Protestants in France.

WE had an opportunity of witnessing, in the preceding Lecture, the noble exertions which were made by the English government to check the rage of the papal party towards the Waldenses in Piedmont, and also to administer to the poor sufferers pecuniary relief, as far as such charitable and benevolent acts could be carried into effect. In the present Lecture we shall see, that no sooner were the antichristian tyrants checked in their desolating career in one quarter than they turned their weapons of destruction to another, as though nothing but the blood of the protestants could satisfy their craving appetite.

In the year 1658, and at the moment the English government was so laudably engaged in exertions for the relief of the Waldenses in Piedmont, intelligence arrived of another dreadful scene of cruelty and distress exercised towards a branch of the same people inhabiting a distant quarter. We have had repeated opportunities of seeing, during this course of Lectures, that the

principles of the Waldenses had found their way into Bohemia and Poland as early as the days of Peter Waldo, of Lyons; and in the fifteenth century, the Emperor Sigismund, in one of his speeches, took notice of the fact, remarking that, in Poland and other provinces, the minds of men were imbued with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. But the facts will be best ascertained from some interesting documents which were published by authority of the English government at this particular crisis, and which I am happy to have rescued from the oblivion into which, after the lapse of a century and half, they had fallen. As they sufficiently explain themselves, it is needless to introduce them by any formal preamble. There can be little doubt that the first of them was the composition of Milton; and the original now before me, which is printed in BLACK LETTER, has the Protector's arms prefixed to it:—

“ A Declaration of his Highness, for a Collection towards the relief of divers Protestant Churches driven out of Poland, and of twenty Protestant families driven out of the confines of Bohemia.

“ HIS HIGHNESS, the Lord Protector, having received a petition from several churches of Christ, professing the reformed religion, lately seated at Lesna, and other places in Poland, representing their sad and deplorable condition, through the persecution and cruelty of their antichristian enemies in those parts, in the time of the war in Poland, by whom they have not only been driven from their habitation and spoiled of their goods, upon the account of religion only, but forced to fly into Silesia, for the preservation of their lives, and for the liberty of their consciences, where a considerable number of them continue in great want and misery: the truth whereof hath been witnessed, as well by deputies sent unto his highness from the said churches, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the pastors of five of those churches, as also by the testimony of several protestant princes, who, out of a deep sense of the calamity of those distressed exiles, have afforded them shelter until it shall please the Lord otherwise to provide for them. And his highness having, in like manner, received a petition from twenty pro-

testant families heretofore seated in the confines of Bohemia, where Misnia belongs unto it, representing their distressed and lamentable condition, through the persecution of the jesuits and inquisitors of the house of Austria, by whom they have been driven out of their habitations, and spoiled of their goods, upon the sole account of their religion ; who now, for the safety of their lives, and for the liberties of their consciences, are retired into the marquisate of Culembach, where they find a present shelter in this their very sad and calamitous condition, which hath been witnessed both by their deputies sent unto his highness, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the chief of those families, as also by a public certificate from thence. And it being the earnest desire of the said afflicted churches and families, as well by their several petitions as by their deputies, that his highness, out of compassion to their sufferings, would be pleased to recommend their lamentable condition to their brethren in these nations, in whom they hope to find bowels of mercy yearning towards those who, professing the same faith with them, are now under so great extremities and misery for the cause of the Gospel and testimony of the Lord Jesus.

“ His highness being greatly afflicted with the miserable and calamitous condition of the said churches and families, and not doubting but the people of these nations, whom the Lord hath graciously and wonderfully preserved from that antichristian bondage and tyranny, will have a fellow-feeling of the afflictions of their brethren, hath, with the advice of his privy-council, thought fit to recommend their case to the charity of those whose hearts the Lord shall stir up in these nations, to afford them some seasonable relief, whose liberality in this kind hath been testified in their large contributions to the relief of the poor protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, to the refreshing of their bowels (touching the faithful distribution whereof an account is ordered by his highness to be printed for general satisfaction). And to the end the said collections may be carefully made, and the money thereupon collected be disposed of to the relief of the said poor churches, and their members, and the families aforesaid, and to no other uses, his highness doth hereby require and command the ministers and churchwardens of the respective

parishes within England and Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the next Lord's day after this declaration shall come unto their hands, to publish the same, and on the Lord's day following to make a collection of the charitable contribution of the people in their parishes; and that within three days after they pay over the sum or sums so collected unto the high sheriff of the respective counties, to be by him paid into the hands of Sir Thomas Viner and Sir Christopher Pack, knights, aldermen of the city of London, who are appointed treasurers for this service, and who shall transmit the moneys so to be by them received for the relief of the said poor distressed churches and their members, and the aforesaid twenty families, in such manner and proportions as the committee formerly appointed for the disposing of the moneys for the relief of the said poor protestants in Piedmont, shall, with respect to their several numbers and sufferings, think fit and direct; and to the end that none of the moneys collected for so pious and charitable an end may miscarry, the ministers and churchwardens aforesaid are enjoined, upon payment of the said money to the respective sheriffs as aforesaid, to send up unto the said Sir Thomas Viner a note in writing under their hands, of the sum so collected, the parish and county where such collection was made, and the person to whom the same was paid; to the end care may be taken that the same may be duly returned and employed to the use intended."

"By the Committee for the Affairs of the poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont.

"The all-wise and holy God, whose ways of providence are always righteous, though often secret and unsearchable, hath made it the constant lot and portion of his people in this world, to follow the Lord in bearing the cross and suffering persecutions,—thereby holding forth and verifying that irreconcilable enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent which was visible betimes in the bloodshed of righteous Abel, whom Cain (though his brother) slew, being of the wicked one, yea, and for this cause—for that his own works were evil, and his

brother's good. Thus they that are born after the flesh, persecute them that are born after the spirit to this day, and so will do while the world lasteth. In which cause and quarrel the Lord hath very many glorious ends. But scarcely have any sort of the church's enemies more clearly followed the pernicious ways of Cain herein, than hath the antichristian faction of Rome done—that mother of harlots and abominations, whose garments are dyed red with the blood of saints, which they have always cruelly shed, and made themselves drunk with, even with the blood of those holy followers of the Lamb, chiefly, who would not receive Antichrist's mark, nor worship his image, nor drink of the golden cup of his fornications, but rather come out from them, and witness against them, though they did it in sackcloth, and were slain for it.

“Among those chosen and faithful witnesses, the Lord seemeth very signally to have raised up those Christians, who, though dispersed in divers countries, have been commonly known by the name of Waldenses, who, for some centuries of years, have lived among their enemies as lambs among wolves, to bear their testimony for the truth of Christ, against the apostacies and blasphemies of Rome, for which they have been killed all the day long, and appointed as sheep for the slaughter. Nevertheless, the Lord, the great Shepherd of the sheep, hath made their blood thus shed to become a constant seed of faithful and valiant witnesses for him; which is, indeed, the more marvellous in our eyes, that this bush hath so long burned, and is not yet consumed.

“This little flock and remnant which the Lord hath left and reserved are scattered partly in the valleys of Piedmont, of whose tragical sufferings we have not long since heard, and have drawn forth our bowels to them, whereof a very faithful account is given to the world, both for the satisfaction of brethren and friends, and for stopping the mouths of all calumnies.

“The other part of this poor, yet precious remnant, have been dispersed in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, whose sufferings, together with the Lord's signal providences about them, have been very eminent and remarkable, as hath been made ap-

pear unto us by three godly persons, delegated by those persecuted churches, which are now the sad monuments of their enemies' rage, and of the Lord's sparing mercies.

" These have made their addresses to his highness the Lord Protector, by petition, declaring the deplorable estate wherein this persecuted remnant now lieth, and with loud cries importuning the Christian bowels and bounty of this nation, which cannot but be moved to mourn over them, and to shew mercy to them. And indeed, upon a due sense and consideration of this lamentable subject, even common humanity, but much more Christian charity, should provoke us to a fellow-feeling of their present distressed condition.

" These sometime flourishing churches were, by degrees, worn out by the constant underminings and open outrages of the anti-christian party, being first driven out of Bohemia into Poland; then, after their taking root and spreading in Poland unto a numerous company, were forced out of the chief cities there; and now, at last, by the jesuited and enraged Polish army, persecuted in their few hiding places with fire and sword.

" Their ministers were tortured to death by most exquisite and unheard-of barbarism—by cutting out of the tongues of some, pulling out the eyes and cruelly mangling the bodies of others; nor did their rage and brutish cruelty reach only to ministers, but to others, yea, even to women and young children, whose heads they cut off, and laid them at their dead mothers' breasts.

" Nay, their rage brake out not only upon the living, (not one of whom they spared that fell into their hands,) but also upon the dead, plucking the bodies of honourable persons and others out of the graves, tearing them to pieces, and exposing them to public scorn.

" But the chief eye-sore and object of their fury was the city of Lesna, which, after plundering and murdering all whom they found therein, they burned to ashes, and laid in rubbish; only the Lord in his mercy having alarmed the city of their enemies' approaching march, the greatest part of the inhabitants (being three famous churches) saved themselves by flight, and are now wandering up and down in Silesia, the marquisate of Bran-

denburg, Lusatia, and Hungary—poor, destitute, afflicted, and naked.

“ His highness and the council having referred unto this committee the testimonials and petitions sent by the said churches, we, finding upon examination thereof their case to be thus deplorable, which is more at large stated and declared in their own narrative, have caused the said narrative to be translated, and herewith published—thereby to stir up the Lord’s people in these nations to put on bowels of mercies towards these their exiled and afflicted brethren, refreshing their hearts by your love, and the tokens of it in a cheerful and liberal supply—which will not only preserve this holy seed from perishing, that hath a blessing in it, but also uphold among them the purity of religion and power of the Gospel.

“ The rather considering the present freedom from these bloody outrages, we, the people of these nations, do by the blessing of the Lord enjoy, the continuance whereof we may the more comfortably hope for by how much our compassions are more freely extended to those in misery. And if a cup of cold water given to one disciple, as such, shall not lose his reward, how much more when a bountiful relief is given to more than five thousand disciples?

“ Which we should be the more forward to advance, because they acknowledge they have received much confirmation in the religion for which they suffer by light received from our countryman, John Wickliff, that famous witness of Christ against Antichrist, even in the darkest times of popery.

“ And we doubt not but that God, who hath lately opened your bowels to so large and eminent a contribution towards the persecuted protestants of Piedmont, (for which many thanksgivings have been made to God in your behalf,) will again draw out your hearts upon this like sad occasion, to the like bountiful liberality—it being our duty to cast our bread upon the waters, and to give a portion to six and also to seven, not being weary of well-doing, because in due time we shall reap, if we faint not. Considering also how honourable it is to act grace, and to lay out ourselves upon such occasions, we recommend it again as the work of God, accompanied with his own voice, calling aloud upon us to enlarge

ourselves in this ministration, and withal to pour out our hearts in faith and prayer, that the Lord would yet please to raise up Sion upon the ruins of Babylon, hastening his work, and blessing means to it.

" John Trevor	" Thomas Vyner	" Philip Nye
Christopher Pack	Joseph Caryl	William Cooper
William Purefoy	John Owen	Edmond Calamy."
Edward Cresset	William Jenkyn	

"The fury of Antichrist against the Protestants, or Reformed Church of the Bohemian Confession in Poland, set down in a brief, but faithful Narrative, and according to the truth of the matter.

"The spouse of Jesus Christ, she who in the cradle was sprinkled with the blood of a proto-martyr, hath always brought into the world men like Abel or Stephen, that so there might never be wanting to cry from the earth unto God, and that the wounds of that rose which lies among the thorns of persecution might not be concealed. Every age, and every year in each age, and every month and day in each year, hath produced new inundations of blood unto this day; and yet the little flock of the Lord hath always increased under persecutions, one while here, another there, shifting their seats and habitations. While it pleased God, by the means of Wickliff, to kindle the light of the Gospel in Great Britain, John Huss asserted the truth of Jesus Christ in the midst of the thick darkness of popery in Bohemia—many thousands being stirred up by God to receive it, who, despising all the cruelty of tyrants, received it with joy, until, by God's assistance, they took root in the kingdom, and grew up into flourishing churches. In a short time after, Antichrist breathing out his fury, the truth was banished out of Bohemia, and the confessors being driven out, transplanted the Gospel into Poland; where, being favourably entertained by King Sigismond, they in a short time increased to so great a number, that, being little inferior to the papists, they were able to boast of an equal authority

and privileges with them. Hence it came to pass that the kings, at their coronations, were wont not only to promise, but solemnly to swear protection to such as disagreed from the Roman religion; and therefore they proceeded not to open persecutions, save only in those cities where the Jesuits had seated themselves in power—to wit, Cracovia, Posen, Lubin, Vilna, &c., where, by their disciples, and by stirring up the common people to fury, the churches of the reformed professors were a good while ago demolished, and divers ministers cruelly massacred. Nevertheless the malice of the enemies being no whit allayed, they were many ways afflicted, first indirectly, afterwards by pretences under colour of law, until those churches being worn out by degrees, and overthrown, were not many years ago reduced to a very inconsiderable number, especially when, as in the reign of the late king, the enemies being confident they might do anything, brought things to this pass at length, that there were no more than twenty-one congregations remaining in the greater Poland, and those also ready to perish. But among these twenty-one remaining churches, the chief, and, as it were, the mother of them all, was that of Lesna, which was divided into three congregations, the Bohemian, the Polonian, and the German; each of which had their own pastors, but the communicants jointly were about two thousand: therefore it was that this joint church was, in the first place, exposed to the enemy's malice, and of late designed to the slaughter, as well by reason of its being very much frequented and grown famous, as also because of the synod there usually celebrated, as likewise a famous university and printing-house, and books frequently published to the world. When, therefore, in the year 1655, the Swedish army out of Pomerania drew near to the borders of Poland, and the nobility were summoned to arms, according to the custom of the country, it came to pass that the papists brake forth into many furious expressions, crying out that the heretics had invited the enemy, and therefore they were first of all to be put to the sword and extirpated; which reports, though most falsely scattered abroad, (for the Searcher of hearts and reins knoweth, that we never so much as dreamt of it,) yet they easily found credit among the sworn enemies of the Gospel, who sought nothing more than our ruin. Hereupon they who

first consulted to agree with the Swedish army, being terrified by its power, concluded about the surrender of all Great Poland into the king's protection, and namely, the royal cities of Posen, Calissen, Meseric, &c., to which also Lesna was expressly added.

"In a little time after, they endeavoured to cast off the Swedish yoke, and turned their arms, not against the Swedes, but first against our evangelical professors, as conspiring with the Swedes upon the account of religion; and none of them scrupled to take revenge upon them. They first of all set upon those of Lesna, with the resolution of putting all to the sword, and destroying that heretical city by fire; and they had effected both, unless God had, by sending some persons before, who, by signifying the coming of the enemy, and with what intent they came, had possessed the citizens with a panic fear, so that leaving all their estates, they every man fled; and thus, within the space of one hour, a most populous city, abounding with all manner of wealth, was left without inhabitants, who, in a miserable condition, wandered then into the neighbouring woods and marshes into Silesia. But the Polish nobility, with their army, entering the city, did what they pleased, slaying a great number of decrepit old people and sick persons, that were not able to save themselves by flight; then the city itself was first plundered, and afterwards so destroyed by fire, for three days together, that no part of it remained besides rubbish and ashes. In what manner they would have handled the citizens, especially their pastors, they shewed by their heroic actions performed in other places, by the most savage slaughtering of divers ministers of the church, and other faithful members of Christ of both sexes; for, of all they laid hold on, they gave not one man quarter, but very cruelly put them to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavoured to force Mr. Samuel Cardus, pastor of the church of Czuertzinen, to renounce his religion, after they had taken him, and miserably handled him with all manner of cruelty; but he stoutly resisting, they first put out his eyes, and led him about for a spectacle—then they pulled off his fingers' ends with pincers; but he not yet condescending to their mad fury, they found out a new kind of torment—poured molten lead into his mouth, and at length, while he was yet half alive, they clapt his neck between folding

doors, and violently pulling them together, severed his head from his body. They took John Jacobites, pastor of the church of Dembnick, and Alexander Wartons, his colleague, and another that was in company with them, as they passed through the town of Lubin, and hurrying them up and down for divers hours and grievously handling them, after the manner of tyrants, they, last of all, cutting their throats with a razor, threw them headlong, while they were yet breathing, into a great pit, which had been before-hand prepared for their martyrs, and stifled them by casting down dung and dirt upon them. They a great while pursued Andrew Oxlitus, a young man designed for the ministry, whom, after long seeking, they at last found in the open field; and in the end having taken him, they cut off his head with a scythe, chopping it into small pieces, and the dead carcass also they slashed in a barbarous manner. The same fate befel Adam Milota, a citizen of Lesna; but they more grievously handled an old man above seventy, whose name was Simon Priten, and many others, whose names it were too tedious too relate. Of that barbarous execution, which they did upon the weaker sex, there were, besides other examples, horrid trophies of cruelty erected in the said city of Lesna: a pious matron there, who was the mother of three children, not being able quick enough to leave the city, and being slain in the open street, they cut off her hands and feet, and cutting off her children's heads, they laid two of them at her breasts, and the third by her side. In like manner another woman, having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, being enclosed and bound in a sack, lived the space of two days, making most miserable lamentation. Grief forbids us to add more, for they behaved themselves so furiously towards us, that there remains not an example of any one man saved of all those that happened to fall into their hands. It is notoriously known how that fury of their's tyrannized also over the dead: some they dragged out of their graves and cut in pieces, as at Zichlin; others they exposed naked for a public spectacle, as at Lesna; of which outrageous action we had an example, even in the dead body of the most serene Landgrave of Hessa, which was drawn out of the grave, who was heretofore slain in a most barbarous and tyrannical manner at Koscian, but buried by our

friends at Lesna. The like was acted also upon the body of the most noble Arciszewius, heretofore the valiant admiral of the Hollanders in Brazil, which was likewise dragged out of the grave, and being stripped of the grave clothes, was found after the firing of Lesna. There are divers other examples, which the Christian reader may find in the book intituled *Lesnæ Excidium*, faithfully written, and lately set forth in print; but they are such examples only as are commonly known—for who is able to relate all things in particular?—as burning men alive, drowning others, with stones tied about their necks, &c.

“Now Lesna being destroyed, the fury of the enemy proceeded to the persecution of others: they, in a short time, utterly demolished all our congregations, not only driving away the pastors, but also either burning or leaving most of the temples desolate—as at Karmin, Dembnick, Skochy, Czriuczyn, &c.—yea, and the auditories themselves were either slain, (as in the town of Skochy, where there was a very flourishing church of the Bohemian exiles, sixty persons, both men and women, were cruelly put to death,) or else they were scattered abroad; so that there remained not one place wherein the worship of God may be celebrated. Lo, this is the most miserable state and condition of our churches; moreover our countrymen, to the number of five thousand, besides youths and children, being dispersed in banishment (which hath now befallen most of us the second time) especially throughout Silesia, as also through the Marck, Lusatia, Hungary, &c., find no comfort, but much misery, and are there exposed to the hatred and envy of men. We that are pastors dare not openly minister to our auditories with the word and sacraments, but only in private meetings, or in woods among fenny places, God only seeing us, who is witness of these calamities, and our comfort in extremities. Indeed, being thus destitute of all things, we lead a wretched life in banishment, being afflicted with hunger and nakedness, and are become, next to the most miserable Waldenses, the greatest spectacle of calamity to the Christian world; for so it hath seemed good to that Sovereign Wisdom that governs all things, that we should be the inheritors of the cross and persecution of those men from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine and external succession: for truly we are the remaining progeny even

of the Waldenses, with whom being raised from the ashes of blessed Huss, and with whom combining into the same holy fellowship of the faith and afflictions of Christ, we have, for two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like storms and calamities, until at length we fell into this calamity, greater than ever was known in the memory of our fathers, and which threatens us with utter destruction, unless God prevent it. The truth is, this business constrains us to amazement and tears, greater than can be expressed in words, to set forth our affliction and sorrow. If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, we desire that this affliction of Joseph may be recommended, especially to all that are of the household of faith. Let them not suffer those to perish whom the same Spirit of Christ hath joined with them in so near a relation; we beseech them, in the name of Christ, that they would rather make haste to relieve those who are ready to perish—we being assured that we suffer this persecution upon no other account, than for the confession of the truth, from those enemies who have acted such things as these against us in times past, and are now at length, by God's permission, pouring out their fury upon us.

“Signed in the name of the said churches, by their delegates, and now exiles for the cause of Christ :—

“ADAM SAMUEL HARTMAN, *Pastor of the church of Lesna, in Poland, and Rector of the famous University there.*”

“PAUL CYRIL, *a late member of the University of Lesna.*”

Of the amount contributed in consequence of this second appeal to the benevolence of our countrymen, I am unable to give the reader any specific information. The posture of public affairs in our own country now became extremely critical; and the same year (1658) in which these laudable efforts were made in behalf of the Waldenses, both of Poland and Piedmont, proved fatal to the life, and, of course, to the influence of the Protector. The parliament proved refractory, and, in the spring of the year, he dissolved them. Public discontents ran high, and a pamphlet made its appearance, entitled “Killing no Murder”—the object of which was to prove that his assassination would be the dis-

charge of a public duty. His fears are said to have been excited ; a slow fever ensued, and, on the 3rd of September, he died. Of the contributions made in 1655, thirty thousand pounds had been distributed among the sufferers in the valleys of Piedmont, but the confusion which succeeded on the death of the Protector occasioned the balance, which was nearly ten thousand pounds, to be withheld for a time, but it was afterwards remitted them.

The number of the Waldenses that fell in the massacre of Piedmont, in 1655, is estimated by contemporary writers at more than six thousand.* In consequence, however, of the humane interference of our own and other protestant states, the residue, as hath been already stated, availed themselves of the treaty that was signed by the Duke of Savoy, on the 9th of August, 1655, to return to their dwellings. But their enemies were by no means satisfied with the measure of calamity which they had dealt out towards them. In the year 1663, they again came forward with fire and sword, and the atrocities of 1665 were once more in preparation to be re-acted. Having found by experience that to stand in an attitude of self-defence was the only way left them of saving themselves, the Waldenses were now constrained to take up arms, which they did, and defended themselves so bravely, that about the end of that year they at least kept their enemies at bay ! But the Swiss Cantons, ever alive to their affairs, on this occasion again sent ambassadors to the court of Turin, to mediate between the parties ; and in February, 1664, a patent was granted by the Duke of Savoy, in all respects confirming that given in 1655 ; but though his royal highness now personally engaged to see the treaty carried into effect, it was no better executed than the former. The Waldenses, however, persevered, and though subject to innumerable contumelies and very injurious treatment, which the rancour of the council *for propagating the faith* was continually inflicting upon them, they bore up until the year 1672, when an event transpired that afforded them an opportunity, in a very signal manner, of evincing their loyalty, and of rendering essential services to their sovereign and their country.

In the year last mentioned, a war broke out between the Duke of Savoy and the Genoese. The army of the former was commanded by the Marquis of Pionessa, son of the nobleman of that

* History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont, p. 4

name, who, nearly thirty years before, had taken so active a part in the massacre of the Waldenses. Under his management the war with Genoa proved most unpropitious, insomuch that the affairs of the Duke of Savoy were brought to the brink of ruin; and, as Bishop Burnet assures us,* the duke was so displeased with his conduct, that he never would forgive him, but a little before his death, actually enjoined it upon his mother never to employ him again! It was in this critical juncture of their national affairs that the Waldenses, forgetting all that was past, voluntarily came forward to enrol themselves in their sovereign's cause, and entered into the war with such zeal and courage, that they soon retrieved the fallen fortunes of their country, and brought the war to a speedy and successful termination. Their loyal and disinterested behaviour on this occasion, sensibly affected the mind of their prince, who testified his approbation of their conduct in a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

“To our most faithful subjects, the Communities of the Valleys of Lucerne, Perouse, San Martin, and of the districts of Perrustin, Saint Bartholomew, and Rocheplatte.

“The Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, &c. &c.

“MOST DEAR AND FAITHFUL—Forasmuch as we have been well pleased with the zeal and readiness with which you have provided men, who have served us to our entire satisfaction, in the affair we had against the Genoese—we have thought fit to testify unto you by these presents our approbation thereof, and to assure you, that we shall keep it in particular remembrance, to make you sensible on all occasions of the effects of our royal protection, whereof the Count Beccaria shall give you more ample information, whom we have commanded to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a list of the officers and soldiers, as well of those that are dead as of those that remain prisoners, that he may report the same unto us, to the end that we may pay due regard thereunto. In the meantime, these presents shall serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction and goodwill; and we pray God to preserve you from evil.

(Signed) “C. EMANUEL, Buonfiglio.”

“Turin, November 5, 1672.”

* Burnet's Letters from Italy—Supplement to ditto, Lett. III. p. 158. Edit. 1698.

The following is a copy of the duke's letter to Count Beccaria :—

"TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED—The men whom the communities of Lucerne &c. have provided, have served us so faithfully, that, being desirous of testifying unto them our satisfaction therewith, we have sent you a letter herein enclosed, which we have written to them, to the end that you may deliver it to them, and also express more fully the good-will that we bear to them on that account; and that you may assure them that whensoever anything shall happen that may tend to their advantage we will particularly remember their affection. And on this occasion you shall take a list of the officers and soldiers, as well of those that are dead as of those that are prisoners, and make a report of the same unto us, that we may pay a suitable regard to such; and, referring to you for what may be said further in token of the satisfaction we have received, no less by their zeal and readiness than by the good services which their officers and soldiers have rendered us, we pray our Lord to preserve you.

(Signed)

"C. EMANUEL."

"Turin, November 5, 1672."

"To Monsieur Count Beccaria, Counsellor of State."

In scrupulous conformity with the tenor of these letters, the duke continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1675, to favour the Waldenses with tokens of his kindness; and, even after his decease, the duchess, his widow, followed his example, treating them with great gentleness and goodness; and, in the year 1679, she pledged herself in a letter to the Swiss Cantons, dated 28th January, to maintain the Waldenses in the undisturbed exercise of their religious privileges.

VICTOR AMADEUS II. was a minor at the time of his father's death, though he inherited the title of Duke of Savoy. The government of Piedmont was, consequently, during this interval of ten years, vested in the hands of his mother, the widow of the late Charles Emanuel II., who acted as Regent until the year 1685, when Victor Amadeus arrived at maturity; and it appears to have been a season of tranquillity to the churches throughout the valleys. It is a remarkable circumstance that both father

and son were poisoned ! The former, indeed, fell a sacrifice to this base and treacherous act, but the youth of the son carried him through it.* It was the misfortune of this young prince, however, to become connected, by marriage, with Louis XIV., king of France, one of the most detestable and sanguinary tyrants that ever sat upon a throne, and who, as we shall presently see, compelled him, in defiance of his own inclination and judgment, to extirpate the Waldenses from his dominions. "There is nothing more visible," says Bishop Burnet, writing at the very time, "than that the Dukes of Savoy have sunk extremely in this age, from the figure which they made in the last ; and how much soever they have raised their titular dignity in having the title of *Royal Highness* given them, they have lost as much in the figure which they made in the affairs of Europe. The truth is, the vanity of this title and the expensive humour which their late *marriages with France* has spread among them, have ruined them ; for, instead of keeping good troops and strong places, all the revenue goes to keeping up the magnificence of the court, which is certainly very splendid."† Of the justice and pertinency of these observations the reader will find abundant proof in the sequel.

During the reign of Louis XIII. the protestants had multiplied in France to such an extent, that at the period of his death, A.D. 1643, they were computed to exceed two millions. Their religious privileges had been guaranteed to them by the well-known edict of Nantz. Louis XIV. was only five years of age when his father died, and, of course, the queen-mother was appointed sole regent during his minority. When the young king came of age, in 1652, the edict of Nantz was again confirmed. But his prime minister, Cardinal Mazarine, with his confessors and clergy, were continually impressing his mind with the expediency of revoking that edict ; and when the management of affairs devolved upon his own hands, in 1661, he resolved to effect the destruction of the protestants. In prosecution of this design he began by excluding the Calvinists from his household, and from all places of profit and trust. He next caused several laws to be passed in favour of the catholic religion. Then rigor-

* Bishop Burnet's *Supplementary Letters from Italy*, p. 161.

† *Ibid.* p. 162.

ous methods were adopted to compel the Calvinists to change their religion—their places of worship were shut up—and at length, October, 22, 1685, he revoked the edict of Nantz, and banished them from the kingdom. The cruelties that were inflicted upon them at this time, if possible, surpass in atrocity any thing that is to be found in the persecutions of the first Christians by the heathens. “They cast some,” says Monsieur Claude, “into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted! They hanged others with ropes under their arms, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion! They tied them like criminals on the rack, and, by means of a funnel, poured wine into their mouths till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn catholics! Some they cut and slashed with penknives—others they took up by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn catholics!” These cruel proceedings caused eight hundred thousand persons to quit the kingdom.

But this is a topic on which I must not here further enlarge: to do so would have the effect of diverting the reader’s attention from the History of the Waldenses. That of the HUGONOTS, or French protestants, will come under review in the ensuing volume, should a gracious Providence permit its publication; as must also that of the “UNITED BRETHREN of Bohemia,” including the interesting account of Huss and Jerome of Prague, as well as of Wyckliff and the LOLLARDS in our own country, with some other collateral branches of the general subject, which have been intentionally omitted, in order to carry forward the narrative of the Waldenses to its termination in the present volume. Louis the Fourteenth was indeed the champion of the catholic church; and, when compared with him, all his predecessors were mere drivellers. He allowed himself to be persuaded by the cardinals and clergy, that God had raised him up and prospered him for this very thing—that he might extinguish entirely the unhallowed flame of heresy, which had often threatened to consume the church; and the next Lecture will shew us how he consummated his glory in the destruction of the WALDENSES.

LECTURE LVI.

Last act of the Piedmontese Tragedy, A.D. 1686—The Duke of Savoy's tyrannical Proceedings towards his Subjects—Interposition of the Swiss Cantons—Acknowledgment of the Duke's Ministers, that they acted under the influence of the French King—Failure of the Swiss Negotiations—Deliberations of the Waldenses—Perfidious Conduct of the Court of Turin—Edict of the 8th of April—Combined Forces of France and Piedmont attack the Waldenses—the latter defend themselves, and Defeat their Enemies—Perfidious Conduct of the Catholic party—The Waldenses disarm themselves, and are treacherously Imprisoned—The Swiss Commissioners interpose for their Liberation—Depopulation of the Valleys—Sufferings of the Waldenses—their reception at Geneva—Concluding Remarks—APPENDIX TO LECTURE LVI.

WE now enter upon the last act of this fearful drama, the performance of which reflects indelible disgrace on “the holy catholic apostolic Roman church,” as she is pleased to call herself! and, we may add, that it is the consummation of her villainies—it must stand forth, to the end of time, as a monumental pillar, on which the gaze of posterity will be fixed, “wondering with great admiration,” that a church, professing itself to be the “spouse of Jesus Christ,” should exhibit such demonstrative proofs of hypocrisy, treachery, tyranny, cruelty, thirst for human blood, and, in a word, every characteristic of an infernal origin. But, indeed, any attempt to portray this monster in its true colours must be an abortive effort—language does not furnish

ideas sufficiently vivid to do justice to the subject. However, let us prosecute the narrative to its termination.

The tranquillity of the Waldenses in Piedmont began to be disturbed towards the close of the year 1685, by a proclamation issued by the governor of the valleys, forbidding any stranger to enter the country, and continue longer than three days, without his permission, on pain of being severely punished. This appeared mysterious, but the mystery was soon unravelled, by the intelligence which shortly after arrived, of the sanguinary proceedings that had recently taken place in France—the cruelties exercised towards the French protestants on St. Bartholomew's day, and of which some mention was made towards the close of the last Lecture. The Waldenses instantly perceived that it was intended to prevent them from affording an asylum to any of the unhappy exiles; yet they little suspected the dreadful tempest that was gathering around themselves.

On the 31st of January, 1686, their consternation was extreme, at the publication of an order from the Duke of Savoy, forbidding his subjects the exercise of the protestant religion, on pain of death—the confiscation of their goods—the demolition of their churches—and the banishment of their pastors. All infants born from that time were to be baptized and brought up in the Roman catholic religion, under the penalty of their fathers being condemned to the galleys!* Their consternation was now extreme. Hitherto, the treaty which secured to them the free exercise of their religion had been guaranteed by the Kings of France; but they were now given to understand that the Duke of Savoy, in all these intolerant measures, was only fulfilling the wishes of that monarch; and, to crown the whole, the latter had marched an army to the confines of Piedmont, to see the order of the duke properly executed. In this truly affecting condition, their first step was, by submission and entreaty, to soften the heart of their sovereign. Four different applications were addressed to him, beseeching him to revoke this cruel order: the only advantage they reaped was a suspension of the impending

* See Appendix, No.i.

calamity until their enemies were better prepared to execute it with effect.

Their old and tried friends, the Swiss Cantons, being informed of this state of things, convened a diet at Baden, in the month of February, 1686, at which it was resolved to send ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy to intercede for the Waldenses; and early in the following month they arrived at Turin, where they delivered in their propositions relating to the revocation of the order of the 31st of January. They shewed his highness that they were interested in the affair, not only as the brethren of the Waldenses, but also in virtue of the treaties of 1655 and 1664, which were the fruits of their mediation, and which this new order annulled. The court of Turin admitted the plea; but contented themselves with telling the ambassadors, that the engagements which the duke had recently entered into with the King of France opposed the success of their negotiation. The Swiss ambassadors gave in a memorial, and urged a variety of pleas; in all which they were supported by letters from many protestant princes in behalf of the Waldenses. They pleaded that the predecessors of his royal highness had pledged themselves to many of the potentates of Europe, and particularly to the Cantons of Switzerland, to observe the privileges which had been granted to the protestant inhabitants of the valleys; and argued, that such formal and authenticated engagements ought to stand good; for that the immunities which had been secured to them by letters patent, were not to be regarded merely in the light of matters of momentary toleration, but as perpetual grants and irrevocable laws: that having been granted at the intercession of many sovereign princes, they must, according to the laws of nations, be regarded as monuments of the public faith; and that the promises of princes ought to be maintained sacred and inviolable. They also endeavoured to shew, by arguments deduced from maxims of state policy, that the Duke of Savoy acted against his own interest in these cruel proceedings; and that even from a regard to those, he should continue the Waldenses in their ancient privileges—that the laws of justice and motives of clemency should prevent him from subjecting his country to fire and sword

and desolation; for that he was about to ruin a harmless and innocent people, who had done nothing that could deservedly entitle them to the effects of this inhuman order. But neither the reasoning of the ambassadors, nor their own pressing solicitations, nor the letters of intercession which had been presented in their behalf from many other protestant princes, could avail any thing with the court of Turin.* The Marquis of St. Thomas, to whom they delivered their memorial, and who was one of the duke's ministers of state for foreign affairs, returned an answer in a few days, stating that his royal highness was sorry that he was not in a capacity to grant what they desired in their own and in the name of their masters—that he had far stronger reasons for enforcing this edict than they had given him to revoke it; and that he could not so much as mitigate it; *that the great wheels moved and carried the little ones along with them*—that having for his neighbour a prince equally powerful and jealous of his honour, he was obliged to carry himself with great circumspection, and to act according to the exigences of the times, just as in Switzerland they were sometimes compelled, by the turn of their affairs, to take certain resolutions contrary to the good intentions they might otherwise have. In short, the duke was too far engaged—the troops, which he had raised at a great expense, were already in motion—that the edict could not be revoked without wounding his royal highness's reputation—that he was forced to see it executed for very cogent reasons, on which the ambassadors might make their own reflections. He added that the grants of 1655 and 1664 were a mere toleration, and that the Waldenses had no positive right to exercise their religious profession—that sovereigns do no injustice in refusing to allow more than one religion in a country; and that the Swiss Cantons themselves justified the conduct of his royal highness, by not enduring Roman catholics among them. Besides, the concessions granted to the Waldenses had been legally examined; and it was agreed, that the concessions and favours which a prince grants to his subjects, he is at liberty to revoke at pleasure—that his royal highness prohibited nothing to the Wal-

* See Appendix, No. ii.

denses but the exercise of their religious profession ; but that he *in no respects intended to force their consciences !*

The ambassadors, in reply, told the Marquis of St. Thomas, that however strong his royal highness's reasons were to consent to his edict of January last, they could not annul those that necessarily engaged him to observe the promises given before this edict. That some considerations of state ought not to dispense a prince from performing his word, especially if he entered into this engagement by the mediation of another sovereign ; and that, whereas the patents and concessions granted to the inhabitants of the valleys had been acquired by the intercession of several kings, princes, and states, and, in particular, of their excellencies the protestant cantons, and confirmed by his royal highness, he could allege nothing sufficient to discharge him from the obligation of seeing them punctually observed ; and the rather, because these patents have been enrolled by the parliament of Savoy ; and that the enrolling of the year 1620 alone had cost the churches of the valleys six thousand crowns.

They urged that the concessions granted by the predecessors of his royal highness to the inhabitants of the valleys, did acquire them an incontestible right, which they could not lose but by an enormous crime, and by a rebellion against their lawful sovereign ; and that, far from being guilty of any want of their duty, they could produce a letter of his royal highness's, of the 2nd of September, 1684, which is an authentic and glorious proof of their fidelity, and the inviolable adherence which they had always shewn to their prince's interest. That if, after the publication of the last edict, some particular persons amongst them had taken up arms, they had not done it to make use of them against their sovereign, but only to defend themselves against those that, abusing his authority, had undertaken to attack and insult them ; and that, in case there had been some disorders committed, those that were the authors ought to be punished ; but that it ought not to be imputed to the whole body of the churches of the valleys, that were in no respects guilty of it.

They insisted that the prince was equally obliged to execute the promises he had made to his subjects, as those that regarded persons that are in no manner under his submission. That such

obligations were grounded upon public faith and honour, which ought to rule in all treaties of sovereigns, without distinction; that if it were allowable to fail in what they had solemnly promised to their people, it would be impossible to terminate differences that should arise between them, or to appease the troubles that might happen in their state; and that two parties, making war on one another, would never end their quarrels but by the total ruin of one of them.

They added to this, that sovereigns had reason to employ their utmost endeavours to unite their subjects in the same religion; but that to effect it they ought not to violate treaties which had been formerly made with them. That all that was allowed them, in such a case, was to employ instruction and exhortation, and all the winning ways of sweetness that are calculated to make truth enter into the minds of their people, to enlighten their understandings, and to move them to embrace, with good-will, the true religion: but that which deserved a particular consideration in this contest, is, that the inhabitants of the valleys did not hold by the concessions of their princes the liberty to exercise in public their religion, because it was established in this country above eight centuries ago, and that they enjoyed this right long before they were the subjects of his royal highness's ancestors; inso-much that, having never been of the same religion as their prince, it could not be said that they had abandoned it, nor could he oblige them to return to it.

These reasons, and many others which were adduced, were so strong, that the ambassadors hoped they would have some effect on his royal highness's mind, and that the Marquis of St. Thomas would be pleased to make them known to him, and employ the credit which he had with him to obtain the revoking of an edict which, without doubt, he had thought to be just, and which he would not have published, if he had been persuaded that it was contrary to what a just and equitable sovereign owes to his faithful subjects.

But they did not merely content themselves in representing the rights in the Piedmontese churches, and supporting them by solid reasons; for they employed several days in soliciting all the ministers of his royal highness, and all persons whom they judged

capable of contributing to the success of their embassy; above all, they stuck close to the Marquis of St. Thomas, as one upon whom depended all the good and all the evil they could expect in this affair; and if we may judge of things by appearance, the pains they took to dispose him to be favourable to them were not altogether unsuccessful: for he protested upon oath, that he had laid before his royal highness the contents of the reply which he had been charged to present to him; that he had done all he could to make him sensible of the reasons they made use of to obtain the revoking of the edict; but that the juncture of affairs was the cause that he could not persuade his royal highness to grant them their requests. "Nevertheless," added he, "whereas the prince's troops are not yet upon the march, the inhabitants of the valleys may make a shew as if they were willing to execute the edict, because, that such a conduct is not contrary to the maxims of your religion, and by these means they will disarm the prince; and they may find afterwards some means to prevent the evils they are threatened with."

"Our doctrine," answered the ambassadors, "does in no respect countenance the dissembling of our faith, or oblige us to profess before men the truth whereof our hearts are not persuaded. But this is not our business at present: the question is to know whether his royal highness could lawfully revoke the concessions granted to the churches of the valleys. For, as they are engagements into which he has entered by the mediation of several sovereigns, and, amongst others, by that of the Swiss Cantons, our sovereign lords, it is evident that nothing can warrant him in breaking them."

In answer to all these pleas, the ministers of the prince gave the ambassadors to understand, that the council of state having examined them, judged they were not strong enough to hinder the prince from publishing his edict against his subjects of the valleys; and that, supposing the edict should really cause some inconvenience to his royal highness, he would nevertheless not desist from it, for fear a change of this nature should be injurious to his authority; and that, in *endeavouring to preserve some of his subjects, he might run the hazard to lose them all!* And though the ministers wished to be thought firm in their senti-

ments, and to shew they were not convinced of the justice of the demands the ambassadors made, it was well known that they defended the edict against their own opinion; for one of them frankly confessed, that his royal highness's counsellors had not properly examined the concessions of the years 1655 and 1664, and that, if they had made the necessary reflections on them, they would never have advised the prince to revoke them; but he assured them, that *the evil was now without remedy, and that all the solicitations of the ambassadors, to oblige the prince to change his will, would be in vain; indeed, one of the ministers frankly confessed, that the prince was not master of this affair, and that they executed at Turin those orders that were given at Versailles.*

This honest confession convinced the ambassadors that all their solicitations would produce no effect; therefore, seeing it would be impossible for them to obtain the revocation of the edict, they thought fit, according to the chief head of their instructions, to demand that which related to the second article of the orders which they had received from their sovereigns—viz. to procure for the inhabitants of the valleys the means of retreating somewhere else, and of disposing of their goods as they should think fit.

But as their instruction was to make no proposals to the court of Turin on this point, except with the consent of the inhabitants of the valleys, they told the Marquis of St. Thomas, that having, for several reasons entertained no correspondence with him, they were willing to take a journey into the valleys, to inform themselves exactly of the disposition of the people, and when acquainted with their intentions, to make some overtures of a new negotiation. But they gave him to understand, at the same time, they would by no means undertake the journey, except with his royal highness's full consent.

The Marquis of St. Thomas, having acquainted his royal highness with the design of the ambassadors, sent them word that he approved of their intentions, and that he would give orders to the governor of Lucerne to do them all the honour, and to shew them all the respect that was due to their character.

When the ambassadors arrived in the valleys, they acquainted all the communities with their arrival, who despatched immediately two deputies and two ministers to them, to whom they

represented, that they had employed their utmost endeavours to cause the edict of the 31st day of January to be revoked, but all their pleading had been unsuccessful: that it had been given them to understand, that his royal highness was so much engaged with one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, that it was impossible for him to break it; and that he was resolved to use all his endeavours to unite his subjects in the same religion, as he had promised to do.

There were, therefore, no hopes left of obtaining the revocation of the orders that had been given against them. That their sovereign lords had commanded them, in case his royal highness should persist in his resolution to execute his edict, that they should demand his permission to give them leave to retreat out of his territories, and to dispose of their goods; but that they were unwilling to enter into any negotiation upon this article, without being first informed of their intentions about it. That, therefore, they should assemble to deliberate seriously about so important an affair, and acquaint them afterwards what they desired of them in the present juncture.

The deputies and ministers having conferred together about this proposition, before they resolved upon any thing, they entreated the ambassadors to assist them with their best advice and prudent counsel. But the ambassadors declined to advise them in so intricate a business, telling them they were better acquainted with their own forces—with the situation of the places where they intended to intrench themselves—with their ammunition and provisions—than they were; and that, therefore, they themselves could adopt the best measures about it.

The ministers and deputies finding that they could not agree amongst themselves, and that besides, it was a business which could not be decided but by their commonalties, told the ambassadors, that the case in question being of the greatest importance, they could take no resolutions about it without having first assembled all their commonalties to consult upon it; and they promised to bring them to Turin their last resolutions, provided they could get passports for them.

The ambassadors returned to Turin, and informed the Marquis of St. Thomas of the success of their journey, who assured them

that this negotiation was very agreeable to the court. They then demanded a safe-conduct, that some of the inhabitants of the valleys might have liberty to come and bring the deliberations that should be taken in that assembly; but it was refused under two pretences: one was, that the Duke of Savoy would not permit that any Waldenses should appear at his court; the other was, that he designed to do nothing in this affair but only for the sake of the ambassadors. They were forced, therefore, to send the secretary of the embassy into the valleys to fetch these deliberations. This secretary found the communities assembled at Angrogne, on the 28th of March, very much unresolved what course to take; for, on the one hand, they saw the lamentable consequences of war, and on the other, the dangers and almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution of their retreat. Besides, although they might depart without danger, they could not contemplate, but with extreme regret, the hardship of being forced to abandon their goods and native country to go into a foreign land, to lead a miserable, disconsolate, and wandering sort of life. At last they resolved to send a memorial to the ambassadors, stating the dangers and difficulties that obstructed their departure, and wrote a letter to them, signed by nine ministers and eight laymen, in which, after having entreated them to reflect on these obstacles, they declared that they would refer the whole to their prudence and discretion. Upon receiving this letter, the ambassadors made it their business to obtain permission for the Waldenses to retire out of the estates of Piedmont, and to make sales of their goods; but the Duke of Savoy, to whom this proposition was referred, answered, that before he would return any reply thereto, he expected that the communities of the valleys should send deputies to him with full power to make those submissions that were due to him, and to *beg leave* to depart out of his territories, as a peculiar favour that they should implore of their prince. The ambassadors had reason to be surprised at this preamble. They had denied them the safe-conduct that they had demanded for the coming of the deputies of the valleys to Turin. They had assured them several times, that if they should grant to the Waldenses leave to retreat, it was only upon the account and at the intercession of the ambas-

sadors : nevertheless, they would by no means have it said, that the ambassadors desired permission for them to depart on their own behalf ; but, on the contrary, that it was the Waldenses themselves that made this request. This alteration was not without cause, and it was not for nothing that they now adopted measures altogether different from the former. The council of the propagation, who managed this affair, had, without doubt, respect to these two several points—one was, that they would not have the ambassadors named in the permission of departure, to the end that they should have the less right to demand the execution of those things that should be promised to the Waldenses ; the other, that the Waldenses themselves desiring this permission as a favour, they might be at liberty to impose on them what conditions they pleased ; and lastly, that the Waldenses making those submissions that the duke required of them, must needs be in the state of supplicants, and would, by consequence, be forced to lay down their arms ; otherwise they could not be in the condition of petitioners. But however it were, the ambassadors, willing to take away every pretext from the enemies of the Waldenses, took a safe-conduct to bring up the deputies whom they had demanded : they sent this safe-conduct into the valleys by the secretary of the embassy, who caused the communities to be assembled to nominate their deputies. But as, on the one hand, there were many who never engaged in the design of departing, and that, on the other, the new marches of their enemies appeared suspicious—the communities were not all of one mind, nor the orders they gave to their respective deputies conformable one with another. For the tenor of some was to beg leave to depart and to sell their goods—while others required the maintenance of the exercise of their religion and their other rights. These deputies being arrived at Turin, the ambassadors thought it not convenient for them to appear at court thus divided ; but sent them back into the valleys to endeavour to effect a union between themselves, and laboured in the meantime to obtain a truce for them.*

Their enemies heard, with great satisfaction, that the communities were divided among themselves upon the point of

* See Appendix, No. vii.

departing : they were so well persuaded that this division would be an infallible means to destroy them, that they caused it to be carried on and fomented by perfidious persons whom they had gained for that purpose. It is also to be presumed, that they never had proposed the expedient of departing, but with a prospect that it might be the occasion of the disunion of the Waldenses. To take advantage, therefore, of the various dispositions of the communities, their enemies changed their minds once more. They had lately declared that they expected, in the first place, that the Waldenses should themselves desire permission to depart, and should make their submissions thereupon. The Waldenses had not made this request nor these submissions : several of the communities were not of the opinion to retire : the ambassadors did not solicit any longer a permission to depart, but a truce, as appears by a letter which they wrote to the Marquis of St. Thomas, the 8th of April, 1686. In the meantime, notwithstanding all this, to accomplish absolutely the division of the Waldenses, and consequently to ruin them with the greater ease, they published, unknown to the ambassadors, an edict, dated the 9th of the same month of April, granting to the Waldenses an amnesty, and permission to retire out of the state of Piedmont.*

This edict was published in the valleys on the 11th of April, the same day on which the ambassadors wrote a letter to the same effect to some of the communities, to know their resolution. In the meantime they gave in a very pressing memorial to the Marquis of St. Thomas, to obtain some assurance that the troops should not enter into the valleys, and to gain for the Waldenses certain conditions more favourable than those of the edict : † but the court of Turin assured them that there was nothing to be expected for the Waldenses, till they had laid down their arms, of which the ambassadors gave advice to the deputies of the valleys who had been at Turin, by a letter dated the 13th, which they wrote to them on that subject. ‡ On the 14th, the communities held a general assembly at Rocheplatte, when, having examined the terms and conditions of the edict, they were of opinion, that

* See Appendix, No. ix.

† Appendix, No. xii.

‡ Appendix, No. xiii.

their enemies thought of nothing less than in reality to permit the departure which they pretended to grant to them, and that this edict was nothing but a snare that they had laid to entangle them, and to destroy them with more ease ; they resolved, therefore, not to accept of it, but to follow the example of their ancestors, and to refer the event of it to Providence. In fact, this edict, which was designed altogether to divide them, wrought a quite contrary effect, and served much to unite them in the same judgment.

The principal reasons that hindered them from accepting this edict, were, first, that as it ordains the entire execution of the order of the 31st of January, which condemned all the churches to be demolished, they must of necessity demolish all their churches within eight days, because the edict declares expressly, that if every thing contained in it be not executed within the space of eight days, they are deprived of and forfeit those favours that are stipulated in it. It must follow then, that, for the execution of the edict, either that the Waldenses themselves should demolish their churches, or that their enemies should do it. The Waldenses could not resolve to demolish them themselves, and, therefore, they would have sent for troops, which, under the pretext of this demolishing, would, in all probability, have oppressed the Waldenses. Secondly, if they designed to permit them to retire without disturbance, why did they not defer the execution of the order of the 31st of January till after their departure ? Why should they oblige them to demolish their churches within the eight days that were given them to prepare themselves to abandon for ever their native country, were it not to render their retreat impossible ? Thirdly, this edict further requires, that they should lay down their arms, and that they should open their country to monks, missionaries, and catholics. Now it is plain, that if they had thrown away their arms, and opened their country before their departure, they would have been exposed to the mercy of their enemies, and to the fury of troops, who would not have failed to enter into their country, to oppose the retreat of the Waldenses, and to torment them till such time as they had changed their religion, as had been practised elsewhere : but their fear was so much the more justifiable on this occasion, in regard that they gave them no assurance that their troops should not enter into

the valleys. Fourthly, the Waldenses were also obliged to retire in three separate brigades, and to rendezvous in those places; where the troops being encamped, they must consequently surrender themselves to the discretion of the soldiers, and deliver themselves up to be butchered. Fifthly, the permission that the same edict gives to the Waldenses to sell their goods, was altogether useless to them. For, besides, that the sale could not be made to catholics, till after their departure, and by the management of commissioners, they were bound, out of the price of the said goods, to indemnify the monks, the missionaries, the ancient, the modern, and the future catholics, for whatever damages they should pretend to, which they would have enhanced above the value of their goods. Sixthly, the edict also ordered, that besides those that should go out of the valleys of their own accord, the prince should reserve to himself a power to banish whom he should think fit, for securing the repose of those that remain—which supposes not only that the conditions of the edict were so disadvantageous, that there would be many Waldenses, who would not accept them, nor depart out of their station—but also, that their departure ought not to be looked upon as a favour, but as a punishment that they intended to inflict on several Waldenses, since they reserved to themselves a power to banish those who should have a mind to stay. Seventhly, the ambassadors were not named in the edict, and the Waldenses had no security for the execution of those things that were therein contained. They had good reason then very much to mistrust these proceedings, since the sad experience that they had on several occasions how ill their enemies kept their word, especially in this juncture, when they had broken the most inviolable laws, and were but too just a ground for their suspicions. Lastly, since the Duke of Savoy had declared that he was not the master of this affair, because of the engagements that he had taken with the King of France, it was not to be presumed that the latter monarch, on whom this matter depended, would take any milder measures, in respect of the Waldenses, than those he had taken with regard to his own subjects. The Waldenses had also several other reasons, grounded on the impossibility of their departure in so short a time, and upon other obstacles.

The communities sent their resolution to the ambassadors, who used all the exertions imaginable to procure for the Waldenses conditions more certain and more advantageous than those that are contained in the edict; but neither their reasons nor their solicitations produced any effect. They were always told that, as long as the Waldenses were in arms, they could not agree to any thing, nor so much as promise any thing positively. On the other hand, the Waldenses being persuaded that they would not disarm them but to destroy them without trouble and without resistance, could by no means yield to it, and persisted in their resolution to defend themselves, if they came to attack them.

A circumstance transpired at this time that served much to confirm them in this resolution. Two or three days after the publication of the edict, several inhabitants of the valleys went to the superintendent, to declare to him, that they and their families intended to quit Piedmont conformably to the edict, and to desire of him safe-conducts, which he refused them, under the pretence that they ought to stay till they went out with the rest. Moreover, because there were several that resisted his solicitations to change their religion, he caused them to be put in prison, where some of them languished, and at last died, and others remained there above nine months,—viz. till the time when all the other prisoners were discharged. There needed no other proof to make it appear that their design was to destroy the Waldenses, who would not change their religion. However, the communities of the valleys, having received a letter from the ambassadors, called another assembly at Rocheplatte, on the 19th of April: they persisted in their resolution not to comply with the edict, but to defend themselves. It was then ordered in that assembly, that all the ministers should preach, and administer the sacrament on the following Sunday. The valley of St. Martin entered into this deliberation with the rest, but put it not into execution. Some of that valley changed their minds, without acquainting the other valleys of it. And the elders of the church of Villeseche wrote to the ambassadors, who were yet at Turin, upon the point of their departing, a letter dated 20th of April, wherein they declared to them, that they would execute the edict, and entreated them, for that reason, to procure for them a safe-conduct, and time to pro-

vide for their retreat. One of the ambassadors took the pains to go to the camp to demand a safe-conduct; but they denied it, under the pretence that they had not desired it in time. It was always too soon or too late, and the time was never convenient to grant safe-conducts. In the meantime the Duke of Savoy arrived at his camp some days after the publication of the edict, hoping probably he might strike terror into the Waldenses by his presence, and force them to accept of the conditions that he had imposed on them. He had made a review of his troops, and of those of France, that were encamped on the plain at the foot of the Alps: his own army was composed of his family, all the cavalry and infantry, and the militia of Mondovi, of Barjes, of Bagnols, with a great number of foreigners; and the army of France consisted of several regiments of horse and dragoons, of seven or eight battalions of foot that had passed the mountains, and a part of the garrisons of Pignerol and Casal. The duke had also made the necessary preparations for attacking the Waldenses, as soon as the truce that was granted them should expire, having appointed his own army to storm the valley of Lucerne and the community of Angrogne, and the army of France to attack the valleys of St. Martin and Perouse. The Waldenses, on the other hand, had taken some pains to defend themselves. They possessed only a part of the valley of Lucerne; for the tower that gave name to this valley, and many other considerable places, were in the enemies' hand. The community of Angrogne, from which some call the valley by the same name, by reason of its large extent, was not wholly occupied by the Waldenses. In the valley of Perouse, they took up only certain posts in the places that depend on the state of Piedmont; for this valley is divided by the river Cluson between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; but they were in possession of all the valley of St. Martin, being the strongest of all by its situation. They had fortified themselves in every one of those valleys with several entrenchments of earth and dry stones. They were about two thousand five hundred men bearing arms; they appointed captains and officers of the chiefest among themselves, for they had no foreigners, and they waited the approach of the enemy with great resolution. But as, on the one hand, they had neither

regular troops, nor captains, nor experienced officers—and that, on the other, there were several Waldenses who had been corrupted, or that had relented during the negotiation—it is not to be wondered at if they took all the necessary precautions that were in their power. One of the greatest faults they committed was, their striving to maintain all their posts; for if they had abandoned the most advanced, and had retired within the intrenchments they had made in the mountains, it is not likely they would have been beaten out of them.

On the 22nd of April, being the day appointed for the attack, the French army, commanded by Catinat, governor of Casal, marched two hours before day, by torch-light, against the valleys of Perouse and St. Martin, having for some time followed the river Cluson on the king's territories. Catinat sent out a detachment of infantry, commanded by Velveville, lieutenant-colonel in Limosin, who, having passed the river over a bridge, entered into the valley of Perouse on the side of Piedmont. He seized on St. Germain, a village that the Waldenses had abandoned, and proceeded to attack an intrenchment that they had made hard by, in which there were two hundred men. The Waldenses quitted this post, after some resistance, and took possession of another more advantageous. In the meantime a new detachment of horse and of yellow dragoons having again passed the river, came to relieve the foot who had begun the engagement. They used their utmost efforts to gain the entrenchments of the Waldenses, of which they thought easily to become masters, since they were six to one; but they found so stout a resistance, that after having lost many of their soldiers, they were forced to entrench themselves at a pistol-shot distance: continual firings were kept up on both sides for more than ten hours together; but at length the Waldenses went out of their entrenchments, with their swords in their hands, surprised the French, who little expected so bold an action, and drove them even into the plain on the other side of the Cluson, where opportunely they found a bridge that kept them from being drowned. There were, on this occasion, more than five hundred Frenchmen killed and wounded, and among the rest several officers of note, though the Waldenses had but two men killed, and some few wounded.

While things passed thus in Perouse, the body of the king's army repassed the Cluson, to the fort of Perouse, on the side of France, where Catinat formed a detachment of horse, commanded by Melac, who, having passed the river by two bridges, fetched a compass about to gain the high grounds that separate the valley of St. Martin from Dauphiny. The rest of the army having likewise passed the river, went to encamp with Catinat at Bolards, part of the night, and the next day attacked the valley of St. Martin at a village called Rioclaret. But as those who had the command in that valley did not think that they would molest them, after they had shewn their inclination to accept of the amnesty, especially as the day appointed for their departure out of that valley was not fixed—the Waldenses were not in a condition to defend themselves nor to make any resistance, but consented to lay down their arms, and implore the pity and compassion of the conqueror. But the French being enraged with what had passed before St. Germain, were not content merely to burn, ravish, and pillage, but they massacred, without distinction of age or sex, with unparalleled fury, all that could not escape their barbarous cruelty. Catinat, having ravaged all the country of Rioclaret after a most horrible manner, left some troops in the valley of St. Martin, traversed with the body of his army the mountains that separate this valley from that of Perouse, and encamped, without any opposition, in the community of Pramol, in the valley of Perouse: the soldiers notwithstanding put to the edge of the sword all that fell into their hands, without respect to women or children, to the aged or the sick. In the meantime, the detachment that Melac commanded, having encamped one night on the eminencies of the valley of St. Martin, entered through divers passages into that valley, unknown to any but the inhabitants of the country. Wherever he passed he left the marks of an unheard-of cruelty, and joined the main body of the army that was encamped at Pramol. I shall not here give an account of the cruelties that were exercised on these and many other occasions—it will be sufficient to relate, in the sequel, some examples whereby one may judge of the rest.

It is necessary to interrupt the relation of the actions of the French in the valley of Perouse, because there happened things

in the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne that ought to be previously known.

The army of the Duke of Savoy having rendezvoused at the plain of St. John, on the 22nd of April, was, the next day, divided into several bodies, to attack different entrenchments that the Waldenses had made in the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne. The Waldenses, not being able to resist the enemies' cannon in the posts that were too open, where the horse might also draw up, were forced, after some resistance, to abandon a part of these entrenchments, and to withdraw into a fort that was more advantageous, above Angrogne, where they found themselves to be nearly five hundred men. The enemy, having burnt all the houses that they found in their way, came to storm this fort of the Waldenses, who received them so warmly with their muskets and stones, and defended themselves so vigorously against this great body, that they kept their post all that day without the loss of more than five men; the enemy lost above three hundred, though they were covered with entrenchments beyond pistol-shot. The Waldenses, fearing that they should not be able to keep this fort any longer, by reason that the troops increased, passed into another an hundred paces beyond it, in a more convenient place, where they waited with great resolution the army that advanced to attack them; when, the next day, being the 24th of April, they were informed that the valley of St. Martin had surrendered, and that the French were coming on their rear; for from that valley there is an easy passage to those of Lucerne and Angrogne. This news obliged the Waldenses to treat with Don Gabriel, of Savoy, uncle to, and general of the armies of, the Duke of Savoy, and with the rest of the general officers, who, having understood the mind of his royal highness, promised positively on his part and on their own, that the Waldenses should be absolutely pardoned, and that they should be admitted to the terms of the order of the 9th of April, provided they would deliver themselves up to his clemency; but the Waldenses making some difficulty to confide in this promise, Don Gabriel, who had notice of it, sent them a note, written and signed with his own hand, in the name of his royal highness, to this effect—"Lay down your arms immediately, and submit yourselves to his royal

highness's clemency : in so doing, assure yourselves that he will pardon you, and that your persons, and those of your wives and children, shall not be touched." An assurance of this nature might give full satisfaction to the Waldenses for the security of their lives and liberties. For besides, that this promise was made in the name and on the part of the duke—on the other hand, though it had been made only by Don Gabriel, and the general officers, it ought not to be less inviolable. The Waldenses, therefore, laid down their arms, relying on his promise, and the greatest part of them went and surrendered themselves to their enemies, believing that they should be quickly released. But all those that yielded themselves into their hands were made prisoners, and carried to the city of Lucerne, under pretence of leading them to his royal highness to make their submissions. Their enemies also seized all the posts that the Waldenses possessed in the community of Angrogne : they were not content only to plunder, to pillage, and to burn the houses of these poor people, but they also caused a great number of the Waldenses, of every age and sex, to be put to the sword ; they ravished abundance of women and virgins ; and, in fine, committed actions so barbarous and brutal, that they are enough to strike horror into the minds of all that have any shame or sense of humanity left. There were, nevertheless, many Waldenses, who, after this compromise, dispersed themselves up and down, not being willing to deliver themselves into the hands of their enemies till they had heard what became of the first that did so. But seeing, on the one hand, that the army exercised all manner of outrage wherever it came, and on the other, that all those that had surrendered themselves were detained, they hid themselves in the woods, and sent a petition to Don Gabriel, to entreat the release of their brethren, whom they kept in hold contrary to their word, and to cause a cessation of those acts of hostility that the armies executed after so barbarous a manner. Don Gabriel returned no answer to this request ; but certain officers replied that they carried the Waldenses to Lucerne, for no other cause but to ask forgiveness of his royal highness, and that afterwards they should be released. In the meantime, Don Gabriel caused the highest places of the valley of Angrogne to be gained by part of his army,

who, finding no more opposition, came as far as the tower, being the most considerable fort of the Waldenses, in which they had the greatest part of their cattle. The Marquis de Parelle, who commanded this body of the army, gave the Waldenses to understand, that a peace being concluded by the capitulation of Angrogne, he offered to them the enjoyment of the fruits of the said peace. He assured them to this effect, on the word and honour of a gentleman, that if they would deliver themselves into his hands, their persons, and those of their wives and children, should be preserved harmless; that they might carry away with them whatever they chose, without fear of having any thing taken away from them; that they had nothing to do but to come to Lucerne, to make their submissions to his royal highness; and that, upon this condition, those that were willing to turn catholics, might return with all safety to their houses and goods, and those that would go out of the estates of Piedmont, should have liberty to depart conformably to the order of the 9th of April. The Waldenses that were in the field and in the tower yielded themselves again, upon the credit of these promises, but they were no better performed than the other: for their enemies were no sooner entered within the bounds of the tower, when not only all that belonged to the Waldenses, was given up to the plunder of the soldiers, and of the banditti of Mondovi, their mortal enemies, who enriched themselves with their spoils, but those poor people, the greatest part of whom consisted of old men, sick persons, and of women and children, were made prisoners, with some ministers who were among them, and all hurried along so violently, that those who, through age or infirmity could not march as fast as the soldiers would have them, had their throats cut, or were flung headlong down precipices!

In the valley of Perouse, the French committed almost the same outrages that the duke's troops had done at Angrogne and at the tower of the valley of Lucerne. They were encamped in a quarter in the community in Pramol, called La Rua, distant about an hour's march from another quarter, called Peumian, where a party of the communities of Pramol, St. Germain, Prarustin, and Rocheplatte were retreated, to the number of fifteen

hundred persons, men, women, and children. The French might easily make a descent from their quarters to St. Germain, and carry away the two hundred Waldenses who had so valiantly defended themselves before, and were retreated within their entrenchments; but they, being informed of the loss of the valley of St. Martin, and of the enemies' march, quitted this entrenchment, fearing lest they should be surprised in it, and went into Peumian with their brethren. Here they were consulting how they might defend themselves against the French, who prepared to attack them, when certain inhabitants of the valleys, who had revolted to the enemy, came and assured them that the valleys of Angrogne and Lucerne had already submitted to their prince's discretion, who had pardoned them, and referred them to the terms of the order of the 9th of April. They told them also, that he only wanted them to put an end to a war, the weight whereof they were not able to sustain alone, and to procure for themselves an advantageous peace. This news having in part broke the measures of the Waldenses, they sent deputies, and a drummer, to treat with the general of the French army, who desired nothing more than a proposition of peace. He told them that his royal highness's intention was to pardon them, and promised them positively, on the part of the prince, and on his own behalf, the lives and liberties of the Waldenses, with a permission to return with all security to their houses and goods, provided they would readily lay down their arms. And whereas the deputies represented to him that they feared lest the French, being exasperated with what had passed at St. Germain, should revenge themselves on the Waldenses when they were disarmed, he made great protestations to them, and confirmed them with oaths, that although the whole army should pass by their houses, yet they should not kill so much as a chicken. This proposition being made, Catinat detained with him one of the deputies, and sent back the others to give notice to the Waldenses, and to oblige all them that were dispersed to meet together the next day, being the 25th of April, at Peumian, to the end that every one might return to his house after they were informed of the peace. While the Waldenses were gathering together their scattered families at Peumian, Catinat gave an account of this

capitulation to Don Gabriel, who sent a courier to him in the evening, and he, passing through Peumian, assured the Waldenses that he brought peace; and the next day, on his return, told them that the peace was concluded. They were so well persuaded of it, that they had laid down their arms the day before, observing the conditions of the treaty, and confiding wholly in Catinat's promises. In these circumstances they were expecting the news at Peumian, when there arrived one of the king's officers from the garrison of the fort of Perouse, with several dragoons with him. This officer, who was very well known to the Waldenses, repeated to them the assurances of peace, and caused the men to be put in one quarter, and the women and children in another. The French troops being arrived at the same time, told the men that they had orders to lead them to their own houses, and caused them to march four by four. These poor people, being forced to leave their wives and their daughters exposed to the discretion of the soldiers, were conducted, not to their houses, as they had been told, but to Don Gabriel, who was encamped on the mountain of Vachiere, and he gave orders for them to be conveyed to Lucerne, as prisoners of war! In the meantime the females were subjected to all the abominable treatment that the rage and lust of brutish soldiers could invent. Not satisfied with plundering them of their property, these barbarians violated the persons of both married women and maidens, in a manner that modesty forbids our relating; and several were put to death merely for resisting in defence of their honour. M. Catinat was not present when these atrocities were perpetrated at Peumian. He left the management of this affair to certain of his officers, no doubt that he might be out of the way of hearing the complaints which the Waldenses would have made to him, and not chusing to be a spectator of these barbarous proceedings. It is certain, however, that, besides those that were put to death, and others that escaped by flying to the woods and mountains from the persecution of these monsters, numbers were dragged to prison after a most inhuman manner.

The valley of Perouse being now reduced like the rest, by the capitulation of Peumian, a detachment of the French army quitted it, and proceeded to join Don Gabriel at La Vachiere. And now,

having completed their work, the conquered Waldenses were collected from all parts of Piedmont, and lodged in the different prisons or castles, under pretence of leading them to his royal highness to ask his pardon and obtain their liberation. But this furnished their unfeeling adversaries with a fresh opportunity of displaying their inhumanity. The utmost precaution was taken to separate the different branches of the same family! The husband was carefully parted from his wife, and the parent from his child—thus depriving them of those means of succour and consolation which the ties of consanguinity naturally inspire. By this piece of refined cruelty, they no doubt hoped to find the victims of their perfidy and malice the less able to withstand temptation, or endure the evils they had in store for them. Those that could ill bear the wretchedness of a close confinement, were to be consumed with the corroding anxiety and regret which must result from being separated from their dearest earthly connexions. There were, indeed, a great number of children, whom they did not send to prison, but dispersed them throughout Piedmont in private houses; but this was a piece of jesuitical craftiness, for they hoped by that means to get them the more readily instructed in the principles of the catholic religion.

But I must not prosecute this melancholy narrative more in detail, though what has now been laid before the reader can only be considered as a sample of the harvest. Dreadful as were the proceedings which took place in the massacre in 1655, as detailed in a former Lecture of this work, they do not appear by any means to have surpassed in enormity the cruelties inflicted upon the Waldenses in 1686.* Those who deny the existence

* A pretty circumstantial relation of these things is to be found in several publications which appeared at the time, and particularly in three tracts now before me, from which the materials of this Lecture are drawn. The first is entitled, "An Account of the late Persecution of the Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont, by order of the Duke of Savoy and the French King, in the year 1686. Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, by John Crossley, 1688. 4to. 68 pages. The second is entitled, "The History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont, containing an Account of what passed in the Dispersion of the Churches, in the year 1686." Printed in 4to. London, 1688. (See pp. 31—35.) The third is entitled, "The State of Savoy, in which a full and distinct Account is given of the Persecution of the Protestants, by means of the French Counsels." 4to. London, 1691. To this last mentioned work I am indebted for the valuable documents which the reader will find in the Appendix.

of the devil and his agency in prompting the human race to destroy one another, if they would account for the infernal cruelties that are related to have been now inflicted by the Catholics on the poor Waldenses, simply on the principle of human depravity, must entertain a much worse opinion of human nature than the writer of these pages has yet been able to bring himself to adopt. He can, indeed, admit much that militates against the dignity of human nature *in its lapsed state*; but he can only account for the monstrous cruelties that were perpetrated on a class of his fellow-creatures, the most harmless and inoffensive that ever inhabited the earth, on the principle of the active agency of "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience"—he who was "a murderer from the beginning"—"that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan"—the grand adversary of God and man. The present was *his hour*, and the power of darkness. But to return from this digression.

The armies of France and Savoy having inhumanly butchered a multitude of the Waldenses, committed more than twelve thousand of them to prison, and dispersed two thousand of their children among the catholics, and concluding that their work was accomplished, caused all their property to be confiscated. And thus were the valleys of Piedmont depopulated of their ancient inhabitants, and the light of the glorious Gospel extinguished in a country where, for many preceding centuries, it had shone with resplendent lustre.

In the month of September, 1686, the Swiss Cantons convened a general assembly at Aran, to deliberate on the condition of those who were either imprisoned or in a state of exile in Piedmont; and they came to the resolution of sending deputies to demand from the duke the release of all that were confined, and the privilege of quitting the country. The latter, probably by this time glutted with human carnage, signed a treaty, in consequence of which the prisons were set open, and leave given to such as had survived to depart peaceably through that part of Savoy which borders upon Berne and the territory of Geneva. But a bare recital of the miseries which the prisoners had suffered during their confinement is sufficient to sicken the

heart. More than ten thousand persons were distributed among fourteen prisons or castles in Piedmont. They were fed for months upon bread and water—the former, in which were often found lime, glass, and filth of various kinds, was so bad as scarcely to deserve the name; while the latter, in many instances brought from stagnant pools, was scarcely fit for the use of cattle. Their lodging was upon bricks or filthy straw. The prisons were so thronged that, during the heat of the summer months, they became intolerable, and deaths were daily taking place. Want of cleanliness necessarily engendered diseases among them—they became annoyed with vermin, which prevented their sleep either by night or day. Many women in child-bearing were lost for want of the care and comforts necessary to such a situation, and their infants shared the same fate.

Such was the state of these afflicted and persecuted creatures, when the Duke of Savoy's proclamation was issued for releasing them. It was now the month of October; the ground was covered with snow and ice—the victims of cruelty were almost universally emaciated through poverty and disease, and very unfit for the projected journey. The proclamation was made at the castle of Mondovi, for example; and at five o'clock *the same evening* they were to begin a march of four or five leagues! Before the morning more than a hundred and fifty of them sunk under the burden of their maladies and fatigues, and died. The same thing happened to the prisoners at Fossan. A company of them halted one night at the foot of Mount Cenis: when they were about to march the next morning, they pointed the officer who conducted them to a terrible tempest upon the top of the mountain, beseeching him to allow them to stay till it had passed away. The inhuman officer, deaf to the voice of pity, insisted on their marching; the consequence of which was, that eighty-six of their number died, and were buried in that horrible tempest of snow. Some merchants that afterwards crossed the mountains, saw the bodies of these miserable people extended on the snow, the mothers clasping their children in their arms!

It is but an act of justice, however, to add that, in some few instances, the officers who conducted the different troops of Waldenses out of the country, treated them with more humanity.

Their own historians admit the fact, and it ought to be recorded that some took a particular care of them; and certainly the picture that is drawn of their deplorable condition is such as was well calculated to melt the most unfeeling heart to tenderness: the greater part of them were almost naked and without shoes; and they all bore such striking marks of suffering and wretchedness, that the very sight of them was enough to pierce the heart. Those who survived the journey arrived at Geneva about the middle of December, but in such an exhausted state, that several expired between the two gates of the city, "finding the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty." Others were so benumbed with cold that they had not power to speak; many staggered from faintness and disease, while others, having lost the use of their limbs, were unable to lift up their hands to receive the assistance that was tendered them.

At Geneva they experienced that kind and hospitable reception which was due to them as their fellow-creatures, and more especially as their persecuted Christian brethren. They clothed the naked, fed the hungry, succoured the afflicted, and healed the sick. But what pen can describe the affecting scene which now took place while they halted at Geneva for rest and refreshment, before they proceeded forward into Switzerland! Those who arrived first naturally went out to meet those that came after, anxiously inquiring after their relations and friends, of whom they had heard nothing since the fatal catastrophe in the valleys of Piedmont. The father inquired after his child, and the child after its parent—the husband sought his wife, and the latter her partner in life. Every one endeavoured to gain some intelligence of his friend or neighbour; but, as three-fourths of them had died in prison or on the road, it exhibited a melancholy spectacle to see so many dissolved in tears at the distressing accounts they received. Their principal earthly comfort now arose from the hospitable kindness of the people of Geneva, who flocked around them, and evinced such solicitude to conduct them to their own homes, that the magistrates of the city were obliged, in order to prevent confusion and disorder, to issue an injunction, prohibiting any from going out of the city. There was a noble emulation who should entertain the most sick, or those that were most

afflicted. They received them not merely as strangers in distress, but as Christian brethren, who brought peace and spiritual blessings into their families. All that needed clothing were either supplied by those that lodged them or by the Italian Bank, the directors of which, from first to last, evinced all the marks of tender compassion and of disinterested kindness.

But it was not only at Geneva that the Waldenses met with this kind and hospitable treatment. The Cantons of Switzerland opened to them their country, and not their country only, but their hearts and affections also. The conduct of the Swiss, indeed, was so noble and disinterested throughout the whole of this distressing period, that it would be unjust to their memory to pass it over with a slight mention.* Perhaps the best way of evincing my own impartiality will be to lay before the reader the

* It would seem that the valleys of Piedmont were not the only spot in which the disciples of Christ were, at this period, the subject of persecution. The following passage in Dr. Burnet's *Second Letter*, written from Switzerland, in 1685, deserves attention:—

“ In April, 1685, about five hundred persons, of different sexes and ages, passed through Coire (a town in Switzerland), who gave this account of themselves:—They were inhabitants of a valley in the Tyrol, belonging mostly to the archbishopric of Saltzburgh—a remnant of the old Waldenses. They worshipped neither images nor saints; and they believed the sacrament (of the Lord's Supper) was only a commemoration of the death of Christ; and in many other points they had their opinions different from those of the church of Rome. *They knew nothing of either Lutherans or Calvinists*; and the Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of their's to the protestant religion. The Archbishop of Saltzburgh hearing of them, sent some persons into the country to examine them, and to exhort them to return to mass, and to threaten them with all possible severity if they continued obstinate. Perceiving a terrible storm ready to break upon them, they resolved to abandon their houses and all that they had, rather than sin against their consciences: and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, to the number of *two thousand*, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate, and about five hundred took the road to Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The Swiss ministers told me they were much edified by their simplicity and modesty; for, a collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way.”—*Dr. Burnet's Letters*, pp. 87—89. Amst. 1686. It appears, however, that the emigration of these two thousand persons was far from ridding the Tyrol of the heretics. I have now before me a pamphlet, published in London, 1732, giving an “ Account of the Sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishopric of Saltzburgh,” &c., in the pre-

testimony of Dr. Burnet, who, in his Letters from Italy, written, as it were, at the very moment, and from the very scene of action, thus proceeds:—

“ There is one thing for which the Swiss, and those of the Canton of Berne in particular, cannot be sufficiently commended. Ever since the persecution commenced in France (alluding to the revocation of the edict of Nantz), they have opened a sanctuary to such as retired thither, in so generous and Christian a manner, that it merits all the honourable remembrance that can be made of it. The ministers and others that had been condemned, not only found here a kind reception, but all the support that could be expected, and, indeed, much more than could reasonably have been expected. They assigned to the French ministers a salary of five crowns per month, if single, and increased it to such as had wives and families, so that some have been allowed more than ten crowns a month.—And in this last total and deplorable dispersion of the churches, the whole country has been animated with such a spirit of love and compassion, that every man’s house and purse has been opened to the refugees, who have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been more than two thousand in Lausanne alone, and of these there were, at one time, nearly two hundred ministers; and they all met with a kindness and frankness of heart that looked more like the primitive age revived, than the degenerate age in which we live.”*

Here, however, I think I may pause, and draw this narrative towards a conclusion, which I shall do by offering a few obvious reflections on the whole of this interesting history. And the first thing that suggests itself is, that however we may be inclined to blame the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, that of Louis XIV., who compelled him to these sanguinary proceedings, is entitled to our chief condemnation. Referring to this final extirpation of the Waldenses from Piedmont, our countryman, Dr. Burnet,

ceding year, when 20,678 were exiled from the same district; but the subject belongs to a later period, and will probably be found in a subsequent volume of these Lectures, should life and health be continued.

* Dr. Burnet’s Letters from Italy, Letter I. pp. 57, 58.

who was then making the tour of the Continent, has the following remarks, in a letter which he dates from Turin, to a friend in this country :—

“ I will not engage,” says he, “ in a relation of this last affair of the valleys of Piedmont; for I could not find particulars enough to give you that so distinctly as you might probably desire it. It was all over long before I came to Turin; but this I found, that *all the court were ashamed of the matter*; and they took pains with strangers, not without some affectation, to convince them that the duke was, with great difficulty, forced into it,—that he was long pressed to it by repeated entreaties from the court of France,—that he excused himself from complying therewith, representing to the court of France the constant fidelity of the Waldenses ever since the last edict of pacification, and their great industry, so that they were the most profitable subjects that the duke had; and that the body of men which they had given his father in the last war with Genoa, had done great service, for it had saved the whole army. But all these excuses were unavailable; for, the court of France having broken its own faith which had been pledged to heretics, and therein manifested how true a respect it paid to the council of Constance, now wished to engage other princes to follow this new pattern of fidelity which it had set the world. So the duke was not only pressed to extirpate the heretics of those valleys, but he was also threatened that, if he would not do it, the king would send his own troops to extirpate heresy; for he would not only not suffer it in his own kingdom, but would even drive it out of his neighbourhood. He who told me all this, knowing of what country I was, added, that probably the French monarch might very soon *send similar messages to some others of his neighbours!*”*

If Louis XIV. had any such favours in contemplation for our own country, as those that are hinted at in the conclusion of the foregoing paragraph, Britons have reason to be thankful to God, whose over-ruling providence frustrated such sanguinary projects: and had the race of the Stuarts continued to fill the

* Dr. Burnet's Letters from Italy—Supplementary Letters, p. 162., written in 1687, and printed the following year.

British throne, it is more than probable that the horrible scenes of Piedmont had, indeed, been re-acted among our forefathers, in this happy land. But the glorious revolution which gave us a protestant monarch took place in 1688, the very year after Dr. Burnet wrote his *Supplementary Letters*, from which the foregoing extract is taken, and happily saved us from all danger of the tyrant's rage. And here, with a few reflections, I close the history of the Waldenses.

Enough, I presume, and more than enough, has appeared in the preceding pages to satisfy any unprejudiced reader, that the extermination of the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont was *the act of the King of France*; or, if the shadow of a doubt should exist upon that subject, it must for ever be removed by a careful perusal of the Duke of Savoy's letter to the Duke of Orleans, which will be found in the Appendix to this Lecture.* In fact, the whole of the correspondence between the court of Turin and that of France, which is there given, affords such damning proof of the overwhelming despotism of Louis XIV. towards the Duke of Savoy, that the indignation which at first sight one is tempted to indulge against the latter, is converted into pity and compassion for him; and horrible as were the transactions committed under his reign, every liberal man will regard him as a sovereign "more sinned against than sinning." But let a reflecting mind contemplate these events as instigated by the counsels of France, and perpetrated by the power of her arms; let them be connected in idea with the cruelties inflicted upon the protestants in France, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, which took place only a few years before; and if he believe "there is a God who judgeth in the earth," he will find little difficulty in tracing the hand of retributive justice in the series of calamities which have subsequently afflicted that unhappy country. These are topics that Christians are but too apt to overlook, but they are of serious import, and deserve consideration.

But what shall we say of the court of Rome, the great moving spring in all this machinery of complicated villainy—that "holy

* See Appendix, No. 16.

mother church," which kept the conscience of Louis XIV. and of the other crowned heads, who, from time to time, obsequiously lent their aid to massacre the Waldenses ! I trust I may be permitted, without arrogance, on this occasion, to adopt the language of an unknown writer, who reviewed a former work of mine on this subject. "The narrative which we have been perusing," said this enlightened critic, "leaves on the mind impressions of the utmost detestation for the spiritual tyranny exercised by the court of Rome. Providence never made use of so terrible a scourge to chastise mankind. No power ever outraged the interests of society, the principles of justice, and the claims of humanity, to the same extent. Never did the world behold such blasphemy, profligacy, and wantonness, as in the proceedings of this spiritual domination. It held the human mind in chains, visited with exemplary punishment every inroad on the domains of ignorance, and sunk nations into a state of stupidity and imbecility. Its proscriptions, massacres, and murders, and all the various forms which its cruelties assumed,—the miseries which it heaped on the objects of its vengeance,—its merciless treatment of them, and the grasp of its iron sway, seemed, at one time, to leave no room to hope for the liberation of the human race ; and surely nothing can appear more hideous than this power in its true colours ; it leaves the mind full of horror at its cruelties."* But I take leave of the subject with one extract more from the learned Dr. Allix :—

"Never," says this excellent writer, "did the church of Rome give a more incontestible evidence of her own antichristian spirit than by her insatiable thirst after the blood of those Christians, who, six hundred years ago, renounced her communion ; and to allay which she has made the blood of these poor innocent creatures everywhere to run down like rivers, exterminating, by fire and sword, those who were not terrified by her anathemas. During this long interval the Waldenses have ever been in the condition of sheep led to the slaughter, by their continual and uninterrupted martyrdoms maintaining and adorning the religion of Christ our Saviour, which the church of Rome having for-

saken, now sought to accommodate to her corrupt and worldly interests, and to the design she had formed of making it a stalking-horse to the pomp, lordliness, and tyranny of her pope and clergy.

“Whatever reflections the members of the church of Rome may indulge relative to the circumstance of God’s having apparently relinquished these poor churches to the fury of their cannibal adversaries, I am fully persuaded that those who have made the conduct of Divine Providence towards the primitive church their study, will not be stumbled at this apparent desertion of the Waldenses, and their being abandoned to the outrageous cruelty of their persecutors, nor regard the ostensible triumphs of that apostate church as any indication of the weakness of the truth professed by the Waldenses.

“Let the Bishop of Meaux, then, if he please, insultingly tell the protestants to go and look for their ancestors among the Waldenses, and hunt for them in the caverns of the Alps. His declamation shall never make us forego one jot of that tender veneration and respect which we have so justly conceived for this nursery and seed-plot of the martyrs, and for those valiant troops who have so generously lavished their blood in defence of the truth, against all the efforts, all the machinations, and all the violence of the Roman catholic party. The judgment that St. Hilarius expresses in his writings against Auxentius, ought to be sufficient to arm us against all the cavils of those who would insinuate, that it is impossible the church should lose its purity, or that this purity should be preserved by churches reduced to caverns and mountains.”—“Of one thing I must carefully warn you,” says he, “beware of Antichrist! It is ill done of you to fall in love with walls. It is ill done of you to reverence the church of God in buildings and stately edifices; it is wrong to rest in these things. Can you doubt that it is on these Antichrist will fix his throne? Give me mountains, forests, pits, and prisons, as being far safer places; for it was in these that the prophets prophesied BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD.”*

* Dr. Allix’s History of the Churches of Piedmont, pp. 293—296.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE LVI.

No 1.

EDICT OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY, FOR THE EXTIRPATION OF THE WALDENSES, JAN. 31, 1686.

VICTOR AMADEUS, *by the grace of God, Duke of Savoy and of Piedmont, and
King of Cyprus.*

POLITICAL as well as Christian prudence advises us very often to neglect, in some manner, the ulcers that are not yet in a condition to be healed, and that might be made worse by a precipitate cure. This conduct has been observed as well in other monarchies as by our most serene predecessors, who in truth had never any other design than to rescue their subjects professing the pretended reformed religion out of the darkness of heresy, which, by an unhappy vicissitude, and a fatal corruption of these times, had passed from the very centre of the valleys of Lucerne into the very heart of Piedmont. Nevertheless, by reason of the succours which the zealots of that religion received from foreign countries, this holy work could not be brought to the end we so much desired; insomuch that, not having been able to purge our country of this poison, we did reduce them to, and shut them up in the valleys of Lucerne, of Angrogne, of St. Martin, of Cernse, of St. Bartholomew, of Roccapiata, and of Parustin; and by way of toleration, we did suffer them to exercise there their false religion, in the limits before prescribed to them, according to the juncture of times, till it should please God Almighty to give us a favourable opportunity of bringing back those misled souls into the bosom of the holy and only catholic, apostolic, and Romish religion. Yet time has discovered how much it was necessary to cut off the numerous heads of this hydra, since the said heretics, instead of answering this favour with a deep submission, and with a sincere acknowledgment of this kind toleration, have very often made bold to be disobedient, to a scandal, and to rise against their own sovereign.

And because at present the principal cause of this said toleration is now removed by the zeal and piety of the glorious monarch of France, who has brought back to the true faith his neighbouring heretics, we think the particular graces we have received from his Divine Majesty, and which we enjoy still, would accuse us of the greatest ingratitude, if by our negligence we should let slip the opportunity of executing this work, according to the intention of our glorious predecessors. It is for this, and several urgent reasons, that by virtue of this present edict, with our full knowledge, and by our absolute power, as also by the advice of our council, we have declared and ordered, and do declare and order by these presents, to our subjects of the pretended reformed religion, to desist for the future from all the exercise of the said religion. And we do prohibit them further, after the publishing of this edict, from holding any assemblies or conventicles, in any place or particular house, to exercise the said religion, under what title, pretext, or occasion whatsoever, under pain of their lives and confiscation of their goods. And we ordain also that the past pretended

toleration be of no effect, under what colour or pretence whatsoever. Our will is also, that all the churches, granges, and houses, in which at present the said religion is exercised, shall be razed to the ground; and also all other places in which for the future such assemblies shall be held, to the prejudice of what the precedent articles contain; and this is to be executed, though the owners of such places are ignorant thereof. And we command accordingly all ecclesiastics, ministers, and schoolmasters, of the said pretended reformed religion, who in one fortnight after the publishing this present edict, do not effectually embrace the catholic religion, shall retreat out of our territories after the said term be past, under pain of death and confiscation of their goods; with express command, and under the same punishment, not to make, within the said time, or before their departure, any sermon, exhortation, or any other act of the said religion. And furthermore, we forbid, under the said punishment, and the forfeiture of our favour, all those that make profession of the pretended reformed religion, to keep for the future any public or private school; it being our intention, that from this very time their children shall be instructed by catholic schoolmasters. And concerning the ministers who within the said time shall embrace the catholic religion, our will and pleasure is, that during their lives, and after they are dead, their widows, as long as they shall live unmarried, shall enjoy the said exemptions and immunities which they enjoyed heretofore, during the exercise of their charge. And our will is over and above, that to the said ecclesiastics who shall be made converts in the said manner, there shall be paid during their life a pension one third part larger than the salary was which they enjoyed in quality of being ministers of the said religion; and that after their death their widows enjoy one half of the said pension as long as they shall continue unmarried. And concerning the children that shall be born by father and mother of the said pretended reformed religion, our intention is, that after the publishing this present edict, they shall be baptized by the priests of the parish that are already, or that shall be established for the future in the said valleys: to this purpose, we command their fathers and mothers to send or bring them to the churches, under pain of being sent five years to the galleys for their fathers, and whipping for their mothers; and moreover, the said children shall be brought up in the said catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion. And we command expressly all judges, bailiffs, gaolers, and other officers, to see these presents duly executed. And we do confirm also the edict we have published the 4th of November past, concerning the subjects of his most Christian majesty that make profession of the pretended reformed religion, and that are to be found in our territories, and that have left their merchandises, money, or other effects behind them; and concerning the other foreigners of the said religion, who, to the prejudice of some of our predecessors' edicts, have established themselves in the valleys, without their consent in writing, comprehending therein their offspring that are born there—we command, that in case, within one fortnight after the publishing this present edict, they do not declare to be willing to embrace the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, they shall be obliged, if the said term be past, to retreat out of our territories, under pain of death, and confiscation of their goods. And though lawfully, by virtue of the said edicts, the goods which the said foreigners have acquired in our territories ought to be confiscated for our royal treasury, nevertheless we are willing in this case to shew our accustomed clemency, and to give them leave to sell their said goods (if they please) within the said term, and to dispose of the same as they think convenient; yet upon these conditions, that the selling the immoveable goods shall only be made in favour of the catholics; but in case they shall find no buyer, they shall be looked upon as sold, and united to our dominions under a reasonable price. Finally, we command all the magistrates established by us, ministers of state, officers, judges, and all others whom it concerns, to see this present edict inviolably observed; and so to order the same, that the council of Piedmont may

enrol it, and give their full approbation of what is contained therein. Moreover, our will is, that the publishing made hereof in the accustomed places, and in the ordinary manner, shall have the same virtue as if it had been made known to every particular person; and that there be the same observance paid to the copy hereof, printed by Sinibal, our printer, as to this my original itself; **FOR THIS IS OUR WILL.** Given at Turin, Jan. 31, 1686.

VICTOR AMADEUS.

(By his Royal Highness's command.)

DEST. THOMAS.

No. 2.

MEMORIAL *against the foregoing Edict, presented to the Court of Savoy by CASPAR DE MURATT and BERNARD DE MURATT, Counsellors of State, the first of Zurich, and the other of Berne, in Switzerland.*

WHEREAS the right honourable the ministers of state of his royal highness have given us to understand, upon a private information of our reasons, that his present engagement, and into which he did not enter but by the necessity of the present juncture of the times, was a great obstacle to the success of our negotiation—we find ourselves obliged to represent to your royal highness, that the churches of the valleys in Piedmont did not separate themselves from the religion of their prince; because they live in that they received from their predecessors about eight centuries ago, and which they did profess before they were under the dominion of your royal highness's ancestors, who having found them in the possession of their religion, have maintained them therein by several declarations, and principally by those of the year 1561, 1602, and 1603, which, having been enrolled by the parliament of Chambery, in the year 1620, for the sum of six thousand French ducats, which these churches paid them, as the very act of enrolling mentions, their right passed into a form of transaction, and into a perpetual and irrevocable law, which has been observed during the life of his royal highness, Victor Amadeus, and during the regency of Madame Royal, who confirmed them by her declaration in the year 1638. These churches have, in following times, obtained several other favourable declarations of his royal highness, Charles Emanuel, of glorious memory, your royal highness's father, in particular, in the year 1649 and 1653. But, whereas, to the prejudice of a right so well established by a possession immemorial, and by so many declarations, the Sieur Gastaldo did nevertheless, in the month of February, 1655, publish a declaration, that produced some terrible and fatal consequences to these poor churches, all the protestant kings, princes, and states of Europe, and particularly our sovereign lords, did concern themselves in their misfortune; and having interceded in their favour with his royal highness, Charles Emanuel, they obtained a confirmation of their privileges and of their concessions, by two solemn, perpetual, and inviolable patents, of the year 1655 and 1664, enrolled in a good form, and confirmed by the letters he did write to our sovereign lords, the 28th of February, 1664, by which he promised them to see these patents faithfully executed; to which the royal Madam, your royal highness's mother, did engage herself also, by her letters dated January the 28th, 1679. Therefore, because your royal highness's ancestors had several times solemnly engaged their royal word, principally in those patents that were granted in the presence of the ambassadors our sovereigns had sent for that purpose, it would not be just to break so many formal and authentic engagements, not only because these privileges and patents being granted in the sight of all Europe, and by the mediation and intercession of several kings, princes, and states, they are pledges and perpetual monuments of the public faith, but also, because the words and promises

of sovereigns ought to be sacred and inviolable. If engagements of this nature might be annulled under pretence of a necessity to which the juncture of affairs might reduce a prince, or of some convenience and advantage to the estate, then there would be nothing secure in the world, and nothing would be seen there but war and confusion. This maxim being once established amongst sovereigns, the protestant princes might as lawfully destroy the catholics that are under their dominions, as the catholics would have a right to extirpate their protestant subjects. Therefore it is evident, that whether we examine the thing, as relating to the glory and reputation of the prince, or if we consider it according to the principles of true and just policy, that has no other end than the security of sovereign nations and states, we shall find that the words of princes ought always to be inviolable. It is for this reason that we are persuaded that no necessity of the present juncture, nor any interest, will oblige so just, so gracious, and so wise a prince as your royal highness, to follow a new engagement, that does not only destroy all your predecessors have done in the eyes of the whole universe, but that exposes also your own state and subjects to the flames, butchery, calamities, devastation, and to the most cruel and inhuman rage and tyranny.

It is agreed, that it is natural for a pious prince to wish there was but one religion in his country; and that being persuaded that his own is the true one, it did belong to his duty and charity to do all he can to persuade his subjects to it. But it ought to be allowed also, that religion enters into our hearts by means of persuasion, and not by force; and that to convince one of the Divine truth, there ought to be employed nothing but instruction, sweetness, and exhortation, according to the practice of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

That kings and princes, though they are masters of their subjects, yet they have no empire over their consciences, which are subject alone to God; inso-much that we have reason to hope, that your royal highness, far from forcing your subjects to do things against their consciences, you will be pleased, on the contrary, to restore them their peace, which we implore for them, to confirm their privileges, and to let them enjoy the liberty to give God that which is due to him, whilst at the same time they pay your royal highness that respect and homage which they owe you, as your faithful subjects.

My lords the ministers of state have told us also, that the inhabitants of the valleys had rendered themselves unworthy of their prince's favour. But besides that all the world agrees that, before the publishing of the first edict, they had given your royal highness no reason of complaint; and that, consequently, it is not their ill-conduct that has drawn upon them so rigorous an order; and that, if there were some amongst them that had committed a fault (which we are yet ignorant of), we ought not to be surprised if some miserable wretches that are brought to despair, should do some imprudent actions. Besides all this, we say, your royal highness is too gracious and too good not to pardon faults of this nature; and too just and equitable to punish the public for an excess that may have been committed by some particular persons.

In fine, they would make us believe, that those patents his royal highness Charles Emanuel granted in the year 1655 and 1644, did not concern religion, but gave them leave only to inhabit some certain places in the valleys; and that, consequently, our sovereign lords, and the other princes that were mediators in this affair, had no interest in it. But we beg your royal highness to consider, first, that religion was then so much the subject of the question, that properly no other things did belong to it; for besides that the order of the Sieur Gastaldo, that produced so many dismal consequences, did destroy these concessions that were granted to the inhabitants of the valleys about religion, it was pretended at that time to force them to do things against their conscience, because they were threatened with death and confiscation of their goods, that would not embrace the catholic religion within twenty days after they were ordered to do it.

Secondly, all the mediation and intercession of the protestant princes and states, were only grounded on things concerning religion and conscience. They have only acted according to this principle, and the ambassadors were for no other reason received and heard, but by reason of the interest they took in a business concerning religion; and it is for this reason that your royal highness's predecessors have given several assurances, by letters to their Excellencies the Evangelical Cantons, that the patents granted upon their request should be punctually and faithfully executed.

And, because to the prejudice of all that has been granted them, your royal highness has published an edict that forbids them the exercise of their religion in all the valleys, under pain of death—that commands the demolishing of all the churches, that banishes the ministers and schoolmasters, that commands that the children shall be baptized, and brought up in the Romish religion, and that deprives, by these means, those people of their liberty of conscience—our sovereign lords, that are united to the churches of the valleys by the same faith, are obliged to continue to intercede for them; and it is this we do now in their name, in hopes that your royal highness will be touched by some consideration of our sovereign lords, and by some compassion for your subjects.

The following letters, No. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, relate to the negotiations of the Swiss commissioners between the churches of the valleys and the court of Savoy, and tend to throw considerable light upon the unhappy and distracted state of affairs at this eventful period.

No. 3.

From the Commissioners to the Waldenses.

WE do not doubt but that your deputies have faithfully acquainted you with our sentiments, which are not grounded according to our opinion, but upon the public good of your commonalties; and whereas, since our arrival at Turin, we have been informed there of several things that confirm us that our apprehension for you is just—that our advice is good and profitable—we hope that you will follow the counsel we have given to your deputies, being persuaded that God, by his divine providence, will find out for you a retreat, where you will find all the necessary supports of life and liberty, to serve him in his fear, and according to your consciences; and since you know that the present state of your affairs requires a prompt remedy, and that there is not a moment to be lost to obtain it from your prince, we found it very necessary to despatch immediately our secretary to acquaint you, that his royal highness did not find it convenient to grant passports for your deputies; therefore we desire you to send us immediately your resolution in writing, for fear, if you should protract it, our services would be no more respected at court, and that you would render them unsuccessful to procure you a free and advantageous retreat, for which (if you desire it) we will address ourselves to his royal highness with all possible care and affection, &c.

No. 4.

From the Waldenses to the Swiss Commissioners.

MY LORDS,—

WE have received the letters which your Excellencies have done us the honour to send us by the secretary of your embassy, and have been made

sensible by him of the extraordinary care your Excellencies have taken to represent to his royal highness, our sovereign, and his ministers of state, all the reasons that were most capable to maintain us in our right, as also the answers made upon the reproaches of our conduct, as well in general of all the valleys, as of some particular persons, for which we cannot but render to your Excellencies all the most humble thanks which the most grateful persons can be capable of. In the mean time, we have exercised all possible reflection on the subject of your letter; and on what side soever we turn our eyes, we find very great and almost insurmountable difficulties, which we have made bold to set down in the enclosed memorial, which we humbly desire your Excellencies to take into your wise consideration. We are entirely persuaded that your Excellencies have no other end but to find some solid expedient for these poor churches. They cannot but make their humble entreaty, that in case it be impossible to revoke the published edict, or to find some equitable moderation of it, you would have the kindness to follow these other expedients which you will judge most proper for the conservation of those that rely altogether upon your conduct, after having surveyed the difficulties which the said memorial mentions. This is, my lords, the general sentiment of those churches, who will never desist to pray the Divine Majesty for the prosperity of the sacred persons of your Excellencies, and the happy success of your holy employment. These are the prayers of,

My Lords,

Your most humble, most obedient, and most obliged servants, the
ministers and deputies of the evangelical churches of Piedmont.

SIDRAC BASTIE, Moderator.

DAVID LEGER, Adjoint.

JEAN CHAUVÉ, Secretary.

Angrogne,
March 28, 1686.

No. 5.

From the Commissioners to the Waldenses.

GENTLEMEN,—

ACCORDING to your intention which you acquainted us with in your letter of the 28th of March, and the inclosed memorial, we have desired of his royal highness, that he would be pleased to grant you leave to retreat out of his territories, and to dispose of all your goods; and to that purpose to give us some commissioners, with power to regulate the manner of your retreat: whereof his royal highness has given us to understand, by one of his ministers, that, being your sovereign, he could not, without making a breach into his honour and authority, enter into a treaty with you; but that it was requisite you should send him five or six persons, with full power to make him that submission which you owe him; and to ask, by a petition, what favour you desire should be granted to you; and that afterwards he will let you see the considerations he has for our sovereignty. It is true that we expected a more favourable answer than this; but, nevertheless, to take away all pretences his royal highness could take hold on to make such deliberations that might be fatal to you, we think you will do well to send your deputies hither as soon as is possible, promising you that we will assist them with our counsels in the delivering their petition. Our secretary is to deliver you this letter, with the enclosed passports, which will acquaint you more at length with the particulars of our negotiation, and with the disposition of the court in your regard, &c.

No. 6.

From the Waldenses to the Commissioners.

MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND SOVEREIGN LORDS,—

IN consequence of the letter your Excellencies have been pleased to write to these valleys some few days ago, our churches of St. Jean, Angrogne, and Boby, throw themselves at your feet, to assure you of their humble respect, and of their due acknowledgments of the favours your Excellencies have endeavoured to obtain for them, from his royal highness, our sovereign, concerning the continuation of the exercise of our religion in these places. And concerning the proposals that are now on foot, having been incapable of persuading our people to come to the same sentiments which the other churches have, in order to comply with your Excellencies' demands, we have charged our deputy, Mr. Daniel Blanchis, syndicus of the commonalty of St. Jean, to acquaint you by word of mouth, of our true sentiments. And we humbly beseech you, that you would be pleased to continue the effects of your inexpressible and paternal kindness, and principally in regard to your powerful intercession with his royal highness, about the above-mentioned subject. Beseeching the Lord to bless your negotiation, and to be your abundant rewarder for all the cares, pains, and troubles your Excellencies have the goodness to take for our poor flocks, in the name of which we make it always our glory to carry with all respect and submission imaginable, the title of your Excellencies' most humble, most obedient, and most obliged servants, the deputies for the following churches,

MICHAEL PURISE, } Of the Church of St. Jean.
 JEAN MUNSTON, }
 JEAN PUTTA, for Angrogne.

Angrogne, April 4, 1686.

Monsieur De-la-Bastie, minister at Angrogne, touched by the divisions of these poor churches, wrote to the ambassadors in the following terms :—

No. 7.

MY LORDS,—

I TAKE the liberty to tender your Excellencies my most humble respects, by the deputies that go to Turin, to make their submission to his royal highness, and to present him such a petition as your Excellencies will think fit. I and my brethren are in the greatest consternation and affliction in the world, to see our people so much divided about a retreat, apprehending their divisions will defeat your Excellencies' charitable negotiation with his royal highness in our behalf, and render your cares and troubles unsuccessful. We have employed our utmost endeavours to make them sensible, that, considering the present juncture of affairs, it was the best resolution they could take; but we have not been happy enough to have like success with all. If we were not satisfied of your Excellencies' incomparable kindness, we should have reason to fear that this indiscreet conduct would much change your goodness and zeal for our interest. We most humbly beseech your Excellencies to make use on this occasion of your goodness and clemency, and to continue in your indefatigable cares for these poor churches. I most humbly beg your Excellencies' pardon for my boldness, and beseech you to give me leave to tender you my most humble respects, and to assure you that I am, with all the respect and submission imaginable,

My Lords,
 Your Excellencies' most humble, most obedient,
 and most obliged servant,
 SIDRAC BASTIE, *Minister.*

Angrogne, April 4, 1686.

The following admirable letter was drawn up by the Swiss Commissioners, in consequence of the difference of opinion that existed among the Waldenses about quitting the valleys. It certainly reflects great honour upon their memories, and shews them to have been men of a right spirit. It was sent back into the valleys by the hands of the deputy of the church of Bobio.

No. 8.

GENTLEMEN,—

IT is true that one's native soil has great charms, and that most men have a natural desire to live and die there; yet the children of God ought not to set their hearts thereupon, because they are foreigners upon earth, and heaven is their true native country; therefore you will be guilty of mistrusting God's providence, if you fancy you cannot find any other country where you may live conveniently, and adore your heavenly Father. In what part of the world soever we ourselves be transported, we ought to think ourselves happy, provided we there have freedom to serve God according to our consciences. You ought to propose to yourselves the examples of the patriarchs, who have drawn upon them God's blessing by trusting to his promises, and by abandoning their houses and fields, to go to inhabit some remote country. A confidence of this nature cannot but be very acceptable to the Lord; and it is without doubt more agreeable with the spirit of the Gospel than to take up arms against your sovereign; it is to sufferings that Christians are called, and not to a resistance; and we do not find that either the apostles or the primitive church made use of any other weapons against their persecutors than prayer and patience. These are the considerations that have obliged our sovereign lords, the Evangelical Cantons, to give us orders to procure for you from his royal highness, your lawful prince, a free retreat, with permission to dispose of your goods, in case he would no longer grant you the exercise of your religion; and though you look upon this retreat as an insupportable unhappiness, yet they do nevertheless consider it as a favour, reflecting, according to their great wisdom, upon the miserable condition to which you are reduced; and indeed they did think it would be very hard to obtain it from his royal highness, and that in case he did grant it upon their request, you ought not only to accept it with submission, but to shew your great acknowledgment for it: you cannot, therefore, doubt that we have been surprised to hear that you have any difficulty in resolving yourselves to it, and that you have a design to resist two powerful princes, that are resolved to extirpate you, in case you make the least opposition; for by this behaviour you do not only act against your duty, against Christian prudence, and against your true interest, but you give us also just reasons to complain of you, that having engaged us in a negotiation with your prince, you will not accept of those advantages we are in a condition to procure you. Open, therefore, your eyes, and consider the misfortunes you draw upon yourselves, and the fatal consequences of your design, that must needs turn to the entire destruction of your churches and families. Consider, that what is offered you is so advantageous, considering the present state of your affairs, that several persons of the greatest quality would have accepted of it as the greatest happiness, in the late persecutions of France, and that they would have been exceedingly joyful to get stark naked out of their country without hinderance. If you properly reflect upon all these things, we hope that the example of those that are of a better opinion, will touch and persuade you to follow the same conduct; but if you refuse to imitate it, and if you persist in your obstinacy, you will be guilty before God, not only of having thrown away your lives, which you might have saved, and of having exposed your wives and your children to the massacre, but also of having caused the ruin of these noble remains of the Waldensian churches, which you might have transported into some

other country. And do not flatter yourselves with being able to prevent these evils by the means of some succours that some persons have promised you; for we do assure you, that those that entertain you with these vain imaginations only abuse you, and that you cannot be assisted from any side: you ought to consider, that you will be left by all men, and by some of the very inhabitants of your country; and that therefore you will soon be destroyed, either by the sword or by famine, and that those that may escape the fury of their enemies will finish their lives either by being burnt at the stake, upon the rack, or the gallows. We conjure you, that you would be prevailed with by such powerful considerations, and to agree with the sentiments of the commonalty, that are resolved to desire of their prince a permission to retreat out of his territories, being persuaded that the Divine Providence will conduct you to some places where you will perhaps find more advantageous establishments than those you leave behind you; and where those that are poor will not be in want of charitable persons that will provide them with all necessaries. In expectation that God will inspire you with good resolutions, and that you will give to your deputy such a procuration as those of the other commonalties have given, we recommend you to his mercy and his divine protection, resting, gentlemen, your very affectionate to render you service.

Turin, 5th of April.

No. 9.

SECOND EDICT FROM THE DUKE OF SAVOY,
DATED APRIL 9, 1686.

DIVINE Providence having established sovereigns above the people, has given to the first the distribution of favours and punishments, that the hopes of the one might make the good mindful of their duty, and that the sense of the other might prevent the bad from abandoning themselves to evil. This latter ought to fall from our avenging hands upon our subjects of the valleys of Lucerne, who make profession of the pretended reformed religion; because it is notorious that they have not only gainsayed with great obstinacy our order of the 31st of January last, but that they have also hardened themselves in their crime, and are fallen into an enormous and consummate rebellion; nevertheless our natural clemency surpassing their crime, and not contenting ourselves with our fatherly kindness, with which we have so long time unsuccessfully waited for their repentance, we have still been willing to leave to their will (which has ever followed bad counsels) the choice of a happy or miserable condition, and to open to them at the last trial the gates of our favour, that so they may be able to take hold of it in the following manner; and that in case they should not answer it by a ready obedience, they might not be able to impute to any thing but their own rashness, their deserved punishments, which we shall inflict upon them without delay.

Therefore, confirming in the first place our order of the 31st of January last, as far as it shall not be found contrary to this, we have, by virtue of this present edict, with our certain knowledge, full power and absolute authority, and with advice of our privy council, commanded all our subjects of the valleys of Lucerne, making profession of the pretended reformed religion, to lay down their arms, and to retire into their houses within the term hereafter prescribed.

We command them also to form no more any associations, nor to hold any conventicles; that so, according to our intention, the judges of the place may have free access, and that the missionaries and other religious persons may return to the churches which they have been forced to leave, and that the catholics, and those which have embraced the catholic religion, may return to their houses which they have abandoned.

And whereas, it is not reasonable that the religious missionaries, the catholics, and those which have embraced the catholic religion, should be at any loss by occasion of several damages which they have received from those of the pretended reformed religion, we desire, command, and ordain, that all the necessary sums to indemnify them be generally and without distinction levied upon the goods of those of the pretended reformed religion, so as that it shall be summarily enforced before the Chevalier Monzonx, intendant of justice of the valleys, declaring, nevertheless, that in case those of the said religion prove that the damages have been caused by some particular persons, they may have their recourse and warrant against them.

And to shew our said subjects how great our clemency is towards them, we grant leave to those that shall think of a retreat out of our territories, to do it within the term, and upon the conditions hereafter prescribed: but because their ill-will has shewed itself but too much by their past conduct, and that several could hide their evil designs under a false pretence of obedience, we reserve for ourselves, besides those who shall retreat out of our territories upon their own motion, to ordain it also to such as we shall think fit, and as we shall find it most expedient to secure the peace of those that shall stay behind, whence we do intend to prescribe the rules which they shall observe for the future.

And for an augmentation of our favours, we grant leave as well to those that shall voluntarily retreat as to those who retreat by our orders, to take along with them their goods and effects at their pleasure, and to sell those they shall leave behind them, provided they do it in such a manner as is hereafter prescribed.

The same is to be understood concerning strangers, and those that are born from strangers, who are to conform themselves to all but the last article of our order of the 31st of January last, here above-mentioned.

The said selling of goods shall be made to catholics, or to persons that have embraced the catholic religion; but because there may perhaps not be found buyers within the term herebefore prescribed, and that we are not willing that the zealots of that religion, who shall retreat out of our territories, should be deprived of the benefits of our present concession, they may agree about, or fix upon persons into whose hands they shall put their procurations, who shall have leave to stay during three months in Lucerne, with full liberty to treat and negotiate with whom they think fit to sell the goods of those who shall have retreated, and who shall have leave to prescribe in their procurations the conditions of their selling their goods, for their better security to receive the price thereof in what place soever they desire it should be sent to them, without fraud and deceit of the constituted procurators, which the Chevalier and Intendant Monzonx shall take care of.

Those that shall be willing to retreat, shall be obliged to meet at the day and place hereafter specified, to be ready to depart, without fire-arms, by the way that shall be named them, either through Savoy or the valley of Aste: to this purpose we will provide them with passports, that they may receive no ill usage or hinderance in our territories; but that, on the contrary, they may find all possible assistance; and because, that being in great number, they may be exposed to some inconveniences upon the way, and in the places through which they are to go overcharged, they shall divide themselves into three bodies as is herein before-mentioned. The first shall be composed of those of the valleys of Lucerne, and shall meet at Tour this month of April; the second, composed of those of the valleys of Angrogne, St. Bartholomew, Rocheplatte, and Perustin, shall meet at St. Second, and shall part the day following—viz., the twenty-second of this month; the third and last, made up of those of the valleys of St. Martin and Perouse, shall meet at Micadole, and part from thence the third day—viz., the twenty-third of this month.

The term wherein our said subjects of the pretended reformed religion, that inhabit the valleys of Lucerne, shall be obliged to lay down their arms, in the

manner prescribed in the first article of this present order, is within eight days after the publication hereof in Lucerne, during which they ought to have obeyed the contents of the said order, to enjoy the fruits of our clemency, by which as well as our fatherly affection towards our said subjects, we leave to its nature and course, notwithstanding the enormity of their crimes. And by means of a punctual observation of all herein contained, we grant our favour, pardon, remission, absolution, and a full amnesty to our said subjects, of all their excesses, misdemeanors, crimes, and other things which they may have committed since the publication of our order of the thirty-first of January last, as well in general as particular, so that they may not be called to an account for it under any pretence whatsoever, prohibiting all judges, fiscals, and others whom it belongs to, to inquire into it. But because in case they should render themselves unworthy of such favours, by not observing all that is here above-mentioned, within the prescribed term, it would be too pernicious an example to delay any longer their deserved punishments, after having been prodigal to them of our favours, and after having waited so long time for their repentance, we intend to make use of those means which God has put into our hands to bring the obstinate to their duty, and to make them feel the punishment of their great presumption.

Given at Turin, the 9th of April, 1686.

Enrolled the 10th.

No. 10 and 11.

Letters from the Deputies of the Churches of Boby, St. John, and Angrogne, to the Swiss Ambassadors.

MY LORDS,—

We did not fail immediately after the arrival of our deputy to make some copies of the letter which your Excellencies have been pleased to write to our churches, and they have been read everywhere after sermon. There can nothing be said that is either more true, or more moving and comforting; and your Excellencies may be fully persuaded, that there is nobody but that finds, and and does acknowledge, that it is the effect of your holy and Christian charity towards our churches; yet, notwithstanding it has been till now absolutely impossible to dispose our people to a retreat out of this country; some out of fear it might cause the loss of several persons that shall venture to stay behind; others by a principle of conscience; and others from several other considerations, which our deputy will explain to your Excellencies by word of mouth. We are in the greatest consternation about it, and scarcely dare to appear before your Excellencies with so much irresolution. Our people adhere the more to their opinion, because they have been informed that several other churches, at least a great part of those that composed them, did not know that the business was about such a retreat when they gave their procuration to their deputies, or if they had understood them, they had changed their minds; which gives us just reason to fear, that in case your Excellencies should be farther engaged for this people, you would be extremely displeased with their refusal to retreat; and it was by reason of this fear which we had here the last Sunday, when we desired your Excellencies to give us leave to inform ourselves of the minds of our people about this proposition, foreseeing at the same time that it would be very hard to persuade them to it. They were for the most part resolved to be their Father's children, and hope that the Lord will be their deliverer, that would make use of feeble things to confound the strong, and that heaven would find out some hinderance to those designs which are formed against us. We do not question but this extremely afflicts your Excellencies and we are touched with it to our very souls; but it is not in our power to

change their hearts, and to dispose of other men's wills ; nevertheless we conjure your Excellencies, in all possible humility, that you would be pleased not to abate your kindness to these churches, neither to deprive us of your powerful and comfortable support, which, under God, has made us subsist till now. For God's sake, do always pity us : what way soever our affairs shall go, we lay our souls before God, to supplicate him with all ardency, that he would be pleased to direct all things to the glory of his holy name, and the preservation of our people ; and that he would grant, by his Divine Providence, by the means of your Excellencies, that we may still get the prolongation of some days, that we may once more inform ourselves of the sentiments of our people by the collecting every man's voice in particular, if it be possible, to know their final resolutions ; so that we may not be blamed, neither of one side or another. The Lord be the abundant rewarder of your Excellencies' kindness, and we are, with all manner of respect,

My Lords,

Your Excellencies' most humble, most obedient, and most obliged servants,
The Deputies of Boby, St. John, and Angrogne.

JOHN AGHITTO, DANIEL GRAFFE, ESTIENOR DANNO,	} Deputies of Boby.
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MICHAEL PARISA, JOHN MUSCHON,	} Deputies of St. John.
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JOHN DUFFA, PIEZZE DUFFA, LEWIS ODIN,	} Deputies of Angrogne.
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Angrogne, April 9, 1686.

MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND SOVEREIGN LORDS,—

WE throw ourselves in all humility at your Excellencies' feet, to shew you our most sensible and inexpressible concern, that a great part of our people are not able to appreciate with Christian prudence the favour your Excellencies endeavour to procure them, by a free retreat out of this country, with person and goods, and to embrace it with holy joy, as a present from heaven, and a favour which they have sighed for at other times. This makes our hearts bleed, and so much the more, that your Excellencies' letter, which you have been pleased to write to them, ought to have immediately disposed them to an affair of this nature ; yet we dare still most humbly beseech your Excellencies to have the goodness to exercise love on all these considerations, as knowing very well that we have to do with persons whom it is very hard to compass, and to make them all sensible of the reason, and the state of things, but by experience, and principally when it is about abandoning their old and dear native soil. There are, nevertheless, a great many, and the principal of them, who resign themselves entirely to your Excellencies' counsel, charity, and prudence, and that will never oppose what you shall find most expedient for the glory of God, and their welfare and preservation. The ministers also are all of the same opinion, and we are all willing punctually to observe the counsel your Excellencies shall be pleased to give us. And we most humbly beseech you to pity us and our families, to extricate us out of an unhappy state which, to all appearance, is unavoidable. This is the favour we hope from your Excellencies, and pray the Lord to bless your lordships with all manner of prosperity ; and we are, with all possible respect and submission, most high, mighty, and sovereign lords,

Your Excellencies' most humble and most obedient servants,

SIDRAC BASTIE,
GUILLAUME MALLANOT.

Angrogne, April 9, 1686.

I. We have been informed for certain, by a credible person, that his royal highness will not grant us a retreat with our goods, but that he pretends to detain them for the charges he has been at already.

II. That he absolutely insists that the ministers and foreigners should be delivered into his hands.

III. That we should lay down our arms, and that we should deliver them up to the governor.

IV. That the troops are to enter into the valleys to demolish the churches, and to obstruct all Divine exercises.

V. In fine, we have been informed, that the council would by no means suffer that the French troops should march against us.

No. 12.

Memorial of the Swiss Ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy.

YOUR royal highness is humbly requested to consider, that he that will retreat out of the valleys by virtue of your published order, is obliged to prepare himself for his departure, for the transportation of his wife, his children, and his goods, that will be necessary to him; that he will be obliged to dispose in several places what he cannot carry along with him; that he must provide for the sale of his corn, of his provisions, of his wine, of his cattle, which he would not be forced to leave at random; and that he cannot entrust with his procurator at Lucerne, and who consequently, by reason of the distance of the place, will be incapable to take care of it; that within the term of eight days he will not be able to settle accounts either with his creditors or his debtors, because those he has to do with do not live in the valleys, or because there may be some accounts that cannot be regulated but by arbitration; that in consideration of goods immoveable, there is to be made an exact description of the vineyards, meadows, fields, and woods, whose boundaries and limits are to be marked out and described, as also of the rights thereunto belonging, and the sums for which they are mortgaged; and that there ought to be granted some particular procurations to that purpose. Therefore your royal highness having been pleased, by an instinct of your justice and clemency, to grant to your subjects of the valleys leave to retreat wherever they please, and to sell their goods which they shall leave behind them, you would not wish that this favour should be unprofitable to them, by obstructing the favour of this concession by the shortness of time, to take away from them with one hand what you had given them with the other. Your royal highness is also requested to consider that six trustees are not enough for the sale of goods belonging to several hundreds of families that shall be willing to retreat; that this commission cannot be given but to people of the country, and consequently to persons without learning and without capacity, and taken up with their own affairs; that besides, these trustees will be obliged to run to several places to find out buyers, to let them have a view of the property which they are to buy; that settlements must be made in several places before several notaries; that they are to watch at the selling of a great number of moveables that are dispersed in several houses; to count money, to change it, and to send it to them into foreign countries, to find out some conveniences for that purpose, to write to their correspondents for the clearing of several doubts that may be raised, to remove the obstructions they shall meet with, to defend themselves against some unjust demands, to receive letters from those they shall write to from the places of their retreat, to acquaint them with the state of their affairs, and in a word, to be charged with a thousand other occupations that we cannot now foresee. Therefore, because your royal highness does not intend

to enrich yourself with the goods of your poor subjects, nor to augment your revenues by their losses, you will be pleased to grant them leave to nominate twelve persons, that, within the time prescribed by your royal highness, shall proceed to the sale of the goods of those that shall have retreated. But because it will undoubtedly happen, that within the term of three months, with what diligence soever the trustees may proceed to the sale of the goods of the poor refugees, there will be found few chapmen, and that everybody will expect the end of the term to take advantage of the necessity to which the trustees will be driven to dispose of their goods, and to have them from those wretched people at an under-price, by reason of their fear to lose all, we hope your royal highness will have the goodness to prevent this inconvenience, and according to the agreements made in the year 1663, with his late royal highness of glorious memory, you will buy, at a reasonable price, the moveable and immoveable goods, that within the space of three months shall not be sold.

And forasmuch as your royal highness distinguishes yourself by your goodness and clemency, you are not willing, without doubt, to oblige anybody to impossibilities, and therefore must be aware that females newly brought to bed, or such as are in the last month of their time, and old and sick men, are incapable of travelling, you will make no difficulty to dispense in their favour with the law you have prescribed to others about their retreat, and exempt them from quartering soldiers, who, how well soever disciplined, always cause some disorder, and carry distress into all places where they enter—as also to grant them leave to live and die in their houses, without fear of being ill used, and of being spoiled of their goods and provisions.

In fine, we beseech your royal highness that you would be pleased instantly to use your clemency towards those of the valleys that are detained in your prisons, and towards those that have been taken up on that account, and that you will be pleased mercifully to set them at liberty.

No. 19.

From the Swiss Ambassadors to the Churches of the Valleys.

GENTLEMEN,—

At the secret audience which we had of his royal highness, your prince, we have earnestly desired him, that he would be pleased to grant you a retreat out of his territories upon more gracious conditions than those that are expressed by the last edict; and we have represented to him, as well by word of mouth as by our memorial, all the reasons that might be capable of moving, and to prevail with him to mitigate the orders he has already published against you. We solicited him to grant you a longer term to dispose yourselves for so troublesome a retreat, and to sell your goods, and that he would be pleased to augment the number of the trustees charged to sell them; to give leave that the aged, sick, and infirm persons, and women newly brought to bed, or that were big with child, might stay behind in the country, without being exposed to any ill usage, and without being obliged to quarter soldiers; and in fine, to give orders that his procurators might sell the goods that should not be vended within time prescribed by his edict. But we have not been able to obtain the least thing from his royal highness, because he has been informed that you are up in arms to obstruct the execution of his orders. We have also endeavoured to persuade the Marquis of St. Thomas, that he would be pleased to employ his credit with his royal highness, to dispose him to grant us what we desired in your favour; but he has given us to understand, that as long as you shall keep in arms, there are no hopes for you. His royal highness departs this day for

Precairas, and we have had our audience of Conge, with a desire to return immediately into our country, except God's providence give us some more favourable occasion to serve you; and since, without taking notice of some wise men's counsels, you resign the event of your affairs to God's providence, we beseech him that he would be pleased to assist you in your calamity, and direct all to his glory, and your temporal and spiritual welfare. Resting, after we have recommended you to God Almighty's favour, &c.

Turin, &c.

No. 14.

Letter from several of the Pastors of Churches in Piedmont, addressed to the Cantons of Switzerland.

MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND SOVEREIGN LORDS,—

OUR churches have for a long time experienced, and principally in these unhappy troubles that have happened to them, the incomparable charity and fatherly affection of your Excellencies towards them, and still very lately, by sending our lords the ambassadors to his royal highness, upon occasion of the order of the 31st of January last, published against us, as we have been informed of by the letter which you have been pleased to direct to us. We are not able enough to acknowledge the care, trouble, and pains which our lords the ambassadors have taken in our favour and preservation, towards our sovereign; and had they met with hearts disposed to our welfare and quietness, their intercessions would not have failed of being successful; but it ought to be confessed, that our condition is very bad from that quarter: we, nevertheless render to your Excellencies, with all the sentiments of acknowledgments we are capable of, our most humble and hearty thanks for so many favours we have received from their holy and Christian charity. We are very sensible, and confess it, though with great confusion, that our lords the ambassadors have not had from our people all that satisfaction that might have been wished for, concerning their resignation into your hands; but we most humbly beseech you to employ their charity and support towards a people that make to themselves a point of conscience and honour to preserve their religion in their native country, where it has been a long time miraculously preserved. We are very sensible that as to the world, our ruin is unavoidable, but we are in hopes that God will revenge his quarrel, and that good men and charitable people will not abandon us; and principally we put our trust, under God, in your Excellencies, and throw ourselves into their fatherly arms, beseeching you for the compassion of God, and in the name of his Son, Jesus Christ, our common Father and Saviour, not to deprive us of your charity and affection, and to throw the eyes of your clemency and tenderness upon so many poor families, little children, and other weak miserable persons, as to the world, to let them feel the favourable effects of your Christian goodness. We beseech the Lord that he would be pleased to be the perpetual preserver of your Excellencies, and the abundant rewarder of all your holy and Christian charities; and are, with all the veneration imaginable,

Most high, mighty, and sovereign Lords, your Excellencies' most humble, most obedient, and most obliged servants,

The ministers, elders, and other directors of the churches of the valleys in Piedmont, and for all,

S. BASTIE, Moderator.

GR. MATANT, Minister.

No. 15.

Letter from the Pastors of the Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont to the Swiss Ambassadors.

MY LORDS,—

We do intend to communicate immediately to our commonalties your Excellencies' letters: we could have wished that they had been more mindful of those wise counsels your Excellencies have given them to prevent such danger and desolation as in all human probability is now unavoidable: we pray to God that he would be pleased to crown their resolution, though against all appearance, with success, and to strengthen their infirmity and feebleness. I do believe that all the ministers do design to live and to die amongst them, because your Excellencies do not disapprove it; and, indeed, it would neither be honest nor excusable to abandon them in such a juncture of time; and we should certainly have reason to think ourselves guilty in part of their loss, because a good shepherd is bound to lay down his life for his flock. We continue to give your Excellencies our most humble thanks for the trouble and indefatigable care you have taken for our welfare and subsistence; and we conjure you, by the compassion of God, and by the charity of Jesus Christ, not to forget us, but whether it be during your stay at Turin, or after your return to the most high and mighty Protestant Cantons, to favour us with your affection and Christian charity upon all occasions. We pray our great God and Saviour that he would be pleased to reward the pains and charities of your Excellencies towards these churches, with his most precious blessings in heaven and earth, and to cover your sacred persons with his inviolable protection: these are the sincere and fervent wishes of those that are, with profound respect,

My Lords, your Excellencies' most humble and obedient servants,
The Ministers of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys
of Lucerne, Angrogne, Perouse, St. Martin, &c. in Piedmont, and in the name of all,

S. BASTIE, Minister.

Angrogne, April 17, 1686.

No. 16.

Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy to the French King's Brother, the Duke of Orleans.

AMONGST the many and great troubles under which I am at present, seeing none but you capable of giving some ease to my afflicted spirits, I hope you will give me leave to do what unfortunate men have only left to do—that is to say, to justify their conduct, and to demonstrate their reasons to those that are not yet so far from all equity as to refuse to pity them. What have I ever done else to the king, than to serve him in the most substantial things he desired of me? *Have I not sacrificed to his satisfaction the valleys of Lucerne, to my own prejudice, and against all the principles of true politics?* Did I not consent to give him three of my regiments, at the same instant his ambassador made the first mention of it? *Is it not evident that, to please the king, I have abandoned my interest, my country, and my person, by such compliances as have drawn upon me great aversion from all the Protestant powers,* of the Emperor, of the King of Spain, and of all the confederate princes?* Wherein have I ever displeased the king? His ambassadors have sometimes made their complaints about some little insig-

* Here is a frank avowal that the Duke had consented to the destruction of the Waldenses to oblige the King of France.—Ed.

nificant things, a thousand of which would not be able to balance the least part of those substantial services which I have mentioned, nor the continual marks I have given of a strict adherence to the king's interests. A gentleman of Nice raises, without my leave, and without my desiring it, some soldiers, in the said place, against several declarations of my predecessors, at the same time that I am there actually present : this is not enough, he enlists some of those that belong to my regiment of guards ; I have the goodness not to suffer him to be tried at the sessions, nor his goods to be seized according to custom ; and I content myself to send him to prison, only to prevent the ill example he had given by his behaviour : and yet, after all, they pretend to make a great business of this, as if I was obliged tamely to suffer this insolence and affront of one of my own subjects, in my very presence, instead of which they should have taken notice of my moderation.

I have given the king three regiments, partly composed out of the principal nobility of this country ; there is a considerable number of gentlemen and others of my subjects in those troops ; I am willing, for my greater recommendation, to give the king, with my own hands, such as he may desire to have above the said number ; but I do not intend to give my subjects full license to act against the law, and to deviate from that loyalty they naturally owe to their sovereign. Nevertheless, those that do it, are not punished for it, their goods are not seized, and I do expressly prohibit not to indict them for some impertinent and seditious words ; neither do I trouble their parents for it ; yet, after all, if I do not applaud their exorbitance, my past services are forgotten, and I have no good intentions for those of his majesty !

There is a reciprocal agreement made about the restoring of the deserters of the garrison of Pignerol, Perouse, and Casal, and of those of my troops. This is not at all executed on the side of the said garrisons ; for, if they restore one, they retain fifty ; and yet they make a great noise, as if the agreement was not observed on my side. Of those troops which for the king's service I entertained in the valleys of Lucerne, a great many deserted to Pignerol ; but the governor pretended either that he had no authority over those deserters, because they had listed themselves amongst some recruits which were made for other regiments ; or, that they were to be exchanged with those troops of his majesty that were out of the place ; or they refused them sometimes downright, pretending that there was an amnesty of the king in favour of the deserters ; as if an amnesty of the king, that only regards those that desert in his own kingdom, could be made use of by those that deserted out of my troops, far from coming back, as it is expressly required in amnesties of such nature. It has been declared at Casal, that they would neither render nor re-take any deserter. This is a thing I do not complain of, for there seems to be a reciprocal equity in not asking, and in not giving back : but then the garrison of Casal has no reason to complain neither.

Give me leave about this subject to inform you of a thing that has made so great a noise. Some officers of Pignerol having made their complaints, that some of their deserters were to be found in the valleys of Lucerne, I gave orders that they should be restored, and, withal, leave that they might go themselves to discover them. They took along with them a serjeant that had deserted out of a regiment belonging to the said valleys : the officers of the said regiment seized him as soon as they saw him : I was told of it in a letter. I gave them, according to my custom in such matters, a general answer, that is to say, to do what they found just, having no mind to condemn the deserters myself. The serjeant did himself confess that he had deserted ; he was tried and condemned according to law. Ought a deserter not to have been seized, that had the impudence to come before his officers, to encourage (by his so fine example) the rest of the regiment to desert as well as he ? Does the agreement made to restore the deserters mention not to take them ourselves when they are to be found in our own territories, from whence they deserted, only because some officers had the impudence to take

them along with them ? Ought we to think that it is the king's pleasure that we leave off being sovereigns in foreign countries, when a criminal is at the suit of a French officer, and that there be no justice for them there ? Ought we to think that he would have us take there more care than in his own kingdom ? And yet this is the very thing that has been so much exaggerated, to prove that I have no good intentions for the king's service.

They have continued secretly to raise soldiers in my territories for the king's service : they are exhausted of men ; I cannot find enough to complete my own regiments. I endeavour to retain my own subjects by some slight demonstrations, without troubling those any more that do not observe it, setting at liberty those that have been imprisoned, as soon as they have it. Such great moderation is not at all taken notice of ; as if a sovereign ought to contribute himself to the exhausting his country of men, and that he ought to leave off making use of his own subjects, only to be employed in the king's service, without seeming to take notice of it, without being asked or thanked for it.

Some years ago, the king, desiring to make some recruits in Savoy, for his regiments of Rousillon and St. Laurent, did consent that I might make some recruits for my service in the provinces of Dauphiny, Lionnois, and Provence ; and though those recruits are very expensive, and come to nothing at all, by reason of the great number of those that desert either on the way, or as soon as they have arrived in this country, yet I never failed to give orders in Savoy, as often as the officers of the said regiment arrived there with a letter of Mons. de Louvois, to let them make their recruits. It has been represented some few months ago, to two or three officers that were come for the same purpose, that Savoy was exhausted of men ; that it had very much suffered the last year, endeavouring to hinder the incursions of those of Lucerne, and some French protestants ; and that to continue to contribute to the king's satisfaction, there would, according to all appearance, be no less difficulty this year to furnish men enough to the same end—desiring the said officers to put off their recruits till some more convenient time. The Count de Rebenac having spoken something of it here, the same reasons were made known to him ; withal telling him that it was no refusal, but only a putting it off for a better time, to make the said recruits with so much the more conveniency ; and though he seemed to be satisfied with these just reasons, yet endeavours have been made to draw an ill consequence out of it, to the prejudice of my good intentions for the king's service ; as if the various troubles of this poor country, which it has been forced to undergo, were not evident to all the world, and which is only with a design to contribute to his majesty's satisfaction.

I run over and examine all my actions, and I find nothing else that in the least can be taken hold of by those that please themselves with censuring my actions before the king, except my journey to Venice, which the Marquis of Arcy has so often talked of before and after it. I confess that I was very glad to have an opportunity to know the Duke of Bavaria, and to see, at the same time, the so-much-renowned city of Venice. I protest that I did not think nor resolve on it till at a time when I could not make it known to the king, and receive his advice, without losing the opportunity of executing my design. I beseech you seriously to consider of what ill consequence it could be, and what reason the king has to complain of it, since I did not do it, when my father, of blessed memory, went to Padua for the same reason, and that I did not know the king meddled with the travels that other princes undertake. Sure it is, that what has followed has made it evident that there was nothing in this journey but what is good and honest, and what nobody can disapprove of.

Give me leave also to answer some other complaints which the ambassador of his majesty, and Monsieur Catinat, have mingled in their discourse, and which partly you yourself have made to the Marquis of Dogliani, my ambassador, namely, that I was treating with his imperial majesty, with the King of Spain, with England and Holland. To convince his majesty that this was a false sup-

position I have written you several times that it was not true: if you do but know me well, you will easily be convinced that this is more than a sufficient proof; for I had rather lose all than tell you a lie. In the meantime I informed the pope, by my resident, I have written to him, and his nuncio that had shewed the letter to Monsieur Catinat, that it was not true, and that nothing had passed, neither was there any thing on foot against his majesty's interest; that, on the contrary, I had done several things against common civility, and directly against my own interest, out of fear of displeasing him; having had no ministers at the emperor's and the catholic king's court, to behave myself in this point according to the Marquis of Arcy's direction, who could not allow so much as some gentlemen, my subjects, going into Hungary to improve themselves in the art of war. As for England, the same reason has hindered me that I have sent no answer to an obliging letter from thence; and concerning the States-General, they have written to me a letter, not long ago, in favour of the Waldenses: I desired to be excused from doing what they requested, and this is the only correspondence I have had with them.

There has been something mentioned of intelligence I kept with certain men in Dauphiny: this is an invention of the same stamp with the rest, but with this difference, that I have reason to hope that by the falsity of this lie it will be judged that the rest is of no better foundation. In fine, I am willing to submit myself to the judgment of his holiness, or the commonwealth of Venice, or any other power that I have not just reason to suspect; but the king himself, by making some just reflections, according to his great understanding, may easily see the falsity of all these accusations. And to be plain with you, after the hard usage I just now receive, it ought to be less strange that those who have surprised his majesty's equity so as to persuade him to such extremes with me, have endeavoured to give some few, though false, colours to their pretences.

I beseech you, Sir, to make a parallel of what substantial things I have actually done for the king's service with the aforesaid pretences, and to judge if those solid marks I have given of my zeal for the king's interest, do not altogether destroy them; and if it be not against common sense to put them into a parallel. Cast your eyes upon what follows. Monsieur de Rebenac, the king's ambassador, arrives in this country; he takes pains to assure me of the king's goodness in regard to my person. I answer it with those earnest protestations so often repeated by me and my ministers, of my great acknowledgment and zeal for the king's service, that ought fully to persuade him of it. He desires me to drive the rest of my subjects out of the valleys: I do consent to it; he does nothing but entertain me about that business, and the king's favourable opinion he has of me. Monsieur Catinat arrives at Pignerol, he comes to see me in this city; the project against the Vaudois seems to be his only design; he speaks to me about it as the only cause of his coming. I do easily believe it: I let him see a list of all my troops, and that they are not enough to furnish garrisons for my fortresses, and to send them to such places where my service requires their presence; and nevertheless I resolve to furnish him with a considerable detachment. He seems to be satisfied; he desires to have at Pignerol a conference with my officers; I send them to him. All his thoughts seem to be employed about this design; he makes all seeming preparations for it; he says that his commission regards more those parts that are of this, than the other side of Pignerol; that it was necessary to use all haste to make an end of the business with the Vaudois, and he seems to concern himself with nothing else. In the meantime there happened an insurrection in Mondovi; to appease that, I sent thither some of my troops, and some few of those that are at Lucerne. Monsieur Catinat lets me know, that seeing I was engaged about the business of Mondovi, if I could not assist him with the same number of troops I had promised, I should let him have at least a part of it. I gave orders to send him a detachment of four hundred men; he seems to be satisfied. It snows very much in the valleys, so there is no action

there. Some few days after, having made an end of the business of Mondovì, and coming back to Turin, I understand that the king's troops, which we thought were designed for Burgundy, Catalogne, and against the Protestants in the valleys, did advance towards the borders of my territories. This report is confirmed by the discourse of his majesty's principal officers, who make it public, that they intended to put the duchy of my land under contribution, and accordingly they dispersed there some papers that intimated the same. Nobody speaks to me about the passage : *I judge that the king has a mind either to take it by force, or that he desires I should offer it.* I do it, with all the security of going and coming back, and all the conveniency of provisions in my territories, with all possible protestations of my zeal to serve him. But this signifies nothing : Monsieur Catinat desires some commissaries to explain himself about the king's intentions. I send him two persons to Pignerol. He tells them in general terms, that *the king is not satisfied with my behaviour ; that he had received orders to enter his troops into my territories ;* that he would give them bread, but that I was to furnish them with forage, and with a pound of flesh each soldier ; and gives a hint that he would write to me something more particular. Those villages through which he enters into my territories give him what he desires : after he is entered there, he desires of me, in a letter, to send him somebody to whom he might explain himself. I sent to him the Marquis of Ferrero, whom you formerly knew as my ambassador. Monsieur Catinat begins with general complaints ; and ends with telling him, that the king expects I should send into France, over the bridge of Beauvoisin, two thousand foot and two regiments of dragoons of my troops, and that I was to resolve upon it in forty-eight hours, in case I had no other proposals to make. The Marquis Ferrero did all he could to let him see a second time the little grounds of his complaint, the great occasion I had for my own troops, and, in fine, offers him a league defensive. But Monsieur Catinat persisting in his demands, he assures him, that I would send those troops over the bridge Beauvoisin into his majesty's service. Monsieur Catinat seems to be very glad of it, and told the Marquis of Ferrero, that henceforth we should look upon his majesty's troops as our friends, and in assurance of it countermands the march to Grugliach, near Turin, because the said marquis had made some mention about it. I wrote to the Count Provane, whom I thought to be at Paris, to represent to the king what the Marquis Ferrero had told Monsieur Catinat, without any success, and to add some proposals to satisfy the king about the troops, with the advantage of his majesty's service, and the least prejudice of my own. What will you say when you hear, that neither Monsieur Catinat's nor my express could at all return—that he leaves briskly Veillane and comes to Orbassan, from whence he sends a commissary to let me know, that the troops were not enough to satisfy the king ; that he desires some other assurance of my good intentions for the king's service ; that he did not positively know what it was, but believed it might regard some place ; that Monsieur Catinat expects an answer in twenty-four hours ; that it was then about eight or nine ; and that about the same time to-morrow he expected some proposals, for want of which he should begin to commit hostilities ? I send him the abbot of Verrue ; Monsieur Catinat repeats his complaints, and desires some assurance of my good intentions. He is entreated to tell if he had any power from the king to treat. He answers, that he has none, but that he may accept some places in the king's name. We request to know what place he expects ; he makes some difficulty to tell it, and desires we should guess it ; at last he says, that the communication of Pignerol and the citadel of Casal must be secured ; but says, at the same time, they made no reflection upon the new city of Ast.

The pope's nuncio goes to him in order to accommodate matters betwixt us ; he shews him my letter, wherein I assure him that I was no ways a treating against the king, no, not so much as in my thoughts ; but all this without effect. The Marquis of Ferrero and the Abbot of Verrue return thither ; they hear

nothing but the same things repeated. The Marquis Ferrero returns thither once more alone with a letter from the Marquis de St. Thomas, wherein he shews my readiness to satisfy the king with an assurance of my good intentions. He is extremely surprised to hear out of Monsieur Catinat's own mouth, that he had not spoken of an assurance in the singular, but in the plural number; that he had given it sufficiently to understand to the Abbot of Verrue, yet it seemed to be the same thing to that abbot, and to the commissary, to speak in the plural instead of the singular number, as they have both done. But Monsieur Catinat, who aimed at his ends, persisted in this opinion, and declared afterwards, that there was nothing but the citadels of Turin and Verrue that could satisfy the king; that in case they were not in twenty-four hours put into his hands, he could no longer defer to commit hostilities; as if the entering with an army into a country, and to make them subsist at the expenses of the people, were great marks of friendship. And yet he would by no means, nay, he had no power to treat about the conditions, which is, in plain terms, to live at discretion.

In this great extremity, seeing my people at the mercy of a foreign army, I thought fit to give myself the honour to send to the king a letter, the copy of which I have joined to this, and sent it to Monsieur Catinat by the Count of Marcenæse. He agreed to suspend all actions of hostilities, and despatched immediately his nephew to carry the letter to the king with all possible speed. And, indeed, his speed was so great, that he was but few hours above a seven-night in going and coming. Monsieur Catinat gave me notice of his arrival by sending me his majesty's answer, the copy of which I have also joined to this. I confess I was mightily troubled to see a letter writ with so much reserve, and that did not give me the least sign of the king's reconciliation to me, which I did expect; and far from giving me the least hopes about the restoring of my places, he gives me sufficiently to understand, that he required long proofs of my affection before he could be persuaded of it; insomuch, that if these things, altogether false and suppositious, and some other slight ones, could so easily persuade him to the depriving me of the said places, would he ever want some pretences to retain them? I sent, nevertheless, the Marquis Ferrero and the Marquis of St. Thomas to Monsieur Catinat, with full power to treat. They endeavoured to acquaint themselves with his power and his sentiments: the first was in very good form, but the other little answered my expectation.

In fine, Sir, after all the ill usage I received from the king, I am sure, if he would give himself the trouble to hear the reading of this letter, he would not desire to be judge of this affair; and if he did desire it, I seriously believe he could not hinder himself from pronouncing in my favour.

My chancellor has written a letter to Monsieur Catinat, of which I send you a copy, as also another of his answer. After which having demanded contributions in my territories, and I hearing of nothing but threatenings, was forced to accept the succours which those that always looked upon me as a Frenchman had the generosity to offer me in this great extremity to which I am reduced; which I did not consent to, till after I had left no stone unturned to keep me from that necessity. This is so very great, that I do not think to flatter myself so much, as to believe that all Europe will pity me, without excepting the most generous and just men in France. Good God! how was it possible it should be for the king's interest to oppress a prince who has the honour to be so nearly related to him, who has given him such substantial marks of his zeal and affection, whose countries are surrounded by those of his majesty, and who by the rest of the world is taken to be a Frenchman? What will those princes say which France would fain separate from the contrary party? Is it not as much as to let them know that they have nothing to hope, and every thing to fear, considering the usage I receive? Is the world not enough informed of the vast designs of France, without discovering them so much in desiring to drive me out of the citadel of my ordinary residence, and another very considerable place? Will

the princes of Italy believe that it is in order to defend them from their enemies, of which they have none? or, to open the way to some greater conquests, making the beginning with him, who, far from fearing any enterprizes from him, had all the reason in the world to rely on his protection? Pardon, Sir, the prolixity of this letter, and do not ascribe it to any thing but to justify to you my behaviour, after having made use of all human prudence could furnish me with. I hope that God Almighty will not abandon the justice of my cause; that he will fortify my weakness; and that the consolation of a prince, whom they endeavour to drive out of a part of what he has inherited from his ancestors, will be the darling work of Divine Providence. Pity me in my misfortunes, but assure yourself, that having nothing to reproach myself with, I look upon it with courage; and in case I should happen to be a prince without a country, (which, by God's assistance, I hope I shall not,) I will nevertheless maintain those sentiments, and that greatness of soul, which is answerable to my birth, and worthy of a son that intends to honour you as a father all his life-time, and that ever will be entirely your's.

Since the writing of this letter, I have received one from Monsieur Catinat, which I send you a copy of, as also of the answer I sent him, and how he replied to it. Methinks that after what has passed, I am not in the wrong to desire to treat in writing, and that all the world will easily agree that it is a mark of the uprightness of my proceedings and the sincerity of my intentions, assuring you again, that what Monsieur Catinat mentions about a precedent engagement, is nothing but a mere pretence, and that I have had none, either with the emperor or the catholic king, till the third of this month, when Monsieur Catinat cut off all manner of treaties, and intimated contributions to several of my territories.

THIS last document appears not to have been forwarded to the Duke of Orleans until the 24th of June, 1690, previous to which, several short notes passed between the parties—viz., the Duke of Savoy's chancellor on the one side, and Monsieur Catinat on the other; but they are of little interest in the present day, on which account I deem it quite needless to swell out these pages, already too much extended, with copies of them.

END OF VOL. II.

